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ABSTRACT

This volume contains four interim reports of the Career Intern Program (CIP) replication portion of the Alternative Education Demonstration operated by Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America and evaluated by the National Institute of Education. (The CIP is an alternative high school serving dropouts and students at a high risk of dropping out. Under the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act, demonstration projects were implemented at four sites to determine if the CIP is replicable at reasonable cost within a reasonable period of time and if the same success achieved at the developmental site can be achieved.) Each report focuses on one of the four parts of the evaluation design. These are (1) assessment of the process of implementation and adaptation of the original CIP model: (2) analysis of the outcomes on enrollees relative to a randomly selected control group, a comparison group, and national norms: (3) determination of the importance of the various functional components of the CIP: and (4) comparisons with other similar youth programs. A summary report on the original CIP experiment is provided as background. (YLB)

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YOUTH KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT REPORT

EDUCATION AND TRAINING APPROACHES
Alternative Education Models
Interim Findings from the Replication of Career Intern Program

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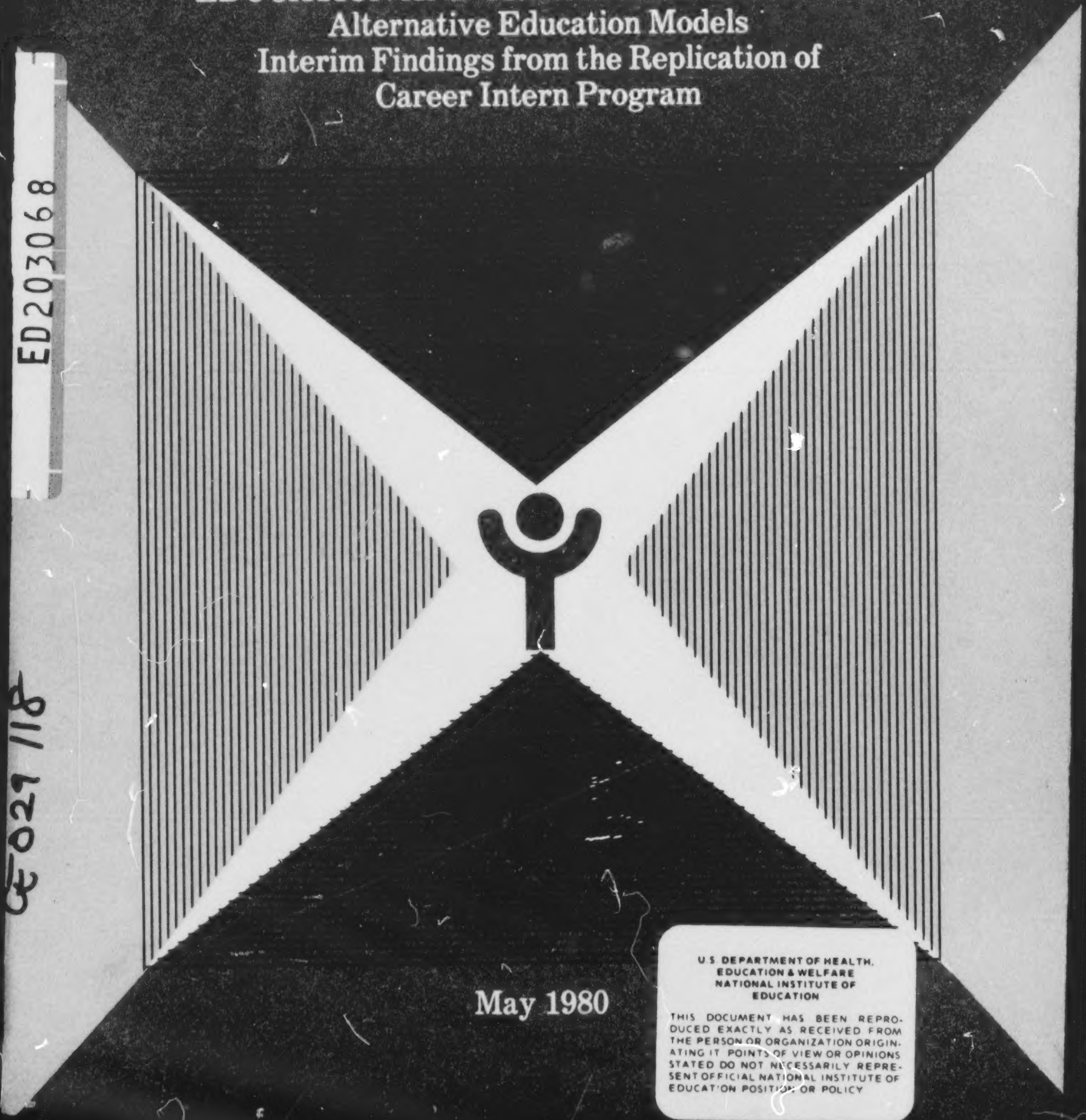
CE 029 118



May 1980

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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YOUTH KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT REPORT 5.1

ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION MODELS-- INTERIM FINDINGS FROM THE REPLICATION OF CAREER INTERN PROGRAM

MARCH 1980

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Washington, D.C. 20402

OVERVIEW

One out of six young persons--including a third of minority youth--drops out of high school before completion. While some of these youth have limited capability, and while events outside the school may account for the failure of others, many could benefit from a second or third chance, or could be successful under different learning circumstances. There are a range of alternative schools throughout the country that are addressed to the special needs of such youth.

Alternative education approaches usually share some common elements such as higher teacher-pupil ratios, individualized and self-paced instruction, student interaction and mutual support, as well as linkages with the world of work and experienced-based instruction. As a result, alternative education programs usually involve higher per pupil expenditures. The major policy issues are (1) whether these extra expenditures produce commensurate benefits, (2) the elements of alternative education approaches which have the greatest impact, (3) the types of youth who benefit most, and (4) the ways in which these approaches can be most effectively replicated.

Perhaps the most carefully tested model of alternative education was the Career Intern Program implemented by Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America in Philadelphia in 1973. The National Institute of Education financed a rigorous control group experiment and evaluation to assess the effectiveness of CIP covering operations during the 1973-1976 period. The evaluation documented substantial benefits for participants relative to controls.

As part of the knowledge development efforts under YEDPA, the Department of Labor's Office of Youth Programs financed the replication of CIP in four sites by OIC/A, as well as a comprehensive evaluation by NIE. After the implementation of these four programs, the experiment was expanded by the addition of a Hispanic adaptation of CIP, operated by SER-Jobs for Progress in the District of Columbia. Finally, OYP contributed funding for a series of competitive grants for community based alternative education projects financed by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention of the Law Enforcement Administration. The OYP contribution provided for the employment and world-of-work components of those projects as well as a comprehensive evaluation consistent with that completed for CIP and the Hispanic adaptation.

The Alternative Education Demonstration has several general knowledge development objectives:

First, it tests the efficacy of alternative education by comparing the experiences of students in these alternative programs with those of a randomly selected control group, a matched comparison group, participants in other youth employment and training activities, and a norm-referenced population. The dimensions of measured participant impact include school attendance and completion rates, reading and arithmetic gains, changes in attitudes and aspirations, as well as subsequent educational and labor market experiences in a followup period.

Second, the large sample size which will emerge from multiple cohorts in multiple sites should permit better identification of those types of youth who benefit most from the alternative education approach. Process evaluations, combined with impact evaluations, should suggest the elements which work best under different conditions. The Hispanic CIP, in particular, should suggest how and whether the basic model can be adapted to meet other needs. In other words, this should permit refinement and better targeting of alternative education.

Third, the demonstration is also a test of the replication process. The CIP model is complex and depends on many program elements as well as on a web of institutional relationships. The process evaluations in multiple sites will suggest the feasibility of replication and the needs for adaptation of the model. Comparisons of the experience for sequential cohorts of participants will document the "learning curve" or "shakedown period" of these projects. The result should be to improve the "batting average" in the replication process.

Fourth, the demonstration utilizes community based organizations as the delivery and change agents at the local level. This might be contrasted with alternative education efforts initiated or supported by school systems under formula YETP and other discretionary projects. Comparison between these approaches should help determine the importance of CBO participation.

Fifth, the Hispanic adaptation is particularly important because of the serious educational deficiencies and high dropout rates of Hispanic youth. Many questions about the comparative needs and approaches to this group can be addressed by comparison of this site's experience with the other CIP projects.

This volume contains the interim products related to the Career Intern Program portion of the demonstration operated by OIC/A and evaluated by the National Institute of Education. There is a four part evaluation design: (1) assessment of the process of implementation and adaptation of the original CIP model; (2) analysis of the outcomes on enrollees relative to a randomly selected control group, a comparison group, and national norms; (3) determination of the importance of the various functional components of the CIP; and (4) comparison with other similar programs. The first four interim reports of the evaluation of the CIP replication are included in this volume:

1. Study of the Career Intern Program: The Process of Implementation
2. Study of the Career Intern Program: Interim Assessment of Intern Outcomes
3. Study of the Career Intern Program: Interim Report on Functional Interrelationships Among Program Components and Intern Outcomes
4. Study of the Career Intern Program: Interim Comparison of the CIP with Other Youth Programs

A summary report on the original CIP experiment is provided as background

> The Career Intern Program: Final Report. Volume I: An Experiment in Career Education that Worked. National Institute of Education

The four interim reports cover the startup and stabilization period of the four new CIPs over their first 18 months of operations. As more cohorts participate and complete, and as the learning curve problems are overcome, the findings will become more definitive. However, there are some important findings already:

--Four alternative education projects were successfully implemented, and although the CIP model was adapted differently in each site, the common elements were retained. In other words, the basic design and delivery approach appears replicable.

--Alternative education programs are undermined by rapid implementation and uncertain funding. The complexity of mounting such projects is reduced somewhat by replication of a model, but most of the problems are site specific such as negotiation with vested interests, staffing and administration. It takes as much as a year before and during implementation to fully develop the necessary linkages. It takes a year of operations, at least, to stabilize the performance.

--The community based delivery approach of OIC/A was critical to the successful implementation of these projects. The outside intervention of the national and local CBOs was necessary both to assure performance of the CIPs and to facilitate the necessary linkages.

--The early cohorts experienced statistically and programmatically significant gains in math and reading compared to control groups and national norms. The impact appears to be increasing as the programs stabilize. There were also significant gains in career planning.

--The various elements in the CIP approach are mutually interactive and supportive. Problems are less in design than implementation. A basic issue is the degree of discipline; it appears that firm discipline of students is required. A second issue is administrative flexibility at sites; in some cases, the CIP model has become a "Procrustean bed" hindering effective adaptation. A third issue is the coordination of all the elements in the model as well as the staff who offer them; if one element does not function adequately, such an integrative model is vulnerable.

--Comparison with other programs suggests the need to target CIP carefully on youth who really want to make the investment in their education. It also suggests the importance of such alternative arrangements and the value of delivery by community based organizations in order to reach out to those most in need. Experience has shown the difficulty of recruiting dropouts unless there is credibility and a community network. Even in these cases, stable operations over a period of time are needed to achieve a regular recruiting flow.

In general, then, the CIP replication has been successful and it appears that the model and delivery approach are promising.

This volume is one of the products of the "knowledge development" effort implemented under the mandate of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977. The knowledge development effort consists of hundreds of separate research, evaluation and demonstration activities which will result in literally thousands of written products. The activities have been structured from the outset so that each is self-standing but also interrelated with a host of other activities. The framework is presented in A Knowledge Development Plan for the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977, A Knowledge Development Plan for the Youth Initiatives Fiscal 1979 and Completing the Youth Agenda: A Plan for Knowledge Development, Dissemination and Application in Fiscal 1980.

Information is available or will be coming available from the various knowledge development activities to help resolve an almost limitless array of issues, but answers to policy questions will usually require integration and synthesis from a number of separate products, which, in turn, will depend on knowledge and availability of these products. A major shortcoming of past research, evaluation and demonstration activity has been the failure to organize and disseminate the products adequately to assure the full exploitation of the findings. The magnitude and structure of the youth knowledge development effort puts a premium on organization and dissemination of findings.

As part of its knowledge development mandate, therefore, the Office of Youth Programs of the Department of Labor will organize, publish and disseminate the written products of all major research, evaluation and demonstration activities supported directly by or mounted in conjunction with the knowledge development effort. Some of the same products may also be published and disseminated through other channels, but they will be included in the structured series of Youth Knowledge Development Reports in order to facilitate access and integration.

The Youth Knowledge Development Reports, of which this is one, are divided into twelve broad categories:

1. Knowledge Development Framework: The products in this category are concerned with the structure of knowledge development activities, the assessment methodologies which are employed, validation of measurement instruments, the translation of knowledge into policy, and the strategy for disseminating findings.

2. Research on Youth Employment and Employability Development: The products in this category represent analysis of existing data, presentation of findings from new data sources, special studies of dimensions on youth labor market problems and policy analyses.

3. Program Evaluations: The products in this category include impact, process and benefit-cost evaluations of youth programs including the Summer Youth Employment Program, Job Corps, the Young Adult Conservation Corps, Youth Employment and Training Programs, Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects, and the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit.

4. Service and Participant Mix: The evaluations and demonstrations summarized in this category concern the matching of different types of youth with different service combinations. This involves experiments with work vs. work plus remediation vs. straight remediation as treatment options. It also includes attempts to mix disadvantaged and more affluent participants, as well as youth with older workers.

5. Education and Training Approaches: The products in this category present the findings of structured experiments to test the impact and effectiveness of various education and vocational training approaches including specific education methodologies for the disadvantaged, alternative education approaches and advanced career training.

6. Pre-Employment and Transition Services: The products in this category present the findings of structured experiments to test the impact and effectiveness of school-to-work transition activities, vocational exploration, job-search assistance and other efforts to better prepare youth for labor market success.

7. Youth Work Experience: The products in this category address the organization of work activities, their output, productive roles for youth and the impacts of various employment approaches.

8. Implementation Issues: This category includes cross-cutting analyses of the practical lessons concerning "how-to-do-it." Issues such as learning curves, replication processes and programmatic "batting averages" will be addressed under this category, as well as the comparative advantages of alternative delivery agents.

9. Design and Organizational Alternatives: The products in this category represent assessments of demonstrations of alternative program and delivery arrangements such as consolidation, year-round preparation for summer programming, the use of incentives and multi-year tracking of individuals.

10. Special Needs Groups: The products in this category present findings on the special problems of and adaptations needed for significant segments including minorities, young mothers, troubled youth, Indochinese refugees and the handicapped.

11. Innovative Approaches: The products in this category present the findings of those activities designed to explore new approaches. The subjects covered including the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects, private sector initiatives, the national youth service experiment, and energy initiatives in weatherization, low-head hydroelectric dam restoration, windpower and the like.

12. Institutional Linkages: The products in this category will include studies of institutional arrangements and linkages as well as assessments of demonstration activities to encourage such linkages with education, volunteer groups, drug abuse and other youth serving agencies.

In each of these knowledge development categories, there will be a range of discrete demonstration, research and evaluation activities, focused on different policy, program and analytical issues. For instance, all experimental demonstration projects have both process and impact evaluations, frequently undertaken by different evaluation agents. Findings will be published as they become available so that there will usually be a series of reports as evidence accumulates. To organize these products, each publication is classified in one of the twelve broad knowledge development categories, described in terms of the more specific issue, activity or cluster of activities to which it is addressed, with an identifier of the product and what it represents relative to other products in the demonstration. Hence, the multiple products under a knowledge development activity are closely interrelated and the activities in each broad cluster have significant interconnections.

This set of evaluations of the Career Intern Program must be assessed in conjunction with the studies of the Hispanic CIP adaptation as well as the OJJDP/LEAA incentive grants for alternative education. These Alternative Education Demonstrations, in turn, should be assessed relative to the other studies in the Education and Training Approaches category as well as the school-to-work transition series in the Pre-Employment and Transition Services category. There are also general overviews of alternative education in the background papers for the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment. Important data on dropout patterns and causes are available in the new panel of the National Longitudinal Survey. Both of these materials are in the category Research on Youth Employment and Employability Development. Finally, there are some important findings covering alternative education in the reports on the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects under the Innovative Approaches knowledge development category.

It will be several years before the full results will be available concerning the effectiveness of alternative education arrangements, and how they can best be implemented. At present, however, there is persuasive evidence to suggest that there is a significant need for this approach, that it can be effective, and that it also can be replicated.

ROBERT TAGGART
Administrator
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Study of the Career Intern Program

Final Report—Task A: The Process of Implementation

Prepared for the National Institute of Education

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September 1979

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

High rates of dropping out of school and of youth unemployment, especially severe among poor and minority youth, have prompted policy makers to support development of programs designed to enable young people to graduate from secondary school and increase their career awareness and career-planning skills. The ultimate objectives of this policy are to increase the employability of young people and thereby improve their prospects for productive and satisfying lives.

One program created in response to this policy is the Career Intern Program (CIP). Conceived, developed, and tested in the early and middle 1970s by Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OIC/A), the CIP is an alternative high school program for dropouts and students at high risk of dropping out. In its developmental site, Philadelphia, the CIP provided disadvantaged youths with motivating instruction to enable their completion of high school and with career-orientation activities to ease their transition from school to work or further education.

Evaluation of the CIP in Philadelphia found it had significant positive impact on young people's academic achievement and post secondary experience. Therefore, since December 1977, four local affiliates of OIC/A have been implementing the CIP as a demonstration project under the Department of Labor's (DOL) authority through the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977 (YEDPA, P.L. 95-93). The National Institute of Eduation (NIE) is managing the demonstration under an Interagency Agreement with DOL. The purposes of the demonstration are to see if the CIP is replicable in new sites at reasonable cost within a reasonable period of time, and to determine whether the same success achieved in Philadelphia can be realized in the new sites. RMC Research Corporation (RMC) has been retained by NIE to study the sites' implementations and determine answers to these questions.

This report presents RMC's findings relative to the first of four tasks involved in the evaluation. Task A was intended to answer the basic question: Can the CIP be replicated in new sites at reasonable cost within a reasonable period of time? Though no explicit stipulations were made by the federal agencies (DOL and NIE) or by the developer/disseminator (OIC/A) involved in the demonstration, the limits of "reasonable cost and time" are at least implicit in the amount of money granted for the demonstration ($5 million from DOL to NIE to cover all aspects, including NIE's oversight and the evaluation) and in the due date for this report (approximately 18 months from the start of implementation).

To focus the specific inquiries made to answer Task A's basic question, NIE asked the researchers to attend to four aspects of the demonstration. Three of these were presented as subquestions of Task A: Does the program, as implemented in the four new sites, remain the same as the prototype program in terms of goals and practices? Are changes instituted in the new sites, if any, improvements in the program? Is the process of implementation through the OIC system more effective than through the "usual developer-public school linkages"? The fourth aspect to be addressed for Task A was the efficacy of the overall dissemination/implementation process.

Addressing these issues has been a complicated endeavor. In addition to devising a model of the prototype CIP for use as a standard against which to assess operations of the new sites, means have had to be developed for taking into account the variety of constraints the demonstration has faced.

There have been several constraints, and they have posed some difficult problems for the sites.

- Time (or rather the lack of time) has been a major constraint. From the award of the subcontracts to the local OICs to the anticipated entry of the first cohort of interns, there was only about six weeks. Not only does it appear that the start-up schedule did not allow enough time for such essential activities as hiring, staff development, coordination with school boards, and intern recruitment; it also appears that pressure to adhere to the unrealistic schedule led to hasty actions that continue to affect the replication effort.

- A decision was made to use a salary structure that was consistent with other OIC activities, not with local school-system pay scales in the replicating sites. Thus, teachers and administrators in the CIP earn substantially less than their counterparts in the public schools. Many really good educators cannot afford the dedication required to work at the CIP.

- A contractual requirement to serve a specified number of interns and to recruit additional youth to form a control group for evaluation purposes caused recruiting activities to consume a highly disproportionate amount of staff time and energy. All other start-up and operation activities suffered as a result.

- The sponsors of the CIP replications (the local OICs) had no prior experience operating school programs and lacked knowledge of school-system policies, practices, and politics.

- OIC/A's experience operating school programs was limited to one program and one (probably atypical) site.

- The linkage between the funding agency (DOL) and the replicating sites is extremely cumbersome, involving NIE, OIC/A, and the local OICs. Two problems, slow decision making and inadequate communications, resulted at least partially from the complexity of this linkage.

- A decision was made to give preference to current OIC personnel over outsiders in staffing the CIPs. Constraints imposed by time and timing (hiring was done in the middle of the school year) again may have been largely responsible for this decision. Nevertheless, the result was that several positions were filled by people whose qualifications did not match the requirements of the jobs particularly well. This problem was observed at all levels from aide to director.

These constraints placed a heavy strain on the CIP staffs to implement the program as specified in the CIP design. Nevertheless, the four CIPs in the new sites now appear, after approximately 18 months of intensive effort, to have effected full or nearly full implementation of most of the program's components. This is not to say that the four CIPs are uniformly operating as exact duplicates of the prototype. There are unquestionably areas in which each could improve. Staffing is still weak in some areas; curricula need to be expanded and modified; ties with business, industry, and the community require further development; program climate needs to mature; and counseling programs need further refinement.

However, the overall impression of the four CIPs is that they are well down the road to full implementation. Furthermore, there is strong evidence suggesting the CIPs are daily improving their operations, and there are concrete examples of young lives redirected toward higher achievement, greater social responsibility, and enhanced personal satisfaction.

Changes have been made in some CIP practices to accommodate local situations in the new sites, but the sites retain their commitment to the program goals. For the most part, specific changes in practices purposefully introduced to facilitate accomplishing program outcomes--for instance, revisions in record-keeping procedures--have been adaptive, and consonant with program goals. Some changes in practices forced by events in the implementation process or by locally imposed constraints have been less adaptive and caused problems, but these problems have been addressed with vigor and imagination. As a neophyte in the field of educational dissemination, OIC/A has been more susceptible to disruptive events in the implementaiton than if they had been experienced in this role or trained for it by NIE. They have managed to cope with problems though, with satisfactory results. No doubt the overall implementation process could have been better planned and executed had more guidance from experienced professionals been made available in the early planning. Though the inexperience and consequent strategies and tactical misjudgments of OIC/A and the local OICs probably retarded implementation, the CIPs now are viable and constantly getting stronger.

The professional judgment of the evaluation team thus is, at the end of our Task A studies, that operations in the new CIPs demonstrate the replicability of the program. The problems that beset the implementation process, though they slowed the achievement of operational status, were in the main avoidable, and need not recur in future federally sponsored programs of this sort if appropriate attention is paid to accumulated knowledge in the relevant fields. Given the constraints of too little time and planning under which the demonstration of the CIPs proceeded, implementation has been a success.

I. INTRODUCTION

Youth unemployment, particularly of minority and economically disadvantaged young people who have not completed high school, is a major social problem in the United States. A variety of programs have been advanced to address both youth unemployment and the high incidence of dropping out of school. One of the most successful to date has been the Career Intern Program (CIP), developed and tested in Philadelphia by Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc. (OIC/A) from 1972 to 1976. In Philadelphia, the CIP achieved notable success in enabling dropouts and potential dropouts to graduate from high school and make the transition to productive, stable employment or further technical or academic education.

Under authorization of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977 (YEDPA, PL 95-93), the Department of Labor (DOL) and the National Institute of Education (NIE) entered into an Interagency Agreement to test the replicability of the CIP and find out if the same beneficial outcomes could be achieved in new sites. In the fall of 1977, NIE contracted with OIC/A to implement the CIP in four sites across the country.

To study the effectiveness of the CIP in the new sites, NIE awarded a contract to RMC Research Corporation's Learning Systems Division in Mountain View, California, in April 1978. RMC's charge has been to undertake four tasks:

- assess the process of the sites' implementation of the CIP;
- determine the effects of the CIP as implemented in the new sites and compare the effects with those achieved in Philadelphia;
- analyze the program to determine causal relationships among program components and effects; and
- compare the CIP with other similarly targeted programs in aspects relevant to policymaking.

The sites selected for the CIP replication were inner-city areas of three major metropolitan areas and one small (population 30,000) city. The geographical locations of the sites include the east, midwest, and northwest sectors of the nation. The main economic activity at three sites is manufacturing, while at the other there is a high proportion of retailing and professional activity. The similarity and variability afforded by these four sites were felt to provide a reasonable test of the various contexts where the CIP model might operate.

Objectives of this Report

This report presents RMC's findings and conclusions about the process of disseminating and implementing the CIP. Recommendations reflecting what occurred during implementation are directed at both the Congress and the executive agencies involved in this demonstration, DOL and NIE. Only Task A is covered by this report. Separate reports address Tasks B, C, and D.

The central question addressed in the study of the dissemination and implementation of the CIP has been, "Can the CIP be replicated in new sites at reasonable cost within a reasonable time?" This is a broad question; it entails many nuances and leads to a number of possible approaches. In addressing this overall question, the approach taken has been to use three subquestions as focusing or organizing points: (a) Do the CIPs in the new sites remain the same as the prototype in terms of goals and practices? (b) Are changes in the goals and practices in the new sites, if any, improvements in terms of the overarching goal of helping disadvantaged youth finish their education and make the transition from school to work? and (c) Is the process of implementation through the OIC system more effective than through other possible systems, such as the traditional developer-public school linkages? Simultaneously, the study has tried to maintain a broad perspective on the dissemination/implementation process as a whole, and findings, conclusions, and recommendations about that process are also presented.

Not surprisingly, hard and fast answers to some questions have not been reached. However, the findings do lead to several conclusions about the demonstration effort that we feel are solidly founded, and to recommendations that we feel ought to enhance similar efforts in the future.

Format of This Report

The report is organized for convenient use by several different audiences. Part 1 contains an executive summary, discusses the study questions, summarizes the findings, and presents conclusions and recommendations. Part 2 provides a detailed description of the CIP, describes the study approach and the events of the implementation to date, and presents further findings. A short appendix includes a more detailed description of the methodology and copies of the instruments used for the study.

This format has been designed to accommodate the needs of different groups. Policy makers and higher level executives will find Part 1 sufficient, we hope, to answer their questions about the CIP demonstration. Those interested in the more substantive details behind the conclusions may find them in Part 2. The appendix will interest those who wish to learn more about our methods than is evident in the main text.

II. STUDY QUESTIONS, APPROACH, AND BACKGROUND

Task A has addressed two major concerns about the process of implementing the CIP. The first concern is to "assess how well and readily the CIP approach can be implemented" (NIE, 1978, p. 7). This concern is evaluative in nature. That is, it seeks qualitative judgments about the implementation process, about the nature of the programs implemented in the new sites, and about the efficacy of the dissemination mechanism, the OIC system. The questions specifically stated in the Request for Proposal (RFP) define the judgments called for.

> What happens to the program itself in the process [of] implementation in additional sites?
>
> - Does the program remain the same in terms of goals and practices?
>
> - What accounts for the changes or adaptations, if any? For the fidelity, if any, to the original program goals and practices?
>
> - Are the changes, if any, improvements in terms of the overarching goal of effectively helping young people who are dropouts, unemployed, or at risk of dropping out?
>
> Is the process of implementation more effective through a system such as OIC in comparison to the processes of research utilization and dissemination through the usual developer/public school linkages? (NIE, 1978, p. 7)

Addressing the first Task A concern entails conducting a process evaluation of the CIP implementation, the results of which, the RFP notes, have "importance with regard to the possibilities of larger dissemination efforts" (NIE, 1978, p. 7). The second concern expressed in Task A is to "contribute to knowledge about implementation [of programs designed to attack the problems of youth unemployment] in systems that differ in power relationships, political considerations, incentives for change, and other variables believed important in the literature on educational change" (NIE, 1978, p. 7).

This intent to add on to the general knowledge about program implementation is consistent with the objective of the YEDPA Knowledge Development Plan "to explore. . .different approaches in assisting economically disadvantaged and other youth to complete high school, to enter the world of work, and to achieve job stability and advancement" (Office of Youth Programs, 1977, p. 1). The Knowledge Development Plan in turn was predicated on the Congressional mandate in the YEDPA legislation "to explore methods of dealing with the structural unemployment problems of the Nation's youth" and "to test the relative efficacy of the different ways of dealing with these problems in different local contexts" (P.L. 95-93, Sec. 321). Thus Congress, in enacting YEDPA, sought not only to establish programs to help disadvantaged youth prepare for productive, satisfying lives and to monitor the effectiveness of these programs, but also to enlarge the body of knowledge about how such programs can most effectively be implemented and operated.

Task A therefore encompassed two purposes. First an evaluation of the CIP implementation process was to be conducted. The results of the process evaluation will enable NIE, DOL, and the Congress to proceed with decision making and policy formulation about possible future dissemination of the program. One question of interest is whether or not the OIC system, and by extrapolation, other networks of CBOs, are efficacious agents for conducting such dissemination programs. Second, concurrent exploration of the implementation process was to be carried out. In conjunction with knowledge gained from the literature and other YEDPA-sponsored research, the insights gained from the CIP experience will enhance understanding of youth-program issues and strategies, and perhaps also the success and efficiency of similar efforts in the future.

Approach to the Task A Concerns

The research called for by Task A is qualitative. That is, the major concerns are not about numbers of young people served by the CIPs in the new sites or about evidence of increased employment by CIP graduates, although these are extremely important issues. Rather, they are about the nature of the implementation process, the issues involved in getting the CIPs operating, and the potency of the OIC system as a dissemination agency.

The approach to studying these topics has been to regard CIP implementation at each of the four sites as a case study, and then extract an amagam of the four local cases. This amalgam is the focus of this report. In a sense, there have been four case studies of CIP implementation and one case study of dissemination. However, in the study's conceptualization, dissemination is subsumed in the meaning of implementation.

Data have been gathered at all four sites, at the central OIC headquarters (OIC/A), and at DOL and NIE. Data sources have included all staff members and many interns of all the CIPs, selected staff members of all local OICs and LEAs, CIP-related personnel at OIC/A, DOL, and NIE, and documents from all involved agencies. All five study staff members have interacted with all personnel at all four sites and at all the national-level agencies. From these extensive observations and interviews the study staff has produced accounts of the implementation process in each site and of the interactions of all agencies. In assembling this report, the primary aim has been to present a single description and analysis of CIP implementation drawn from the experiences of all involved parties, though exceptions to general trends in the data have been reported when they seem important.

Background

OIC/A is a national network of manpower training and development agencies with a central headquarters in Philadelphia. Though the OIC system is formally constituted as an affiliation of locally independent community-based organizations, there is a strong sense of self-identification as a single entity. The OIC system was founded by the Rev. Leon Sullivan, who conceived the first OIC in Phildelphia in response to an employment conflict with a large bakery. This conflict--the bakery would not hire blacks--led to a boycott of the bakery's products in 1959, and then to the realization that if significant improvements were to be made in employment for blacks, there would have to be concentrated efforts in both skills training and development of employment opportunities. From this realization, Sullivan fashioned an organization to provide occupational training and to enlist support from employers. OIC's motto--We Help Ourselves--summarizes the philosophy of the system, and explains a great deal of OIC's success and growth, for Sullivan and his associates mobilized the black community's latent pride and productive potential to provide the drive behind the system, largely through the black churches.

Since its founding in 1959, the OIC system has been very successful in meeting both its primary goals. Its occupational training programs, supported in large part by the U.S. Department of Labor, have taught thousands of economically disadvantaged persons the skills of a wide variety of trades. Massive inroads have been made with employers by recruiting business executives to serve on OIC boards and committees. Further, the evident competence of OIC graduates placed in private-sector jobs has established and maintained OIC's reputation as a good source of trained personnel for business and industry. The OIC system has grown to include more than 150 local OICs and an international division providing training and consultation in many third- and fourth-world countries. There also are a training division to provide technical assistance and staff development services to the local OICs and a special-programs division, which sponsors development and trial of new programs, one of which was the Career Intern Program.

The Career Intern Program grew out of OIC/A's concern that its programs, successful as they were at training and placing adults, did not extend far enough down the age ladder to effect systemic changes in the economic/social system. Thus, the original goals for the CIP were to provide a specific service to young people and to demonstrate a model that could alter the paradigm of secondary education.

As originally developed, the CIP was the largest part of an integrated, tripartite program called the Urban Career Education Center (UCEC). In addition to the CIP alternative high school, the UCEC included the Community Career Program (CCP) and the Career Orientation Program (COP). The Community Career Program was addressed to adults, particularly parents of interns, and provided assistance in obtaining legal, medical, housing, and other community services. The CCP also aimed at making parents aware of public-school programs and problems to motivate parental involvement in their children's education. The Career Orientation Program was designed to demonstrate how cooperative planning and development by UCEC and the public schools could lead to sound career-education programs in the regular schools. Because they were operated independently from, though cooperatively with, the CIP component of the UCEC, the CCP and COP components were not validated with the CIP educational program and are not included in the demonstration effort.

The CIP's overarching goals are to enable young persons who have dropped out of secondary school or are at high risk of doing so to continue their academic progress through to high school graduation, and to help them make rational, informed career choices. To accomplish these goals, the CIP is designed as a programmatically independent alternative high school chartered by the local school district to grant a regular high school diploma. Interns (as CIP students are called) qualify for graduation by completing an academic curriculum equivalent to the local school district's and by participating in a series of career-oriented classes, independent research exercises, and work-site study placements (referred to as Hands-On). The careers aspect of the CIP is designed to acquaint interns with the opportunities and prerequisites in various career fields, with the day-to-day nature of different jobs, with the process of making realistic career choices, and with the logistics of seeking employment. In addition to teaching specific academic and career-related knowledge and skills, the CIP is also designed to motivate young people to greater aspirations and achievement. Since, in the developer's opinion, the regular schools have demonstrated they cannot provide adequate programs for these students, the CIP operates in a separate facility staffed by dedicated and qualified personnel. Staff-to-student ratios are kept much higher than in public schools to ensure maximum individual attention for interns. Behavior codes designed to impart awareness of standards prevalent in the work world are part of the CIP design as well.

In the original CIP, interns began with diagnostic testing, to determine appropriate placements in core (English, math, social studies, and science) and elective academic courses, and with the generation of a Career Development Plan (CDP) to chart an intern's path through the CIP. Instructors in each academic area conducted the diagnostic testing, while the counselors were responsible for developing a Career Development Plan with each intern. After diagnosis, the intern was placed in the academic curriculum at the appropriate level in each subject area. The length of time an intern spent in the academic curriculum depended on the number of graduation credits he or she needed in each area. Each intern was also enrolled in the Career Counseling Seminar (CCS), a class planned jointly by instructors, counselors, and career developers. The CCS was required for all interns for at least one semester. Its goals were to teach interns how to identify and research their career interests, how to make rational career choices, how to interview and apply for jobs, and what the expectations of them would be in terms of entry skills and behavioral norms in the career fields that attracted them. In addition to classwork, interns prepared research reports about two career fields for the CCS.

Upon successful completion of the CCS curriculum, usually at the end of the first term, interns were assigned to visit two job sites for a week each on a Hands-On experience to get a more empirical view of the career fields researched in the CCS. Academic work continued with more sophisticated materials for deeper investigation of topics and with more intern responsibility for learning.

After a second term, interns chose a career field on which to concentrate long-range career planning. If additional academic credits were still required, interns would continue taking classes until graduation requirements were met. But the main focus after completing the CCS and Hands-On visits was to make concrete plans for after graduation. Four options were available: finding a job (including joining a military-service branch), entering an on-the-job training program (e.g., an apprenticeship), going to college, or going to a technical training institution. Once an intern had fulfilled all academic graduation requirements and begun implementing a long-range career plan under one of the four options, he or she was graduated from the program. Follow-up by a graduate's counselor continued for six months to a year after graduation.

In order to answer the evaluation questions in Task A, RMC constructed a model of the mature CIP as it operated in the original site. Through site visits during the first eighteen months of CIP implementation, descriptions of the four replication-site CIPs were developed. Analyses were then done of the extent to which the demonstration sites were accomplishing the intended functions of the mature prototype. The general findings in the next chapter present the results of those analyses, along with identification and discussion of issues that affected the dissemination/implementation process.

III. GENERAL FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings and conclusions presented in this chapter are broad in nature. They summarize and generalize from the evidence collected about the CIP demonstration, to reduce the volume of material in this first part of the report. More detail and specific examples are reported in Part 2 for readers interested in more concrete substantiation.

What Happens to the Program?

The three subquestions relating to this question are discussed separately below. At a very general level, however, it is clear from observations of the four demonstration sites that what happened is that the CIP was implemented in accord with the design's intentions, though some aspects have not yet achieved full maturity and are still evolving. That is, the major CIP structures and functions are by and large in place in the sites, while the full ambiance and climate of the prototype are not yet wholly realized in all sites.

Considering that the demonstration sites had been in operation for but 18 months when data collection was completed for Task A and that the prototype site had operated for two-and-a-half years (March 1972 to September 1974) before its evaluation began, it would have been remarkable for the new sites to have achieved the full operational status described for the prototype. Furthermore, numerous constraints and difficulties beset the demonstration from its beginning. There was competition for participants from other YEDPA-spawned youth programs, an intrusive evaluation design affected implementation, and an extremely short period (approximately seven weeks) was given the sites to start the program.

Currently, there is substantial variation among the four sites with regard to the attainment of the desired program climate, and this variation is clearly related to both style and continuity of site leadership. Nevertheless, all four sites have installed the appropriate formal structures and functions, and the prospect for evolution of the appropriate climate appears optimistic.

Does the Program Remain the Same in Terms of Goals and Practices?

An accepted tenet of dissemination "craft knowledge" is that new sites implementing exemplary programs developed elsewhere must adapt practices to fit their contexts, regardless of official rhetoric about "replication." Therefore, in this study, goals and practices of the CIP have been assessed in terms of the functions they are intended to serve, rather than in terms of fidelity to specific forms in the prototype. This approach reduces the possibility a site would be judged as not implementing a feature of the program simply because its function was not being accomplished in the same manner as in the original program. This approach serves the needs of the evaluation by delineating the most important aspect of a practice--what it is supposed to accomplish--and recognizes the needs of program implementors to adjust practices to the constraints and opportunities in a site.

Since most CIP goals are stated in terms of outcomes that are not yet known, it is possible at this point only to say whether the replicating sites manifest activities congruent with CIP goals. Given the nature of the goals--e.g., enable young people to graduate from high school--it is easy to report that all sites are committed to them. It is also clear all sites have accepted the philosophical underpinnings of the CIP, such as the importance of individualized instruction and intensive counseling.

In assessing whether practices remain the same in the new sites, it is also important to remember that the practices as described in the program design were carried out in a mature, stable program after an extended period of developmental operation. Therefore, not only are judgments made in terms of whether an intended function is being carried out, but they also include consideration of the fact that the CIP is still in a developmental stage in the new sites. It is to be expected then that some practices or components may not yet be fully mature. In such cases, the assessment depends on the extent of implementation that is reasonable given the elapsed time since the CIP replication effort began.

As briefly stated above, the CIPs in the four sites are operating as intended, with some development still needed for some program components, such as instruction and climate. The local OICs obtained, in three sites, very adequate facilities. In the other site only a less desirable building was available and quarters are somewhat cramped, though an impending move should alleviate that situation. Instructional materials, equipment, and supplies are in sufficient supply.

The sites have established, with OIC/A's assistance, good working relationships with the local school authorities, teachers' associations, and other community groups. Though developing these relationships took time, as awareness and knowledge about the program had to be developed in the communities, school boards and administrations in the sites have now approved the CIP as an appropriate alternative path to high school graduation and are assisting the CIPs in recruiting potential interns. Teachers' unions in all sites have accepted the program, having been shown it constitutes no threat to the number of jobs available to union members. Other community members, including business firms and parents of participants, have extended support. Though different formal arrangements have been worked out with these groups, especially with the LEAs and the teachers' groups in each site, the relationships in all sites are functioning as intended.

The curricula in the four sites are, as the CIP design calls for, amalgams of the prototype curriculum from Philadelphia, provided by OIC/A, and the local high-school curricula. As expected, none of the curricula duplicate the original CIP curriculum, for each community has its own requirements, both local and state, for graduation. These local requirements and the career-focused, basic-skills and elective courses of the original CIP have been combined into comprehensive programs to satisfy both local academic criteria and the CIP instructional goals. Further refinement of the curricula is expected as the sites gain experience with more interns, especially in regard to the integration, or "fusing," of academic and career aspects.

The staffs of the four CIPs are, as indicated above, operating their programs in congruence with the original design. There are some discrepancies between the qualifications and experience of the staff members working in the CIPs and those recommended by OIC/A. Generally the staff members have fewer formal credentials, but more experience with manpower-development programs, than OIC/A recommended. However, at this point the discrepancies do not appear to affect CIP operations. In fact, the decision to favor experience over formal accreditation seems to have yielded CIP staffs that now are not only adequately skilled but also very sensitive to and compatible with the interns.

Arriving at the present staffing status has not been without difficulty. There has been substantial turnover within the CIP staffs, caused by a number of factors, including the very short start-up time (six weeks), unpropitious timing (mid-school year) of the start-up, and a lack of familiarity with the program on the parts of the local OICs that had to recruit and hire the staffs. This turnover has contributed to the lag in establishing the desired program climate mentioned earlier, though it was not the only factor involved. Nevertheless, the four staffs have generally stabilized and worked out their roles and relationships so they are performing their functions smoothly and effectively. As staff members gain further experience with each other, it is expected the climate will become closer to that described for the original CIP.

Instruction in the four CIP replicating sites has generally reached the level of individualization reported for the prototype, though there is less variety of instructional methods apparent. Interns are assigned work compatible with their abilities and academic needs, proceed through the work at their own rates, and are given much personal attention.

A typical CIP class has 15 interns working individually or in pairs on local adaptations of the OIC/A-provided "learning-activity packets." Supplemental reference materials are accessible on shelves around the room. After greeting the instructor, interns retrieve their packets from the storage file and begin working independently, starting from the places they left off at the end of the last class. The instructor moves quietly through the classroom, observing the interns, offering suggestions, and answering questions as appropriate. Occasionally, the instructor will call the entire class's attention to a question one intern has asked and lead a discussion about the issue involved, but usually interns are engrossed in their specific individual tasks. The level of noise is low enough not to disrupt each intern's concentration on the task at hand, but high enough to show that serious attention is being paid to the content of the lessons.

The career focus intended for instruction has been moderately incorporated, and has become a more prevalent characteristic of instruction as the staff members have gained experience in the CIP approach. The number of field trips in the sites has not been as great as in the program design, but it has increased as start-up problems have been solved, allowing time and resources to be given to field trips. Interns' reactions to field trips are enthusiastic and it is clear the field trips are motivating and informative.

Counseling is consistently mentioned by CIP interns as the most satisfying aspect of the program. Typical of interns' perceptions of the counseling is one's comment that CIP counseling is "much better" than that in the high school:

> They try to deal with you, deal with you in a way on your level.... Not only try to check out your problems in school but they deal with your home problems too. They try to see what the problem is or the reason why you're messin' up in school or whatever it is.

Individual counseling had not generally occurred biweekly through the first eleven months of operation, because counselors had to devote inordinate time to recruitment. Since the recruitment phase of the demonstration ended, however, counselors have had the time to see their interns at least as often as every two weeks. Even when recruitment was demanding the bulk of the counselors' time, interns were very enthusiastic about the personal attention they were getting from their counselors. They often contrasted it to counseling in the public schools, where they almost never saw their counselors except for disciplinary purposes. Interns not only mention the ready availability of counseling, but also the quality of care and concern they felt from the counselors. It is clear that the high staff-to-intern ratio in the CIP has made a favorable impression on the interns.

Hands-On work-study placements have been provided for all interns who have reached that point in the CIP. Interns who have gone on Hands-On assignments have reported them to be very enjoyable and informative about the world of work. Like the counselors, career developers were heavily involved in recruitment in the late months of 1978, and so were obliged to put off their efforts to obtain Hands-On opportunities. Also, the committees of business persons supposed to advise the CIPs were not convened in three sites because of intern-recruiting tasks, so the Advisory Councils have not been sources of referrals to Hands-On opportunities. There have been some problems getting transportation to Hands-On sites, and some employers have been reluctant to allow young people to spend time at work stations. The impact of these events on getting all the placements needed for the third, and by far the largest, cohort of interns is difficult to foresee. Efforts to generate placements for Hands-On experiences have greatly increased since recruitment ended in January 1979, however, and the sites are optimistic they will be able to place their interns.

The quality of the Hands-On placements has generally been very high. Interns have been placed in the fields they preferred, with some exceptions in professions--such as law and medicine--in which client confidentiality made employers less willing to accept interns. The local OICs and social service agencies have been the best Hands-On providers. In most cases, interns have mainly observed, or "shadowed," their Hands-On hosts, but some interns have been given real tasks to perform, such as helping in a day-care center for working single parents.

Likewise affected by early start-up difficulties and recruitment pressures, intern assessment procedures in the sites were neither as well articulated nor as frequent as in the CIP design. Since the end of recruitment, the sites have instituted these procedures. In fact, one site refined the procedures for the staff "disposition conferences" about interns and, in both the site's and OIC/A's opinion, improved them significantly. Those improved procedures have since been disseminated to the other sites.

In the disposition conferences, all staff members who deal with an intern--his/her counselor, career developer, and instructors--are asked to comment on the intern's progress since the last "dispo." Of course not all interns always have serious problems, but each intern is discussed to ensure that none is overlooked. When a problem is brought up, the staff members try to identify its cause and plan a way to resolve it. One staff member, most commonly the counselor, then assumes responsibility for putting the plan into effect--and reporting back to the group. In this way all staff members are informed of each intern's status and a consensual, coordinated intervention can be planned for any intern. This prevents the kind of miscommunication that can result when diagnoses and interventions are made in isolation, perhaps by different people.

In summary, the CIP as implemented in the four demonstration sites is congruent with the prototype program's goals and practices. Though there are some differences in how certain practices are carried out, most are relatively minor and consistent with the need to adapt operations. Further, these differences have not significantly affected the functions of CIP practices. There are two features of the CIP in the demonstration sites that do appear very different from the prototype--attendance and program climate--but it is not felt these represent deliberate changes to the program design. Rather, they have their roots in a combination of factors over which the site staffs have been able to exert only marginal influence. (These factors are discussed later.) Overall, the study's conclusion is that the CIP does remain functionally the same in terms of goals and practices in the new sites.

What Accounts for Changes, Adaptations, or Fidelity to the Original Program Goals and Practices?

Overall, there have been few changes to CIP practices in the new sites. In large measure, this is because the CIP design is not very prescriptive of operational details. Rather, OIC/A conveyed to the demonstration sites a program plan painted with broad strokes, neither expecting nor demanding that the details of the prototype CIP would or should be copied exactly. The demonstration had built into it the expectation--and the necessity--that the new staffs would adjust and invent as necessary to implement the general program functions in whatever ways would work.

OIC/A's expectation of adaptations had both positive and negative consequences. On the positive side, adaptability is a sine qua non of educational dissemination. Sites differ along a variety of dimensions, and to expect exact replication of procedures is to invite failures in new contexts. New users of a program simply must adjust procedures to fit a program into its new context, as extant systems will almost inevitably resist changes that would significantly impinge on local practices. On the other hand, there was a feeling of anxiety in the demonstration sites induced by the lack of specific direction about some procedures. For instance, recruitment of interns was a very important issue for the new sites, because getting full enrollments was very important to OIC/A, NIE, and DOL. The CIP staffs had very little experience or initial guidance from OIC/A on how to recruit. OIC/A did later provide the sites some suggestions on recruiting potential interns, but never to the full satisfaction of the sites. In point of fact, it would have been extremely difficult for OIC/A to give specific recruitment tactics to each site, but the lack of suggestions caused a high level of anxiety. On balance, however, it seems necessary for program disseminators to leave a good deal of latitude for local adaptation and invention to ensure that a program's major components can be implemented without clashing with entrenched local practices.

Notwithstanding the need for latitude in operational details, there are some differences in practices between the CIP demonstration sites and the prototype. Basically, they have come about in three ways. Some have resulted from decisions to vary procedures or staffing arrangements. These intentional changes were made because staff members felt they would improve the CIP design or accommodate local conditions. An example of a change made to improve the program design was the development of a new procedure for holding disposition conferences. A change to accommodate local conditions was a decision to enroll only potential dropouts, rather than a mix of actual and potential dropouts, in order to gain LEA cooperation.

A second set of changes was unintentionally brought about by community characteristics or implementation events. For instance, non-competitive salaries and lack of time made it necessary for the local OICs to hire staff members who were not as highly qualified or experienced as recommended by OIC/A. Likewise, the evaluation design's requirements for randomly selected control groups and enrollment of interns in cohorts rather than individually made recruitment difficult. Other factors leading to unintentional differences from the design were ineffective leadership, pressures of start-up, and differing perceptions of the design specifications.

Finally, there are differences between the CIP prototype and the replications that reflect the developmental status of the program in the sites, frequently exacerbated by earlier problems. One such difference is the extent to which academic and career orientations have been "fused" in curricula. Not enough time had yet passed for this integration to have been completed prior to the last site observations, both because it is an iterative, demanding task and because earlier events, such as involving instructors heavily in recruitment at some points, diverted attention from this task. Another example, discussed later, relates to the evaluation of the kind of program climate the CIPs eventually hope to establish. As the sites continue to operate, these differences will diminsh, if current trends continue.

Several factors account for the substantial fidelity to original CIP practices in the sites. The first is the broad nature of the design itself. In essence, the CIP design describes a number of components, such as an instructional program, but leaves many of the details of these components up to the sites to infer or invent. Moreover, since the components are, at the level of specificity described, eminently reasonable in terms of the CIP objectives, it was not very difficult for the sites to adhere to the original design. Thus the broad nature and common sense of the program design itself assured fairly substantial fidelity.

Second, the ethos of the OIC system contributed heavily to the sites' espousal of the program design. Two characteristics of the OIC system that work toward acceptance of ideas, procedures, and programs from OIC/A are most often mentioned by CIP and OIC staff members. First, the charisma of OIC's founder and spiritual leader, Dr. Sullivan, permeates the organization, and rubs off on OIC programs. If an idea has his imprimatur--as the CIP does--it is almost guaranteed wide acceptance within the system. Second, the OIC system has a very impressive record of success. This record paves the way for new programs or ideas, assuring that anything emanating from OIC/A will be given serious trial by system members.

A third reinforcement to fidelity is the very fact of setting up a new organization. The dynamics of institution building according to a "blueprint" motivate adherence to a basic design and set of goals. The fact that the organization is new also eliminates the threats to established structures and procedures.

There were, of course, other factors contributing to the sites' willingness to implement the CIP according to its prototypical design. The local OICs' contracts with OIC/A specifically stipulated that no changes could be made without prior acquiescence from OIC/A. Furthermore, whereas the sites did not have experience with establishing and operating an alternative school, OIC/A did, so the locals acceded to the superior specific expertise of the national office. However, in instance after instance, CIP and local OIC staff members mentioned the intrinsic common sense of the general approach and their faith in the system as the most fundamental reasons for accepting the basic CIP configuration.

Nevertheless, there are two aspects in which the new sites generally did not conform to the model of the CIP--program climate and attendance. It might be questioned whether the earlier statement that the sites have substantially implemented the program according to the design could be accurate if the climate has not developed appropriately and if interns are not attending as anticipated.

The finding that program components have been implemented so they are functioning appropriately is based, however, on a somewhat mechanistic view. It is rather like looking at an automobile to see if its parts are working, and finding that, separately, all seem to be performing fairly well. Nevertheless, the car as a whole is not operating at maximum efficiency and performance. Some fine tuning is necessary for all the parts to operate in a coordinated manner and give a smoother, trouble-free ride. At this point, the analogy breaks down, because whereas a good mechanic could probably jiggle the whazzit and turn the widget to get top performance from the auto, it appears that what the CIP sites need most is additional time, with some assurance of a constant fuel supply, so the staffs can stabilize their operations and begin functioning more as teams than they have to this point. That is to say, we find that the components of the CIPs are generally in place and functioning in ways that approximate the model, but the tumultuous events of the demonstration have not allowed the staffs to consolidate their programs as fully as will be necessary for full maturity of the CIPs to evolve.

No program achieves smooth and mature operation in its developmental stages. Any demonstration of a "proven" program in a new place with a new staff is a developmental effort. Further, the political context and other pressures of the demonstration have accentuated the normal start-up and "working-the-bugs-out" problems. For these reasons the program climate in the CIPs has not yet matured, though it is, as attested by virtually every intern questioned, superior to the climate in the public schools. A typical intern remark about climate was:

> I feel they are with you instead of against you because in public school really the teachers are not worried about the students--all they're worried about is whether they can pay the light bill or when they can get their car note paid up . . . and they don't give us as much attention as the teachers do here; not attention as far as babying you--I mean real help.

Nevertheless, the climate in the demonstration sites is, to varying degrees, less cohesive and supportive, and therefore, less warm and enticing, than was reported about the original CIP. Furthermore, there are manifestations of program climate at two levels--that perceived by interns and that perceived by staff members. The climate at the staff level has not been perceived as positively as at the intern level, but it is seen as improving. As one staff member put it:

> There's friction and conflict among staff. We don't all get along all the time--lots of different ideas and opinions--some hard feelings. Especially between those who support the administration and those who don't--factions. So you might say we're not together yet--you know as a solid team. And the kids can tell. They know, and it makes them uncomfortable. So some leave and some come just once in awhile. But it's not as much as it was, in the beginning. A few more months and we'll get it together. That's just the way it is with so many people. You got to give 'em time to feel each other out. We all--almost all--believe in what we're trying to do. We just have different ideas about how. But with time we'll come together. We're getting close.

That the desired program climate has not yet fully evolved reflects the very sensitive and complex nature of this intangible characteristic and the problems the sites encountered getting the program going. In the CIP replication sites, there has been both an inadequate amount of time for stable climate to emerge and a great deal of pressure and uncertainty associated with implementation. In addition, each site experienced at least some intra-staff disagreement about policies and procedures and some turnover among leadership positions. Only one site has the same director it started with, and no site has all three original management personnel (director, instructional supervisor, and counseling supervisor). These changes in leadership and other staff turnovers have also detracted from program stability, setting back the evolution of program climate.

Under these conditions, a finding that the ultimately desired climate has not yet been achieved is not surprising, nor is it especially distressing. In fact, over the past several months, as staffs have stabilized, program climate has made marked improvements in the sites, and indications are that the improvements will continue.

Attendance in three of the four demonstration sites is lower than desired, ranging on the average from 40% to 65%. In the fourth site daily attendance is at or near the 70% maintained in the prototype site. We believe the difference between the three sites reporting low attendance and the one reporting satisfactory attendance is related to corresponding findings about climate, staff stability, and leadership.

Moreover, there is some question about the validity of the reported attendance rates, because of the way they are computed. The attendance rate is the ratio of interns present on a given day versus the total CIP enrollment (the number of interns who accepted placement into the CIP minus the number of official terminations). Thus, if a site had enrolled 100 interns at the beginning of a term and 15 had officially withdrawn, the enrollment base would be 85. On a given day, if 45 interns attended, the attendance rate would be computed as 53% (45/85). However, on the basis of the number of interns who could be contacted for the second (mid-) test session, RMC believes that actual enrollment is substantially below the official enrollment. For instance, in one site (in the middle of the attrition range) 96 interns were reported to have enrolled in cohort 3, but only 44 could be contacted to come in for midtesting. This represents an attrition rate, after four months, of 54%. Most interns who could be located for testing were actually attending CIP classes. On the basis of this statistic (and similar ones in the other sites), we believe the attendance rate reported by the sites reflects not low attendance of the interns really participating but high attrition that is de facto but not official. There appears to be a substantial number of interns who have actually dropped out of the CIP but have not officially withdrawn.

Of course, this strong suspicion only shifts concern from attendance rates to attrition. If large numbers of interns are dropping out of the CIP, what are the reasons? Though answers to this question are necessarily inferential and open to different interpretations, we believe there are two fundamental causes.

First, the program climate in the CIPs, though significantly better than that in the public schools, has not been motivating enough to capture many interns' loyalty to the CIP. Second, there is probably a systematic difference between the interns in the demonstration sites and those who participated in the prototype. As OIC/A noted in a letter to DOL, "in order to meet numbers requirements [for enrollment] . . . the sites relaxed normal screening procedures," and therefore "there is a disproportionate number of interns . . . who are probably not ideal candidates for the program."[1] This assessment applies not only to interns' academic achievement, but to their motivation as well. It was clear in talking with interns that many enrolled in the CIPs to get away from the public schools, rather than to move to a program that offered a more realistic and compatible learning environment. Then, when the CIP was not "perfect," they left it, too. Many interns who dropped out of CIP, this situation implies, did so because their motivations for enrolling in the first place were escapist and unrealistic. It is noteworthy that other programs directed at this youth population have also experienced high attrition. Moreover, a characteristic of dropouts is a high level of difficulty in re-entering formal organizations. Whereas the original CIP had 32% actual dropouts, the demonstration sites have 47%.

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[1] OIC/A letter to DOL, 31 July 1979.

In summary, there have been few changes to the CIP in the new sites, owing principally to the broad, logical nature of the design and belief in the OIC ethos, among other factors. There are a few differences between the four new CIPs and the prototype that reflect implementors' desires to improve procedures or accommodate local contexts. There are also unintentional differences related to contextual characteristics and implementation events. Other differences exist because of the developmental status of the CIPs. Finally, there are differences between the program climate and the intern attendance rates in the demonstration sites and those in the original site. RMC believes the climate difference is related to the amount of time the sites have so far been in operation and to internal situations in the CIPs. Reportedly, depressed attendance is believed to be more related to attrition than to actual attendance, and, in turn attrition is felt to be related to both program climate and intern characteristics. Finally, both program climate and attendance/attrition are improving, and promise to continue to do so.

Are the Changes, if any, Improvements

Since CIP outcomes in the demonstration sites are as yet undetermined and since specific relationships between CIP processes and outcomes remain hazy, it is premature to say now whether specific changes are in fact improvements, that is, have led to improved outcomes. The approach to addressing this question, therefore, has been to assess whether identified changes have been adaptive or maladaptive in terms of enabling CIP functions to be performed.

As the previous section describes, there are three general reasons the new CIPs differ from the prototype. Differences reflect intentional adaptations, unintentional consequences of situations, or program development. In assessing whether changes or differences are adaptive or maladaptive, we have focused on only the first two categories--intentional changes and unintended differences. Differences reflecting the programs' development, while they are generally undesirable, as described in the discussions of program climate and intern attendance/attrition, are also still in flux. Therefore, conclusions about their adaptiveness would likely be obsolete shortly after being made.

Intentional changes have been made to both program procedures and staffing arrangements. Changes to procedures were made to facilitate accomplishing intended functions and have generally resulted in more effective functioning of the affected components, for instance, intern diagnosis and assessment. On the other hand, most of the changes to staffing arrangements were introduced to accommodate local contexts, such as hiring LEA teachers for CIP positions or creating a new position to make the CIP staff structure more compatible with the local OIC structure. These changes have not generally been adaptive in the long run, though they seemed to facilitate implementation at the time they were made. This is primarily because the staff restructuring left some tasks--for instance planning in-service training programs--either unassigned or ambiguously allocated. Substantial duplication of effort was one consequence. As time has passed, the tasks have gradually been assigned to new positions or reaffirmed for the original roles, but slippage occurred and implementation of the affected program components was delayed. Thus, though the changes may have been necessary to get the CIPs operating, some undesirable fallout has occurred, slowing overall progress in implementation.

Unintentional changes forced on the CIPs by implementation events, produced primarily negative consequences. For instance, because they could not recruit enough interns with the desired reading abilities, sites had to enroll interns who could not read well enough to handle the CIP curriculum. In turn, this added to instructional burdens, retarded curriculum development, and probably increased attrition. Many of these changes resulted from the very short start-up period allowed by the implementation schedule.

Of the differences between the CIP design and the four demonstration programs, only those purposefully introduced in order to make procedures more efficient or better focused appear to have been uniformly adaptive. The changes deliberately made to staffing arrangements have created ambiguities in operation and have led to some role conflicts. Though staffing changes initially facilitated some implementation processes, their long-term outcomes indicate that their likely effects were insufficiently anticipated. Finally, the effects of differences occasioned by implementation events have virtually all been maladaptive.

Overall, what happened to the CIP in the course of its implementation was consistent with findings of previous research. After 21 months, the CIP is recognizably operating in all four sites, with modifications undertaken to facilitate operational processes, to conform to contextual constraints, or in response to implementation events. Some adaptations have yielded good results, while others have had negative consequences. Additional time will be necessary in three sites before the desired program climate evolves, but trends in operations point to the eventual maturity of this characteristic. On balance, RMC's assessment is that the CIP has been put into operation in a form consistent with program goals and functions, but it needs some additional time to develop to full operational maturity.

Is the Process of Implementation More Effective Through a System such as OIC?

The previous section addressed the first part of the first concern about implementing the CIP--how "well" can the CIP approach be implemented? In general, the conclusion is that it can be implemented well. This section broaches the second part of that concern--how "readily" can the CIP be implemented? This concern for "how readily" implies a comparison, for there are diverse ways in which the CIP could have been disseminated. In addition, the specific RFP question on this issue explicitly asks for a comparison "to the processes of utilization and dissemination through the usual developer-public school linkages." This is an important question, for an answer to it could be very helpful in designing future dissemination and implementation strategies. However, two aspects of the CIP replication effort make a comparative assessment of the implementation process difficult.

In the first place, no parallel CIP dissemination effort is underway through the "usual developer-public school linkages." This restricts comparison largely to a hypothetical realm, drawing on instances where other substantially different types of programs were disseminated. With such cases, information about dissemination effectiveness is sparse, though studies of Project Information Package dissemination and of the National Diffusion Network do offer some relevant data.[2]

Second, and perhaps more important, there is strong reason to believe the implementation processes followed by OIC in the present demonstration were very different from the ones they would follow if they were to undertake the same effort again. Any agency's first attempt at any task must be regarded as a questionable index of its ultimate performance potential. While the OIC system is justifiably highly regarded for the ability to disseminate and implement manpower-development programs, there are significant differences involved in the CIP demonstration because of the program's complexity and dependence on other agencies, notably the LEAs. On the other hand, while it can be assumed that OIC would perform more effectively in the role of disseminator should the occasion arise again in the future, one can only speculate as to how great the improvement might be.

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[2] A study of the dissemination and implementation of Experience-Based Career Education, a set of programs similar to the CIP, is in progress by the Huron Institute. Unfortuantely, its results are not yet available. Evaluations of EBCE program sites do not address implementation issues (ETS, 1976; 1977).

Because direct comparisons of dissemination effectiveness between OIC and the usual developer-public school linkage were not possible, two alternate approaches toward gaining relevant insights were attempted. First, after comparing the characteristics of the OIC system with those of the usual developer-public school linkage, inferences were drawn regarding specific dissemination tasks at which OIC-like systems ought to perform particularly effectively or ineffectively. These inferences were then examined through comparison with observed events.

Second, the CIP dissemination strategy and events were compared to several models of educational dissemination advanced in the literature, in order to test the model. Presumably, if the OIC approach were found to conform closely to one of these models, the empirical results of the demonstration would provide useful evidence to confirm that model's validity. In such a case, that model could then be used to plan future dissemination efforts.

Among the characteristics of the OIC system that differ from those of the usual linkages are its higher degree of centralized authority, its commitment to a common set of goals and procedures, and less systemic bureaucratization due both to the presence of fewer organizational boundaries and to the fact that the OIC system is private rather than governmental. It was hypothesized that these differences would, in combination, make it easier for the OIC system to implement a specific program design efficiently. In general, this hypothesis was not supported. That is, the CIP dissemination seems to have encountered no fewer problems than other dissemination efforts. It is not clear whether the problem lay with the OIC organization or with other factors. There were so many confounding factors--such as uncontrollable LEA and community reactions to the program--that it simply was not possible to isolate the effects of systemic features. Nevertheless, the hypothesis continues to appear plausible to the authors. (The earlier discussion of OIC characteristics reinforcing fidelity to the program design is germane to this issue.)

Another advantage hypothesized for the OIC system was its highly positive image within the intended target population. It was posited that, as a well known community-based organization, OIC would be able to obtain youth participation more readily than the public schools. As discussed earlier, however, major recruiting difficulties were encountered. Again, it could not be determined whether these difficulties should be taken as evidence that the hypothesis was invalid. Furthermore, other YEDPA programs have also encountered major recruitment problems. The ability of the OICs to generate awareness of the CIP and to get support for the program was evidenced by the reactions of community leaders to requests for help in recruiting youth and providing Hands-On opportunities. However, there were several factors--time, the evaluation design, LEA reluctance to help, inexperience, inadequate planning--that had strong negative effects. Without these negative influences, it is quite possible that the hypothesis would have been supported.

The hypothesis that several characteristics of the OIC system--and by extrapolation other closely knit networks of community-based organizations--would enable it to be relatively more effective in disseminating an educational program than the normal developer-public school linkages could not be directly assessed. Nevertheless, RMC is confident that the OIC system was no less effective, especially in the face of the constraints it encountered. The hypothesis still appears reasonable and plausible, and our sense of the OIC system and our knowledge of other dissemination systems leads us to conclude that the hypothesis would be supported if it were tested directly.

The attempt to use the CIP demonstration as a test of various models of educational dissemination proved only partially fruitful. First, upon examination, it was found that no extant model closely resembled the OIC approach. All adequately documented models of educational dissemination appear implicitly to assume that public schools will be the program implementors. This difference from the OIC approach is sufficient, by itself, to raise serious questions regarding the usefulness of any comparison. A second major problem was that all extant models assume the program disseminators to be highly knowledgeable and experienced in public-school operations and school-program dissemination and implementation--an assumption not initially true of the OIC staff. Nevertheless, certain aspects of some models in the literature did coincide with certain aspects of the OIC strategy and process. These aspects are discussed in Part 2. In general, none of the models was validated or refuted in toto by the CIP dissemination.

In summary, the dissemination and implementation of the CIP provided little empirical evidence about the OIC system's effectiveness as a dissemination mechanism relative to other systems.

Though hindered by external constraints and guided more by pragmatic considerations and knowledge of the OIC system than by dissemination theory or by what has been learned through past dissemination efforts, OIC did implement the program. No existing dissemination model proved especially useful in assessing the effectiveness of the OIC approach and many of the presumed advantages of the OIC system were prevented from operating because other factors intervened to undermine them. Clearly OIC would do an even better job of program dissemination if called upon to fill that role again. While they can offer little tangible evidence to support their position, the authors believe that OIC would be more effective than the usual developer-public school partnership in disseminating programs like the CIP. It is clear that OIC has been no less effective.

The CIP Implementation Process

Looking at the specific subquestions proposed by the RFP for Task A has yielded some useful information about the replication of the CIP. Beyond the issues involved in this particular demonstration, there is also a concern about the broad topic of program dissemination and implementation that can be investigated by viewing the CIP demonstration as a single case study in educational diffusion.

The findings related to the specific subquestions discussed earlier revealed a number of problems encountered by OIC/A and the four CIP staffs that made dissemination and implementation more difficult than anticipated, and retarded full program implementation. Some of these problems have been resolved, and some continue to affect operations. The following points, categorized by topic, are felt to have affected the demonstration effort significantly. These factors were interactive and cumulative in their impact, so some redundancy is evident in the discussion. The points should be viewed as an integrated group when assessing their relevance to future dissemination planning.

Time and Timing

The effects of time (duration) and timing on the CIP demonstration have been critical. A brief review of the schedule of events illustrates this point. The YEDPA legislation was enacted in August 1977. In September, OIC/A made its first tentative contacts with local OICs, telling them of the strong possibility for a demonstration program and suggesting they should prepare to respond to the opportunity if it eventuated. However, no specific or concrete promises could be made, as DOL and NIE had not yet reached agreement. In early November, the DOL-NIE Interagency Agreement was signed, setting the formal operation into progress. Meanwhile, OIC/A, still not able to offer specific assurances that anything would come of it, had requested local OICs to submit information about their qualifications to be demonstration sites. After DOL and NIE had reached agreement and the money to operate the demonstration had been allocated to NIE from DOL, NIE was able to enter into a contract with OIC/A. Only then could OIC/A negotiate subcontracts with the four local OICs that demonstrated the highest capabilities to adopt the CIP. The OIC/A-local OIC contracts became effective 15 December 1977.

The DOL-NIE agreement stipulated that the CIPs were to begin serving students in January 1978. Thus, the local OICs had, formally, seven weeks at the most to accomplish a vast array of planning and preparation tasks--staff recruitment and training, intern recruitment, selection and preparation of a facility, acquistion of materials, review and coordination of the CIP curriculum to integrate it into the local LEA curricula, and securing LEA and teachers' union permissions to operate. Similarly, OIC/A had to plan and deliver start-up training and technical assistance and coordination in the same time frame. Not surprisingly, the severe schedule created an atmosphere of high pressure and anxiety for all the OIC actors. Inevitably, decisions were made in haste and preparations were not as thorough as the complexity and delicacy of the demonstration warranted. This beginning had persistent effects.

Two findings relate to the time allowed for various dissemination and implementation activities; one refers to the timing of the demonstration relative to other events in the replication-site communities. First, adequate time was not allowed to OIC/A and the sites for careful planning and preparation prior to full-scale operation. Several activities were either not accomplished at all or done hurriedly and incompletely because the sites were expected to start serving interns within seven weeks of signing their contracts. This shortage of time severely affected many activities, such as staff selection and training, intern recruitment, materials procurement, and curriculum review. The sites were not truly ready to begin operation when the first interns arrived.

Second, not enough time was allowed for program operation to become stable before formal evaluation was imposed on the CIPs. The CIPs were exposed to visitors--from NIE, RMC, and OIC/A--asking questions and observing activities before the staff members had had a chance to become familiar and comfortable with their tasks, with the CIP design and procedures, and with each other. The visits were very unnerving, anxiety-provoking, and probably unfair to both the sites and the evaluation. This is not to say that the early stages of the demonstration should have been closed to inquiry. On the contrary, there are many issues of importance to be investigated during the early stages of implementation, from initial decision making about adoption through planning and preparation and into operation. However, such investigation could have been designed to be less disruptive to implementation progress by, for instance, including a research/documentation component in the implementation sites.

These points about too little time being allowed for planning, preparation, and pre-evaluation operation raise the question about how much time should have been granted the sites. A recommendation about this issue should, however, be empirically based on study of an implementation in which more appropriate strategies were used. In short, the CIP implementation demonstrates that adequate time was not allowed, but does not give clear, specific guidance as to how much time ought to be allowed. In addition, such a recommendation would vary in relation to many factors--program complexity, degree of dependence on other actors outside the program, and others.

Relative to timing, the calendars of relevant other programs or institutions in the replication-site communities were not adequately considered in the demonstration during its first year. As one example, staff members for the CIPs were hurriedly recruited at a time when the regular school year was in progress, which restricted the pool of available instructional personnel to those who had recently moved to the area, had not been able to find positions in the public schools, or were otherwise not employed.

The time and timing of the implementation schedule thus were far from optimal for facilitating the demonstration. Not enough time was allotted for the crucial tasks of planning and preparation, nor for pre-evaluation operation (a "shakedown" period). In consequence, tasks were done incompletely or even neglected, decisions were made hastily and prematurely, and a sense of crisis pervaded the CIP sites. Naturally these occurrences were detrimental. OIC/A, which has a justified reputation for quickly developing and installing new programs, was unable to counteract the impact of too little time for judicious preparation. Similarly, the mismatch between the CIP implementation schedule and the calendars of other institutions in the four communities--primarily the school systems--hindered implementation.

Agency Roles

The multiplicity of roles assigned to the various agencies involved in the demonstration also affected implementation. Four agencies had multiple roles--most explicitly assigned, some de facto--which created confusion. The most salient of these multiple roles involved OIC/A, which was given technical assistance, monitoring/evaluating, and funding responsibilities. At times this was very confusing to the CIP staffs. For instance, staff members expressed reluctance to ask OIC/A for help because such requests could be interpreted as admissions of problems they did not want OIC/A, in its role as monitor, to know they were having. The multiplicity of roles thus had a retarding effect on getting the CIPs to full operational status.

The complexity of the demonstration's organizational structure--involving local OICs, CIPs, OIC/A, NIE, DOL, and RMC--also tended to make communication links overly intricate, indirect, unclear, and differently perceived by different actors. This situation had the effect of delaying and obfuscating messages, especially to the local OICs and the CIPs. It also had the effect of complicating decision making, resulting in delays and ambiguity.

Another finding was that the LEAs resented their minimal roles in the implementation. Though this was an almost unavoidable consequence of the time constraints, it nevertheless had strong repercussions. In the beginning the LEAs were asked to give blanket approval for the program, to give the CIP free access to school-district records and students, and to provide in-kind resources without participating in planning or advising the operation. Further, the LEAs did not understand the CIP very well. Consequently, three LEAs took a long time to begin acting on necessary permissions and logistical arrangements, particularly when teachers' unions raised objections to the program in two sites. A more participatory role for the LEAs almost certainly would have given them more feelings of ownership and quality control, in turn leading to fewer obstacles to full implementation.

In addition to affecting the progress of implementation, there is another potentially serious consequence of multiple roles for NIE. The possibility exists that, because the same office in NIE has been responsible for managing both the operation and evaluation of the demonstration effort, the results would be viewed with some suspicion. The credibility of results is just as important as the actual findings in an enterprise such as the CIP demonstration. On principle, a situation in which the same unit of an agency manages both operations and evaluation invites skepticism about the validity of the evaluation conclusions.

Personnel

Two findings about personnel emerge from analysis of the overall implementation process. The local OICs obtained letters of general support and goodwill from the LEAs when they conducted their feasibility studies. These letters were accepted by the local OICs, OIC/A, and NIE as evidence that LEA cooperation and assistance would be forthcoming in such vital areas as recruitment and program approval. When implementation later began, the anticipated cooperation failed to materialize in specific tasks. Only then was action taken to orient the LEAs in more detail and push them into translating the earlier high-level expressions of goodwill into concrete working procedures at the middle-management and school levels. The stringent legislative deadline for initiating demonstration-program operations was clearly an important factor here. But RMC believes the delay in mobilizing active LEA cooperation also partly reflected a lack of awareness of some issues in school-program dissemination at the local OIC, OIC/A, and NIE levels. All actors are now clearly aware of these issues, but during the initial period, this exacerbated the difficulties inherent in any dissemination and implementation effort. For example, earlier perception of the complexity of getting active LEA participation in recruitment could have led to fewer difficulties in meeting enrollment quotas. Considerable delay and frustration might have thus been avoided.

This finding does not imply that OIC's reputation for fast, effective implementation of programs is undeserved. It does point out the fundamental qualitative difference between mounting implementation efforts within an organization's own boundaries and doing so when the active support and cooperation of additional, uncontrolled agencies (in this case, the LEAs and teachers' associations) are required to effect full operation.

The second personnel-related finding is that the local OICs often appointed people to CIP positions who were less qualified and experienced than the program design called for. To a great extent this was due to the short time the OICs had for recruiting personnel. Another important factor was the use of the OIC salary scale for CIP positions, rather than the higher school-district scales. The low salaries tended to make people with relevant experience unwilling to work in the CIP. Nevertheless, underqualified, inexperienced people were appointed to the CIP staffs, including to leadership roles. The results were inability to perform some required tasks and establish the appropriate program elements as well as a high rate of staff turnover during the demonstration.

Training and Technical Assistance

In this area it is difficult to arrive at conclusions precisely because the viewpoints of the different sets of actors are so disparate. In addition, RMC was not able to observe initial training sessions as they were completed before the evaluation contract was signed.

Materials and training programs used by OIC/A to orient and train the new CIP staffs were developed without assistance from outside the original project. Therefore the program was not scrutinized and described from an outsider's perspective. In other program-dissemination efforts, it has been found very useful to have an outsider's viewpoint involved in describing a program and devising training materials for new users, simply because insiders tend to forget that tasks they perform as second nature were complex and difficult to learn initially. They thus tend to describe incompletely how the program operates, how its different components fit together, and how detailed and sequenced training materials should be.

Training was felt by the CIP staffs to be insufficiently clear regarding program specifics. This perception by the site staffs is understandable. They were very anxious about getting the program underway and would have been greatly reassured by exact operational prescriptions. On the other hand, OIC/A's intention was not to dictate the details to the sites, as they knew local adaptation would be necessary. From OIC/A's perspective, therefore, the lack of specificity was necessary to allow the sites to respond to local considerations. Nevertheless, previous research has demonstrated the advisability of giving new users of an innovation highly structured and specific "how-to" information. Doing so allows the new users to progress to routine use of new practices without worrying about the correctness of their application. Once familiar with normal operational procedures, users begin to adapt and do not need the structure provided by detailed instructions. More detail, at least about internal aspects of the CIP (e.g., instructional methods), would have facilitated staff members' mastery of their respective tasks and been reassuring to them.

In regard to training and technical assistance offered by OIC/A after the start-up period, the site staffs were generally pleased. OIC/A staff members were unanimously praised for both the content of their consultations and the ways in which they dealt with CIP staff members. This was not so only because the information OIC/A conveyed to the CIPs was somewhat more specific than in the early stages. It also reflects, we feel, the lowering of anxieties in the sites about specific "how-to" issues as they became more familiar with CIP operation.

Perceived Design Inflexibility

During the early stages of the demonstration, OIC/A was perceived by the sites as adamant in insisting on very close adherence to the CIP design, even though the design was not very specific about many issues. It was written into the local OIC's subcontracts that any proposed changes to the design had to be submitted in writing for OIC/A approval. This contractual specification raised the possibility OIC/A could refuse to accept--that is, might rescind or complicate by insisting on reversal--local decisions about how to implement the program. Local autonomy in operations was thus put in jeopardy in the minds of the site staffs, adding to their uncertainty about how to proceed. OIC/A's attitude toward local adaptations seems to have been misperceived by the CIP staffs. It may never have been as strict as the local OICs perceived it. However, local perception of OIC/A insistence created anxiety and hesitation during the early months.

This finding may seem to contradict what was reported earlier about the broad nature of the CIP design and OIC/A's initial expectation that the local staffs would have to adapt, adjust, refine, and invent specific program aspects. Indeed, in the sites' perceptions it was just this gap between their perception of OIC/A's insistence on fidelity to the program design and the paucity of detailed "how-to" information that created much anxiety. In OIC/A's view, their insistence was directed toward adherence to the CIP's goals and implementation of functions--such as having some mechanism for effective class scheduling--not toward exact duplication of the means used to accomplish them. Unfortunately, the sites, in their anxiousness about "how-to," heard the insistence as applying to specifics, and felt they should have been provided with details of OIC/A was going to be so strict about fidelity. It took several months for this misunderstanding to be cleared up, during which hard feelings and resentment developed. As OIC/A and the sites began to see more accurately each others' positions and as the site staffs became more confident, these feelings dissipated. Also, OIC/A began giving assistance to the sites on specific issues, not so much to provide answers as to facilitate the sites' own development of resolutions. Currently, relations between the sites and OIC/A are positive, and the sites, with OIC/A's assistance, have generally effected solutions to the issues that loomed so large in the early months of implementation.

Evaluation Issues

The first finding about the impact of the evaluation on implementation is the reverse side of one of the time-related findings: formal evaluation began too early. In the original site, program planning and development began in the spring of 1972. The first group of interns entered in October 1972. Preliminary course materials were tested and refined during 1973 and 1974. Formative evaluation of operations began in January 1974. "Between September 1974 and February 1975, program leadership, structure, and content stabilized" (Gibboney, 1977, p. 14).

Summative evaluation "to assess major results, to provide data . . . on the quality of . . . implementation, and to document how the program was completed" (Gibboney, 1977, p. v) commenced in March 1975, continuing through February 1976.

In the demonstration sites, program planning and development began in December 1977. The first interns were scheduled to enter in January 1978, though the actual intakes were in February, March, April, and June. Course materials have been in continuous development since the beginning. Formative evaluation by OIC/A began immediately, and formal "program audits" were performed in December 1978. Summative evaluation began with the appointment of RMC in April 1978. The first official site visits by RMC were conducted in May and June 1978. Further, the first involvement of evaluators in the sites was obtrusive. The frequency of observations by OIC/A, NIE, and DOL, as well as RMC, added to the generally tense atmosphere of implementation and put the CIP staff members on the defensive when they should have been consolidating program operations. It would have been possible to design a research component into the implementation to study the same issues without impinging on operations.

Second, the control-group evaluation design had a negative impact on recruiting potential interns because many youth and parents were unwilling to apply to the CIP knowing they could be assigned to a control group. Particularly since there were unfilled intern positions, the control-group design smacked of the sort of social experimentation that raises the hopes of disadvantaged persons only to leave them with no tangible services or other benefits. Under those conditions, a significant number of potential interns simply did not seek admission. This left the program substantially underenrolled, the reputations of the local OICs tarnished, and the evaluation objectives in jeopardy.

Another artifact of the control-group design was that, whereas in the prototype program an open-entry policy--individual interns entering when ready--was in effect during the first seven months (October 1972-April 1973) of operation, the demonstration CIPs have operated from their start with interns entering in cohorts. This grouping of interns is not in keeping with the development of the prototype, and made it necessary for interns to accelerate or delay their participation arbitrarily and at some inconvenience to them. The prototype open-entry policy during development made access more convenient, and no one had to wait for participation or take the chance of being rejected. Only later, when the CIP had established a reputation in the community and the evaluation was conducted, did interns enter in groups. By that time there were more applicants than program slots, so the inconvenience and the possibility of rejection did not seem so arbitrary. The difference between applying this enrollment procedure after the CIP had become a respected and desirable community institution and applying it from the outset had a strong impact on recruitment in the demonstration sites, and on the evaluation.

A third damaging aspect of the evaluation design was the stipulation of the number of interns the sites had to enroll in both treatment and control groups. All sites, which ranged in population from 30,000 to several million, had to enroll the same number of interns--300--and controls. In addition, OIC/A's contracts with the sites specified that the first cohort, due to be in place seven weeks after contract award, was to consist of 150 interns and have an equal-size control group. This expectation was grossly unrealistic. As it happened, none of the sites was able to come close to this size cohort and none obtained any controls. Moreover, no site actually started its first cohort by the end of January 1978. The pressure to get such large groups quickly however, exacerbated the anxieties of the CIP staffs, and OIC/A's, NIE's, and DOL's disappointment that such numbers could not be obtained further disheartened the staffs.

Finally, the entry requirements of a fifth-grade reading level and prior accumulation of enough credits to complete the high school curriculum by the end of the demonstration period restricted the pool of applicants in the early months. In contrast, during the first seven months in Philadelphia, "there were no limitations on either the number of interns or their qualifications. Virtually anyone who applied was accepted" (Gibboney, 1977, p. 27). The Gibboney report goes on:

> When the experimental design was instituted, several new factors were introduced into the recruitment process. First, only students with a minimum fifth grade reading level were admitted. In addition, the design called for a specific number of admissions, plus a large pool of qualified applicants to constitute a control group. Thus, the sheer number of applicants had to be significantly larger than before. Furthermore, admission under the new design required a full day of interviewing and testing with no guarantee that an applicant would be chosen, even though qualfied to enter the school. This had a discouraging effect on potential interns (p. 27).

Not surprisingly, "many [applicants] were judged to be unqualified for admission." The "net result was that there were not enough qualified applicants" (p. 27). The same effect was observed in the demonstration sites, probabaly intensified because the CIPs were not yet known in the communities.

After almost a year (December 5, 1978) DOL reduced the total number of interns and controls for the demonstration and the sites were able to enroll enough interns for the last cohort to achieve the revised quota, at the expense of ignoring almost all other program activities for a time. If the sites are able to retain significant numbers of their present enrollment, the evaluation purposes of the demonstration will be fulfilled. However, constant pressure to meet the quotas--"get the numbers"--has had massive effects on staff morale, relationships among the involved agencies, and progress in implementation.

Summary

Viewed as a case study in program dissemination and implementation, the CIP demonstration has yielded a number of findings that corroborate earlier studies. (These studies are cited in Chapter VII.) In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the various implementation issues were very much intertwined and cumulative in their effects on the CIP demonstration. Time--or rather the lack of time--had a major effect on implementation. Insufficient preparation, hastily assembled staffs, and underenrolled first cohorts all resulted, in major degree, from the underallotment of time for planning and preparation, though other factors were also at work. The timing of the start of the program in the sites was also inappropriate relative to LEA calendars. The miscoordination with LEA schedules created difficulties in recruitment of staff members and interns. Problems related to time and timing permeated the demonstration.

Agency roles, by their multiplicity and in the complexity of the demonstration's structure, made decision making cumbersome and time consuming. The experience and qualifications of the staff members initially appointed to the CIPs were not appropriate. Most staff-related problems have now been resolved, through the experience gained in the replication effort or by replacement, but implementation was retarded in the early months of the demonstration by the appointment of underqualified personnel, especially at the local site level. Misperception of the specificity of training and technical assistance necessary to meet the technical and affective needs of the site staffs created initial difficulties, but later events and increasing familiarity resolved these difficulties.

Confusion on the issue of local adaptations to the CIP design initially caused miscommunications between OIC/A and the sites. This was resolved, like the issue of training and technical assistance, as the sites and OIC/A became more aware of each others' needs, styles, and intentions. Finally, the evaluation design itself created problems for implementation. Some of these problems have been resolved or no longer matter because of the passage of time, but several effects linger as a result of the constraints the evaluation put on operations in the early stages of implementation.

These issues each hindered the demonstration effort. The authors recognize that the preceding discussion could therefore influence the reader's perception of the CIP implementation negatively. This is not our intent, for at this point, regardless of the frequency or magnitude of problems brought about by some of the issues identified, there are now functional programs operating in the four demonstration sites. It is unfortunate that in conducting research of this type, the instances of things not going according to plan stand out. While the issues discussed above point to insufficiencies and pitfalls in the CIP demonstration, there were also examples of a positive nature in the implementation. For instance, the site that earliest achieved the desired program climate and attendance was (and still is) directed by a person frequently characterized--only partially tongue-in-cheek--as arbitrary and unyielding by staff members and interns alike. Nevertheless, this director, the only one of the original four still left, has pulled the site through some low times, perhaps purely because of strength and "arbitrariness" of character, and is highly respected by both staff members and interns. Though one case is too small a sample from which to generalize, it may be that this director's style and willingness to be characterized unfavorably are necessary to pull off successful establishment of such a program as the CIP.

The authors believe that readers will appreciate the fact that issues and examples of negative effect are presented not to demonstrate the failure of implementation--because implementation clearly has not been a failure--but because the nature of the research process calls them to attention. By pointing out the factors we feel have most seriously impinged on the CIP demonstration, we intend to direct more careful attention to them in the future. The fact is that, though we point out issues that caused difficulty for the CIP demonstration, we have been tremendously impressed by the ability of the four sites and the OIC/A staff to "get it together" in a frequently unpropitious context. The recommendations presented in the next chapter are intended to help build on the successes of the demonstration so the problems faced by OIC/A and the local OIC and CIP staffs can be avoided in the future.

IV. DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has ambitious goals. Not only does it ask what changes, if any, occur to the CIP as it is implemented in new sites, it goes on to assess the quality of any changes and the effectiveness of the dissemination mechanism. In observing the CIPs and the dissemination mechanism for a year and a half, the study team has attempted to address these concerns not only as discrete issues but in their interrelationships as well. There has also been a focus on observing and analyzing the process to learn more about program implementation in general.

The issue underlying these questions is the replicability of the CIP within reasonable limits of time and money. The reasonableness of the amount of money allocated for the demonstration has not been explicitly addressed by the study. DOL and NIE determined what was a "reasonable" amount of money for the demonstration by the size of the allocation, ipso facto. The only instance in which the amount may have been unrealistic was in the area of personnel costs. It appeared that the CIP salary scales limited the pool of potential staff members. Too many other factors--especially time and timing--affected staffing, however, to consider this factor conclusive.

The reasonableness of the time given to OIC/A and the sites is another issue. As the reader surely will have inferred by now, RMC believes there was too little time. The sites had but seven weeks to accomplish a multitude of tasks before they were supposed to begin serving interns. This did not allow adequate preparation, either for building support from and coordinating with external agencies or for internal preparations. Moreover, the sites were opened to evaluative probing too soon, raising their anxieties and directing their attention from getting things underway to making things look good. This early lack of preparation and "shakedown" time severely affected the demonstration. Nevertheless, even with the impact of this scheduling, two sites have established programs that closely resemble the prototype in their functioning, and the other two have implemented the mechanical/structural components of the CIP and are progressing toward realization of the appropriate affective climate. Therefore, one might conclude that RMC's contention about time is ill-founded, since the CIPs are indeed operating and "if you want to make an omelet, you have to break eggs." The authors have considered this position seriously. It has some merit. However, on balance we feel that had the implementation been given sufficient early planning and preparation time, the probability is that all four sites would now be in a full operational status. Furthermore, the present CIP operations have been achived at an extraordinary cost in terms of staff energy and morale. It would be a hard job under any circumstances to set up a complex program like the CIP.

The lack of time made an inherently difficult task less orderly, more frustrating, and more time-consuming than it had to be.

The central conclusion the findings lead to is that, though accomplished with more difficulty than necessary, the CIP has indeed proved replicable (implementable) in new sites within the limits of time and money given. The programs that have been established are close enough approximations of the prototype to bear the name Career Intern Program. Of course, student outcomes have not yet been measured, so it is not known if program results in the new sites will replicate those in the original. Indeed, it is quite possible results from the first two years of CIP operations in the sites may not be as conclusive as those used as the basis for judging the CIP to be an exemplary program. It is the judgment of many professionals in the educational-dissemination field that it is unrealistic to expect exemplary results this early in a program's life.

Regardless of what the outcomes at this stage might show, the CIPs in the four replication sites are fundamentally healthy, and appear to be growing more and more stable and mature each day. It is undeniably true that problems exist in the programs. More relevantly qualified and experienced staff members in some roles would improve the CIPs. Interns' attendance has not generally reached the rate reported for the original, mature CIP, though it is comparable to the attendance in the prototype at a similar stage of development. Climate is not yet all it should be, but it improves steadily and is not wholly disappointing given the length of the programs' existence in the new sites. A host of difficulties have confronted the implementation on various fronts in the past year and a half, and the disposition of them has reflected the crisis atmosphere that has pervaded much of the implementation. This has not stopped implementation, however, and the problems have been or are being resolved.

There are, of course, conclusions beyond the basic one that the CIP can be--has been--implemented in the four new sites. With regard to changes in the program, there are differences between the new CIPs and the original. Some of these changes have been deliberately introduced through local initiatives to improve the design. Other differences resulted from contextual demands in the new sites or because some event or situational constraint in the implementation process precipitated them. In general, intentional changes to procedures--i.e., those made to improve the design--have been adaptive thus far and promise to continue to be so. Those differences introduced to accommodate the contexts or forced on the sites by implementation events, have been, in turn, adaptive and maladaptive. That is, when first undertaken or accepted as inevitable, these changes were adaptive in the sense that had they not been incorporated, implementation might have stopped altogether. As the implementation proceeded however, these same changes often had lingering effects that impeded progress toward full operation. Some of the problems that arose in this fashion are still being addressed by the sites, but they are being resolved.

Finally, many of the observed differences between the four CIPs and the design represent stages of program development. They are noticeable because the new CIP programs are now just over a year and a half old and still evolving, and the CIP design is based on the program as it looked when it was fully matured, after four years of intensive development. Thus, these differences are attributable to a lack of time for operations to mature, with allowance for the other factors that have been active. The study's findings, the professional literature, and the sites' steady progress toward full operation indicate these differences will disappear over time.

It is more difficult to reach definite conclusions about the effectiveness and efficiency of the dissemination mechanism--the OIC system plus NIE and DOL--relative to others that might have been, or could be, used. Certainly, in the authors' opinion, implementation would have been less troubled had more use been made of existing knowledge about educational dissemination. Without access to this knowledge and under the pressure of the time constraints, the chief protagonists in the CIP dissemination, the OIC/A staff, had to learn about many relevant issues and probable problems--such as the initial low level of active LEA support--by encountering them. Though they were frequently frustrated, the OIC/A, local OIC, and CIP staffs did manage to cope creditably, eventually surmounting the problems. But time was lost and energy and resources were consumed by events that might have been avoided under other circumstances.

On the other hand, allowing for the constraints imposed by the demonstration's design, it is difficult to imagine that an alternative delivery system would have performed significantly better. The OIC system's ethos, pride in ownership of the CIP, local credibility in the sites, and identification with the potential clients clearly facilitated implementation. These characteristics, shared by other large CBO systems, strongly suggest such systems as OIC are potent vehicles for diffusion of programs for societal improvement. Especially when a system has a long and successful record of program dissemination, as OIC does, it should be an excellent candidate for consideration as a diffusion mechanism, though the organization's knowledge should probably be augmented in the particular area to be entered (in the CIP case, the public educational system).

A true comparative test of the OIC system's effectiveness as a diffusion mechanism versus others' has not been conducted.

Indeed, it would be very instructive to observe how CIPs disseminated through the OIC system and through some alternative systems--for instance, the Office of Education's National Diffusion Network and the Research and Development Exchange system of NIE—might emerge. In the absence of such a direct comparison, and considering this and the constraints under which the OIC system operated, conclusive answers regarding relative effectiveness are not possible. The authors, however, are of the opinion that the OIC system would compare quite favorably to other diffusion mechanisms.

Finally, there are some conclusions about the implementation process as a whole, and about the structure through which that process operated. Time has been a major factor in the demonstration. Specifically, the time allowed by the implementation schedule, imposed by the requirement to complete the demonstration before the YEDPA authorization expires, was far too short for adequate planning and preparation before operation was to begin, and too short for the CIPs to take root and become fully operational before being evaluated. The shortness of time--and the shortness of patience it sometimes led to--has had a serious impact on implementation of the CIPs. With a bit more time the implementation could have been better planned, phased, and conducted.

In this regard, the question will undoubtedly be asked, _how_ much more? While an answer is inevitably open to debate, the authors' opinion is that three months more, at the appropriate time of year, would have made a great deal of difference. Had planning and preparations been started in the local sites in September 1977 (or earlier) rather than in December, had they been conducted in full awareness of what is known about educational dissemination and thus involved the LEAs more fully, and had the target date for opening the CIPs to a small (no more than 50 interns) first cohort been the beginning of the second semester of the 1977-78 school year, the incidence and severity of implementation problems would have been dramatically reduced. More qualified staffs could have been recruited, the staff members could have developed more team spirit, curricula could have been more thoroughly prepared, and so on. RMC is convinced this would have had a major impact.

Overall, the implementation process was structurally too complicated. Too many opportunities for miscommunication and for slippage in timely decision making existed because of the number of agencies involved and their varieties of roles. The evaluation could have been better designed so as to avoid impinging on implementation. Decision-making procedures and structures could have been set up in the beginning to assure more efficient deliberations and communications. Simplification along these lines could have precluded many implementation difficulties.

Recommendations

The following recommendations fall into three categories. Recommendations for policy makers have relatively broad scope and bear implications for future demonstrations of programs to improve the employability of youth. Recommendations for executive-branch agencies relate to the dissemination and implementation processes of innovative programs such as the CIP. Recommendations for research activities deal with knowledge-development concerns, including research goals and procedures.

Recommendations for Policy Makers

(1) While timelines are necessary, specific demonstration schedules should be mindful of the complexities of each innovative program. Congress should consider this in future authorizing and appropriations legislation dealing with demonstration programs.

The replication of the CIP reinforced previous research findings that programs being tested or disseminated usually need several months to become fully operational. The expectation for immediate implementation is unrealistic. If sufficient time is not allowed for early planning and preparation prior to implementation or for the program to mature prior to evaluation, implementation suffers and manifestations of developmental stages run the risk of being interpreted as failures to establish anticipated program features and/or outcomes. Very effective practices may thus be cut off prematurely.

(2) Involvement of community-based organizations in the delivery of programs to assist disadvantaged young people should be continued.

There is evidence that community-based organizations, because of their pervasive ethos, their commitment to serve disadvantaged people, their demonstrated skills in program operations, and their relative autonomy have strong potential for diffusing youth programs. Though OIC/A did not enjoy a complete or fair chance to demonstrate its full capability for disseminating the CIP, the events of the CIP demonstration strongly indicate that the OIC system, and probably other CBOs as well, are potent vehicles for transferring successful social innovations to new users.

(3) Congress and executive-branch policy makers need to clarify expectations for transition from federal to local support of experimental and demonstration programs.

Present policies are unclear whether successful demonstrations are expected to survive by attracting local-community funding or whether demonstrations that show success will thereby continue to receive federal support. Programs aimed at covering a multiplicity of needs of disadvantaged youth are expensive by nature. Despite the benefits of these programs, it is doubtful that local communities would be able to assume total funding responsibility. On the other hand, the absence of a firm policy regarding the status of the innovation after its demonstration phase raises anxieties among program personnel and causes potential users to hesitate or refrain from adoption.

Recommendations for Executive-Branch Agencies

(1) The dissemination of innovative programs should be placed under the management or tutelage of personnel experienced and knowledgeable in dissemination and implementation. This applies both to personnel in federal agencies in charge of monitoring the dissemination process and to personnel within the organizations carrying out the actual implementation.

The facile assumption that successful program developers will be, ipso facto, proficient program disseminators is not supported by experience. Developing the CIP in Philadelphia did not necessarily enable OIC/A to become expert in the different demands of disseminating it to other communities. Dissemination is qualitatively different from development and entails a correspondingly different repertoire of skills.

(2) Whenever possible, roles with potential for confusion or conflicts of interest, such as managing both program implementation and program evaluation, should be assigned to different agencies or different subunits of a single agency.

Experience gained during the CIP study showed that the assignment of multiple, possibly conflicting roles to a single agency affected implementation adversely. In addition, the practice could in principle threaten the credibility of evaluations, no matter how impartially they are, in fact, conducted.

(3) Innovative or demonstration programs that are dependent on the support of the LEA should involve school district officials during planning and start-up.

Communication begun during the operation stage is late and does not allow LEAs to develop a full understanding and acceptance of the demands the innovation will put on the school system. Furthermore, demonstration schedules should be coordinated with LEA schedules. In the case of the CIP demonstration, a number of problems with the LEAs might have found quicker resolution if LEA staff members had participated more closely with the local OIC in the various planning activities instead of simply being confronted with a number of requests for permission and assistance. This recommendation is probably applicable to demonstrations needing cooperation from other types of agencies as well.

(4) The allocation of important program resources, such as salaries, should be comparable to that in comparable organizations.

Personnel in an alternative educational program should not be paid substantially less than their counterparts in the regular school system. Having CIP staff salaries pegged to the local OIC scale rather than to that of the LEA produced difficulties for the CIPs in both obtaining and retaining qualified personnel.

(5) When multiple units within an agency are in a position to affect the implementation of a given program, serious attempts should be made to coordinate actions among these units.

Two of the CIP demonstration sites had massive competition for recruits from other federal youth programs in their communities. Coordination among the various DOL units could have enabled appropriate planning.

(6) Decision-making processes and communication channels among the various agencies managing or monitoring implementation should be determined prior to the demonstration of a given program, to the extent possible including procedures for quick responses to immediate needs.

In the case of the CIP, confusion arose as decisions had to be made and communicated to the sites regarding changes in cohort dates, testing procedures, numbers of required interns for the last cohort, and size of control groups. This confusion generated delays, frustration, and erosion of trust among various actors.

Recommendations for Research Activities

(1) Further research needs to be conducted to generate greater understanding of the appeal of programs like the CIP to disadvantaged, often alienated, youths.

Only a small proportion of the existing pool of underemployed and undereducated youth applies to these programs. Under present conditions, estimates of probable enrollment tend to exceed actual youth interest and participation. Though incomplete, data from this study suggest that about one of five "potential" dropouts and one of ten "actual" dropouts become interested in joining an academic program, even if it has a career orientation. Further, entrance requirements such as possessing a minimum number of credits toward graduation and reading on at least fifth-grade level reduced--in some cases substantially--the pool of potential interns.

(2) More creative, less restrictive evaluation approaches need to be developed, validated, and applied to programs like the CIP.

Evaluations with experimental designs, particularly those with randomly selected treatment and control groups, are often incompatible with the implementation of social-service delivery programs. Even in programs of a demonstration nature, the creation of control groups is detrimental to the avowed purpose of the innovation, to the attitudes of youths assigned to serve as controls, and to the evaluation itself. The possibility of being assigned to a control group was a disincentive to many potential interns, and so made recruitment more difficult. The control-group design also created uneasy feelings among LEA representatives and members of the community and produced a "negative treatment" for many of the youth in the control groups. find and maintain jobs.

Emphasis on a minimum number of students in a program or especially a control group makes the assumption that data have meaning only if analyzed according to established conventions. Innovative approaches should be encouraged--particularly if they show promise of minimizing the conflict between the social service and research objectives of demonstration programs.

(3) Knowledge about the dynamics of the selection, adoption, and start-up stages of an innovation needs to be increased. Studies of program dissemination and implementation should be designed so these stages are properly observed and not analyzed only retrospectively.

Important events in the early stages of the CIP, such as the interaction among the local OICs, the CIP staffs, and the LEAs, could not be observed directly because an evaluator had not yet been selected. Data on these periods would have made analysis of the dissemination/implementation process more complete. Research components would be relatively easy to build into demonstration programs.

(4) Studies need to be conducted regarding alternative ways to promote local adoption of innovative programs supported by extensive external funding during development and demonstration.

At present, demonstration programs funded by YEDPA operate almost exclusively with federal monies. Even programs that show great promise, such as the CIP, cannot be expected to be totally subsidized by local budgets. It is, then, necessary to explore alternative funding formulas to encourage local adoption of these programs.

PART 2:

DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION

V. STUDY APPROACH

Task A, because of its focus on the dynamics of implementation and on the various changes that occurred to the program across different sites, was a process evaluation. Its objective was to determine the degree to which the program objectives and practices that characterized the replication sites matched those of the prototype program. To enable this assessment, a model of the original CIP was developed for comparison to the sites' implementations. An idealized dissemination strategy was also developed against which actual events could be compared. The CIP model and the idealized dissemination strategy are described below, preceded by a short review of the discrepancy-analysis approach to program evaluation.

Disrepancy Analysis

Discrepancy analysis appears particularly appropriate to the examination of complete programs, as opposed to approaches that would asses just one aspect of the educational process such as instructional methodology or a new curriculum (see Provus, 1971). Essentially, discrepancy analysis consists of assessing the degree of congruence between model program standards and actual program performance. Standards are the criteria that program developers established for effective program elements including resources, organizational procedures, and short- and long-term "treatment" effects. Performance consists of the actual program operations found at the replication sites.

Under the usual discrepancy evaluation approach, standards are first defined in measurable terms, often as recreated by the evaluator in consultation with the program developer. A second step is to develop or select measures for each standard. Data are then collected and analyzed to determine the extent of discrepancy between program standards and program performance (Borg & Meredith, 1979).

While employing a discrepancy approach, this study does not utilize precise measurements for the various components of the model. The model of ideal CIP operation is a reconstruction based on information conveyed by the program developer and extrapolated from the original evaluation reports. While the types of components that should be present and their functions were clear, it was impossible to assign relative weights to these components. In addition, the program model is relatively imprecise in terms of operational details. On the basis of the qualitative standards conveyed by OIC/A and RMC's experience, a professional judgment was articulated of a satisfactory state or level of implementation for program components. This judgment provided the standards associated with the original model.

Performance in model implementation has been assessed by the consensual judgment of RMC evaluators about the extent to which program functions are being accomplished. Data have been obtained through observations, interviews, and reviews of documents during three one-week visits to each site. Extensive telephone contact with the sites, OIC/A, NIE, and DOL augmented the data collected at the sites.

In this study, both standards and performance have been assessed using qualitative but stable criteria. The discrepancy evaluation makes statements about changes, or departures from model guidelines, on the basis of any gap between standards and performance. At the same time, it places no premium on fidelity as inherently good. Discrepancies between performance and model standards which help maintain or improve the attainment of program goals are considered to be useful adaptations.

Finally, the discrepancy approach used in Task A remains sensitive to the dynamic nature of the implementation process. Hence, when it appears that certain model components require time to develop and mature, reference is made to their degree of development at the time observed, and to trends that occurred over the course of the demonstration.

Description of the CIP

The description of the CIP is not the model itself. The model consists of lengthy and detailed lists of short statements about program processes and outcomes organized by various categories. The description here is abstracted from the model in order to portray the manner in which OIC/A intended the CIP to operate.

CIP Objectives

The CIP's aim is to facilitate students' transition from school to work as shown by employment and/or continued education. Its three basic objectives are to:

Enable students to complete high school. The CIP provides an alternative path to high school graduation for both actual and potential dropouts. The CIP aims to enable interns to graduate to increase the likelihood they will find jobs. It offers a treatment that is intended to maintain the interns' interest and make them aware of possibilities that lie within themselves.

Enhance career planning and occupational knowledge. The CIP attempts to teach interns how to identify and research their career interests, how to make rational career choices, how to interview and apply for jobs, and what will be expected of them in the career fields that attract them. It aims to fuse academic and career orientations so interns can perceive the relationship of school learning to the requirements and possibilities of the work world.

Improve basic reading and math skills. The CIP strives to build upon basic skills to help interns meet the requirements for graduation and to improve skills they will need in jobs, college, on-the-job training, or advanced skills training.

CIP Target Population

The CIP target population includes young people 16 to 21 years of age who have already dropped out of school or show serious risk of dropping out. Among the indicators of serious risk are sporadic attendance, poor grades, inability to conform to school procedures, pressing economic factors that make dropping out seem necessary, and insufficient credits to graduate with peers. In addition to dropout or at-risk status, potential CIP interns must have sufficient reading skills to score at or above the twentieth percentile of beginning seventh graders on the reading subtest of the Metropolitan Achievement Test (Advanced Level 1, 1978 edition). This eligibility criterion was set to ensure that interns would be able to read and understand the instructional materials used in the program. For the demonstration, interns also had to have enough credits toward graduation so participation in the CIP would enable them to graduate by the end of the demonstration (December 1979).

Treatment Components

There are five CIP treatment components: instruction, counseling, Hands-On, intern assessment, and program climate. The sites' implementation of these components forms the basis for assessing the extent to which the original-site treatment has been replicated.

Instruction. CIP instruction is different from that commonly found in the interns' former school settings. By individualizing instruction, using innovative ways of presenting materials to students, maintaining small class sizes (15 interns per class), and infusing the academic aspects of the program with a career orientation, the CIP is expected not only to be motivating to interns, but also to help them become self-actualizing. Instruction is designed to raise interns' self-esteem to the point where they think success is possible, can express confidence in themselves, and perceive themselves as being able to earn their high school diplomas.

Instructional methods are left to the discretion of each instructor. Most instructors use a wide variety of methods, including academic problem solving, role playing, and enrichment activities such as career-day seminars and academic- and work-related field trips. Traditional lecturing and whole-class activities (all students working at the same task) occur, but on a limited scale. Individual and small-group activities are the main instructional strategies.

According to the model, CIP instruction is individualized. The three chief characteristics of this individualization are that interns work at their own rates, have a variety of learning activities available to them, and receive individual attention from instructors. Learning packets from the developer site in the core subjects of English, social studies, math, science, and career awareness and planning, are used as is or modified to fit interns' needs and the curriculum requirements of each site. The OIC/A learning-packet format, which allows interns to work individually at their own levels, is used whenever appropriate.

A relatively discrete instructional activity intended to serve a variety of purposes is the field trip. Field trips are related to academic course content, to career awareness and planning, and to enrichment purposes (not directly tied to specific program content but culturally broadening). The trips thus serve cognitive purposes in the academic and career tracks and are also motivational.

Finally, CIP instruction is a "fusion" of academics with practical, career-oriented materials and activities. Classes in "core" subjects--English, science, social studies, and math--and electives such as typing and art are offered. The fused-academics concept, in which instructors relate the world of work and careers to the academic content of the courses, is the guiding principle for instruction.

The Career Counseling Seminars (CCS) are group counseling and instruction sessions. They are the main mechanism by which a career orientation is maintained. The CCS is planned jointly by counselors, career developers, and instructors, any or all of whom may actually teach it. Interns attend the CCS each day throughout their first term in the CIP. In these classes, instruction focuses on building interns' awareness of self and of career possibilities, and on assisting interns to cope with diverse social situations (e.g., getting along with others, punctuality). Appropriate world-of-work behavior, such as how to communicate in job-related situations, is taught. For the CCS, each intern prepares two career reports based on independent research into two career fields. These reports help interns understand the educational prerequisites and the daily activities of the career field.

Counseling. Interns enter the CIP with histories of sporadic attendance and poor grades, lack of information about requirements for graduation, pressing personal problems, and other characteristics associated with dropping out of school. The CIP recognizes that interns need academic counseling, help in resolving their problems, and reinforcement in feeling responsible for their actions. Teachers, counselors, and career developers, who are responsible for career orientation and job placement, work together to assist interns as needed.

Interns receive extensive individualized counseling about career planning, academic status, and personal concerns. Career counseling begins upon an intern's entry into the CIP, when a Career Development Plan (CDP) is developed jointly by the intern and counselor. The CDP lets the staff know the intern's career aspirations so plans can be made to orient the intern to the appropriate career fields. Throughout an intern's tenure, progress in career exploration is the focus of this aspect of counseling. Counseling sessions are held at least biweekly. In addition, personal counseling is available to interns for any other concerns they have, both those that relate to in-program issues (such as friction between interns) and those that may require access to social services (such as day care for interns' children). There is also provision in the model for group counseling, which may occur in the CCS or in informal "rap sessions" arranged for the interns to express their concerns and feelings as a group to the staff.

Monitoring their progress with the CDP helps train interns to follow through with their plans. By mapping out specific plans, the CDP also demonstrates how a specific series of steps is required to accomplish objectives. Academic counseling provides evidence of how "the system works." The interns are informed of the "game rules"--where they are beginning, how far away the end is, and what it takes to get there.

Hands-On. To demonstrate to interns the link between school and work and the specific skills required to function in a job, the CIP provides two "Hands-On" experiences for each intern. While interns study and prepare reports on the career fields they are interested in during the CCS, the career developers find resource people who will allow interns to spend a week at job sites, working at or observing the activities involved in a job. Upon successful completion of the CCS, an intern is assigned to spend a week at each of two job sites.

The Hands-On is intended to give interns a detailed look at the career fields that most interest them. It therefore plays an important dual role in the CIP, both motivating interns to complete the preparatory work prior to the Hands-On experiences and informing them about the real (as opposed to popularly conceived) activities a career field entails.

Intern assessment. To ensure that interns stay aware of their current status in the CIP, are taking the proper courses, and are progressing toward graduation, they are formally evaluated at three distinct points. Upon an intern's entry, diagnostic testing is conducted in the core subjects to assess the intern's academic needs. Assessment is also carried out at the midpoint and the end of each school term, when instructors assign grades and credits. Information is also derived about each intern in "disposition conferences" attended by all staff members who work with him or her. At these biweekly meetings, each staff member contributes to an assessment of the intern's progress in the CIP.

Assessment is made on a regular, scheduled basis by all staff members who work with an intern. Every term, interns and their parents are formally presented with assessment results and asked to help in planning interns' remaining programs in the CIP. The formal assessment procedures and the disposition conferences serve as vehicles for reinforcing attitudes and behaviors needed for successful completion of high school. Assessment also helps interns understand the specific steps or linkages required to accomplish their objectives. The periodic assessment and feedback of the interns' progress is a means of making certain interns do not fall by the wayside. In addition, it provides a model for interns to internalize--enabling them to make more accurate assessments of their own progress.

Program climate. By providing a supportive, motivating program climate, CIP staff members expect to keep interns from becoming "turned off" about learning, as they were in their former high schools. Interns are treated as whole persons by the CIP staff. School lives are not separated from personal, family, and community experiences. Also, interns are not sheltered from reality. They are held responsible for their actions. Behavioral rules reflecting the realities of the world of work are enforced and interns are held accountable for such infractions as being absent or late, loitering in the halls, missing assignments, and dressing improperly.

To effect the desired climate, communications among staff members and between staff members and interns must be open. Staff members must demonstrate positive attitudes to the program and provide settings conducive to learning. Interns are encouraged by the staff to "hang in."

When an appropriate climate has been created, interns will be enthusiastic about instruction, positive toward the CIP, and diligent about attendance. In class, interns will be actively involved in learning (e.g., participating in class discussions). They will become active in enforcing CIP behavioral norms among themselves.

Interdependence of treatment components. Though separated for description and analysis, the treatment components are obviously not so discrete in a functioning CIP. Instruction and counseling support one another through the staff members' interaction. The disposition conferences facilitate interchange among staff members about all aspects of each intern's life. This not only allows consistent treatment of interns by staff members, but also helps assure that staff members will perceive interns as whole persons.

Similarly, the Hands-On experiences serve both motivational and cognitive purposes. The fusion of career-related content into the academic curriculum further reinforces the holistic approach of the program. The entire program seeks to meld all CIP activities into an overarching environment of support and serious purpose to change youths' perceptions of learning, of their post-school prospects, and, most important, of their own abilities.

Enabling and Supporting Components

Implementation of the CIP's treatment components is facilitated by its enabling components: personnel, curriculum, recruiting program, facilities, funds, materials and supplies, relations with the local education agency (LEA), arrangements with the local teachers' association, participation of local industrial and business enterprises and social agencies, and the roles of OIC/A and the local OIC.

Personnel qualifications and roles. According to the model, the CIP is to have a cadre of motivated and caring instructors, counselors, and career developers who have experience both in their fields of specialization and in alternative educational environments. CIP staff members are expected to be sensitive to the needs and problems of interns so that positive interactions among staff members and interns can prevail.

The CIP director is described as having a master's degree in either education or business administration, five years' experience in educational administration or counseling, and the ability to provide "charismatic" leadership in "highly unstructured situations" and "under pressure." The director must meet simultaneous demands for socializing the staff members in their roles, orienting the interns to the program, meeting LEA requirements so interns can graduate, making sure essential materials and supplies are available, and planning recruitment strategies for interns. The director accomplishes these tasks in addition to monitoring instruction and modeling appropriate teaching techniques. He/she also participates in frequent meetings with staff members to discuss instructional matters and to give in-service training. Finally, the director's role includes outreach to the community to create awareness and support, and liaison with OIC/A and the local OIC.

As instructional supervisor, the CIP should have a person with at least four years of teaching experience, a master's degree, certification in two teaching subjects, and the skills to demonstrate innovative teaching techniques as well as to supervise instructors. The person holding this position has responsibility for infusing the curriculum with a career orientation, ensuring that interns are assessed on a continuing basis, and promoting opportunities for learning beyond the classroom.

The career counseling supervisor is expected to have supervisory experience, three year's experience in personal and vocational guidance, and an academic degree in a related field. He/she should be self-directed but also work well in team situations. The tasks of the career counseling supervisor include monitoring the development and maintenance of interns' Career Development Plans, developing procedures to track interns' academic and career progress, scheduling individual interns into classes, and establishing guidelines for the provision of Hands-On experiences, on-the-job training, and part- and full-time employment.

The two supervisors together are charged with promoting and maintaining cooperative working relationships among staff members. Because successful implementation of the CIP requires positive relationships and open communication among staff members and between staff members and interns, the sensitivity and competence of the CIP director and supervisors are critical.

Each CIP has a staff of instructors, counselors, and career developers in appropriate numbers to serve the interns. Two instructors, one in reading and one in math, are specialists who have master's degrees and at least four years of teaching experience. These specialists ensure that the CIP accommodates the varying ability levels and needs of the interns. The reading specialist provides assistance to other instructors in integrating reading into their subject areas. The specialists are resource persons for their colleagues, but do not have specific leadership assignments. Other instructors have a minimum of three years' teaching experience and bachelor's degrees in the disciplines they teach.

Counselors and career developers have two to three years' counseling experience, bachelor's degrees, and abilities in both personal and vocational guidance. Counselors provide academic, career, and personal counseling to interns. Career developers arrange Hands-On and employment opportunities. The roles played by these staff members are designed to facilitate change in the interns in the areas of academic achievement and personal responsibility.

The CIP staff also includes a "curriculum liaison/resource center specialist" with expertise in curriculum and materials development and library operations. This person's primary responsibility is managing the Learning Resource Center. He or she also assists in curriculum development and the location of instructional materials as requested by instructors.

The final professional staff member, the school coordinator, is a liaison between the CIP and the LEA feeder schools. This person is expected to have eight years of teaching experience, two years' administrative experience, and a master's degree. He or she is expected to be familiar with the district and its procedures. In fact, while functionally a member of the CIP staff, the school coordinator may be a school district employee. The coordinator is also assigned specific responsibility for recruiting.

In addition to the professional staff, the CIP has two secretaries, one or two "associate professionals" (administrative/teaching aides), and a maintenance/security person.

Curriculum. The curriculum must be designed to meet both the requirements of the LEA and the needs of the interns. As a task shared by all staff members, curriculum development provides the staff an opportunity to establish working relationships and a sense of ownership of the program.

Staff endorsement of the CIP curriculum philosophy is clearly critical to the CIP's successful operation. Such endorsement entails acceptance of the elements of the core curriculum, subscription to the learning-packet approach for individualizing instruction, and willingness to let interns progress at their own rates. The CIP design indicates that the curriculum is to be based on two sources: the objectives provided by OIC/A, especially as manifested in the learning packets developed in the prototype site, and the local/state curriculum requirements for high school graduation.

In adapting or developing curriculum units, the staff includes learning activities that relate academic content to everyday life and jobs. This provides motivation for the interns by highlighting the relevance of their academic studies to the world beyond the schoolhouse walls.

Recruitment. The CIP serves dropouts and potential dropouts between 16 and 21 years of age. To create awareness of the CIP among these youth, the CIP design identifies recruitment strategies that range from the use of mass media to personal presentations before community groups. Particular emphasis is placed on creating solid relationships with "feeder" schools so they will provide lists of dropouts and potential dropouts.

Once potential interns display interest in the program, they are tested to see if they meet the reading requirement, and interviewed. Parents are also interviewed. Upon acceptance into the CIP, interns are given a two-day orientation before beginning the formal diagnostic testing and being placed in the instructional program.

Facilities. The CIP model calls for a building suitable to provide offices for approximately ten non-teaching staff members and a classroom for each instructor. The building is also expected to house a learning resource center (combined library, resource center, and study hall), facilities for physical education, and a cafeteria. Furnishings for the facility include tables, desks, and chairs for staff and interns. The LEA may provide some of these furnishings as in-kind support for the CIP.

Funds. The CIP budget is administered by the local OIC. The OIC executive director formally approves monthly budget allocations and CIP requisitions. However, the CIP director is given considerable discretion in requesting budget modifications, and funds are to be easily available so that no program activity is blocked by lack or delay of financial resources.

Materials and supplies. Books, learning packets, instructional and career materials, office equipment and supplies, and the like are described in the model as being available from the moment operation begins. To ensure that materials are well suited to the needs of the interns, instructors and the curriculum resource specialist order materials throughout the year as needed.

Relations with LEA. A very unusual feature of the CIP is its status as an autonomous alternative educational agency dependent on the traditional educational system for license to award regular high school diplomas (not certificates of equivalency or GEDs). This feature distinguishes the CIP from virtually all other educational innovations. To ensure that it will be granted this authority, the CIP must meet LEA curriculum and personnel guidelines. Also, since the CIP serves potential and actual dropouts, LEA help is needed in recruitment. Furthermore, the CIP requires that the local school district grant credit for such nontraditional activity as the Hands-On experience. Finally, in-kind support from the LEA may be needed in such areas as transportation, physical education facilities, and even student lunches. Therefore, it is essential for the CIP to establish solid interagency cooperation with the LEA.

Although this is not explicitly stated in the model, LEA cooperation is expected because of the CIP's ability to serve students the LEA could not and because of a financial incentive. Youth enrolled in the CIP are counted on the student rolls of the school district for allocation of state monies to the LEA. The LEA role described in the CIP model is based on the experience in the prototype site, where a long developmental period gradually led to a cooperative relationship.

Relations with teachers' association. To be granted authority to issue valid academic credits and award regular high school diplomas, the CIP must demonstrate that its staff is as well qualified as public schools' staffs. In most cases this means that instructors, and perhaps others, must hold, or be qualified to hold, teaching certificates. This requirement may be tantamount to requiring that staff members belong to the local teachers' group.

Furthermore, local teachers' groups may want CIP staff members to affiliate to preserve their positions as the recognized bargaining agents for teachers and to demonstrate the quality control function such groups purport to fulfill. An attempt to establish an alternative school granting LEA diplomas without the cooperation of the teachers' group could be interpreted as an attempt to "bust the union."

Therefore, it is important for the CIP to obtain program approval and a suitable staffing arrangement from local teachers' groups. Issues such as teacher certification and placement of union teachers on the CIP staff may have to be negotiated.

Relations with the community. A close relationship between the CIP and the community facilitates program operations. Community relations are formalized through the appointment of an

Advisory Council that includes representatives of industry, business, government, and education in the community. The collective knowledge and perceptions of the council members guide the career content and focus of the CIP so priority can be given to occupations existing or needed in the community. The informal networks to which council members belong link the CIP to a pool of business firms and agencies available as settings for the interns' Hands-On experience. Finally, council members are instrumental in helping CIP graduates gain entry to post-secondary institutions and job opportunities.

Another aspect of community relations is the involvement of interns' parents in the program. While active participation of parents in CIP events is not frequent, parent contact and orientation is considered important to the CIP. Periodically informing parents about interns' progress and inviting them to contribute to planning interns' programs are expected to yield strong parent support for the CIP. According to the model, each intern's parents should receive two home visits during each term of the program.

A final aspect of community relations is outreach, mostly through the director, to a broad spectrum of community groups, agencies, and media. In general, the CIP staff members use whatever avenues for outreach to the community are available.

OIC/A role. OIC/A has a critical role as the developer and disseminator of the CIP. OIC/A monitors implementation of the CIP, provides feedback to the sites so major problems may be avoided or corrected, and supplies staff training and other technical assistance as necessary. OIC/A also authorizes modifications to the model and assures the sites' compliance with requirements imposed by the LEAs.

Local OIC role. The local OIC is the sponsor of the local CIP and the formal intermediary between OIC/A and the CIP staff. As sponsor, the local OIC is to use its contacts to introduce the CIP to the community and build support. As intermediary, it acts as the liaison to OIC/A for any major concerns or problems faced by the CIP.

The local OIC supports the CIP directly with technical assistance and resources, as well as by assuring the CIP director's autonomy in many decisions. The local OIC administers the CIP budget and gives formal approval to personnel and other significant decisions made by the CIP director. The local situation determines the extent of direct involvement of the local OIC in CIP operations.

Functional Interrelationships

In this section the interrelationships of funding, dissemination, and evaluation activities in the demonstration are described, followed by a discussion of interrelationships within the CIP.

Demonstration Structure

The Department of Labor, as authorized by YEDPA provisions, transferred funds to the National Institute of Education to disseminate and evaluate the Career Intern Program. NIE contracted with OIC/A, the developers of the prototype, to disseminate and implement the program. NIE also awarded RMC Research Corporation a contract to evaluate the program. OIC/A allocates funds to the CIPs through subcontracts with the local OICs. The local OICs are the immediate CIP sponsors and administer the CIP budgets. Therefore, while technically the OIC serves as an intermediary between OIC/A and the CIP, it also plays an influential role in the CIP's daily operations by virtue of its budget role. Finally, CIP funds are used to provide interns with instructional and counseling.

As NIE has contracted with OIC/A to conduct the dissemination of the CIP, so OIC/A uses the local OICs to facilitate the earlier stages of implementation, e.g., conducting a feasibility study, selecting a building, making initial contacts with LEAs, and so on. OIC/A, however, also assists the CIPs directly in the start-up as well as in operation, e.g., by conducting LEA-union negotiations and workshops. OIC/A has a subcontract clause that allows direct intervention and assistance as OIC/A sees fit.

RMC Research evaluates contractually specified points concerning the CIP. This task requires a focus on all parties concerned. Funding and initial decision-making events are studied; evaluation effects are monitored; dissemination strategies, communication networks, and specific interactions at the site level are analyzed.

NIE's role as manager of both the implementation and the evaluation is somewhat problematic. One could suspect that NIE's dual responsibilities might result in compromises to the evaluation. In the case of the CIP, however, the evaluation took priority over the implementation to the extent that extra efforts were sometimes required of CIP personnel. For example, the evaluation necessitated recruiting large numbers of interns very early in the life of the programs.

OIC/A conducts internal evaluations of the sites' progress and of the role of the local OICs in implementing the program.

This evaluation is conducted from a monitor's perspective as well as from a technical-assistance one. Information is gathered to ensure that contractual obligations and model specifications are met; however, the information is also used to plan workshops or other assistance that seems to be needed.

Relationships of the CIP staff

The director is the managing head of the program. The instructional supervisor and the career counseling supervisor are responsible to the director and serve as the formal links between him or her and the staff members they supervise. The school coordinator is also part of the administrative staff.

Initial contact with the LEA about the CIP is made by the OIC. The CIP director cements the relationship and then the school coordinator becomes the routine link between the CIP and the feeder school(s). He or she secures lists of dropouts and potential dropouts, as well as the transcripts of the interns.

Instructors and counselors are responsible to their respective supervisors. There is some overlap in the roles: instructors and counselors teach CCS together, instructors may listen to interns' problems, and counselors advise interns about their academic progress and plans.

The associate professional has a variety of duties, ranging from repair person to receptionist to substitute teacher. An informal function served by the associate professional is to act as a "lay counselor"--providing an open ear to interns and giving counsel as deemed appropriate. The secretaries and maintenance person also fill this role. Staff-intern interaction is dependent on the personalities of the staff members and interns. The degree to which they mesh determines the frequency and quality of interaction. The overall climate produced by staff interactions should be supportive and motivating. Creating this atmosphere requires open communications among staff members about staff relationships and policy issues as well as about the interns.

Relationships Among Enabling Components

As monitor, technical assistant, and disseminator OIC/A is the most encompassing element of the enabling components. OIC/A is responsible for providing the information required to start up and operate the program and can intervene directly in internal and external program matters as deemed necessary. OIC/A administers the CIP through the local OIC; however, it also interacts with the

CIP directly, e.g., in conducting workshops for the instructional or counseling staff. OIC/A provides the instructional staff with the basic core curriculum and fused academic approach. Similarly, OIC/A provides the counseling staff with the OIC/A philosophy and demonstrates methods of counseling.

Recruitment of interns involves several components. Recruitment requires the assistance of LEA feeder schools that provide lists of potential interns and their transcripts to the school liaison. This assistance is predicated on constructive working relations with the LEA negotiated by the local OIC, the CIP director, and, if necessary, OIC/A. A constructive working relationship is also required between the CIP and the LEA in order for the CIP to function in the city and secure diplomas for graduating interns.

Constructive working relationships must also exist between the CIP and the community so that Hands-On experiences can be provided for the interns. A good relationship with the community also assures the program a steady supply of potential interns and lowers the probability of community misperception of the CIP.

A Design for CIP Dissemination/Implementation

Based on its experience in the field and its knowledge of the literature, RMC also developed an idealized strategy for dissemination. It is against this ideal that the actual events in the CIP demonstration have been measured in order to assess the overall process of dissemmination/implementation. This ideal strategy has four stages, preceded by the initial conditions of the various agencies involved prior to any interaction with the CIP demonstration effort. The four stages are Preparation, Selection/ Adoption, Start-Up, and Operation.

Initial Conditions

The salient determinant of initial conditions for DOL, NIE, and OIC/A were: (a) Congress delivered, through the YEDPA legislation, a mandate and resources to initiate creative responses to the national youth unemployment situation; (b) the CIP design, validated as a successful approach to helping youth, appeared ready to be disseminated beyond its original site; and (c) the national OIC system was available to demonstrate the wider applicability of the CIP design. In addition to being available, the OIC system had demonstrated its capability for the task through previous experience with more traditional manpower-development programs.

For the local sites, the important initial conditions were that large numbers of dropouts and potential dropouts existed and the LEA was willing to cooperate in an attempt to provide them with an alternative educational opportunity. An additional initial condition for the local OICs was their record of successful programs of employment training and placement.

Preparation

The preparation stage began when DOL, NIE, and OIC/A agreed to conduct the CIP demonstration. At that point, in the ideal scheme, the three agencies would carefully analyze what would be necessary for the CIP to be replicated in new sites most effectively and efficiently. Criteria by which to select the most appropriate sites would be identified. The CIP design itself would be analyzed by persons experienced in disseminating and implementing career-oriented, alternative educational programs in order to determine the kinds of orientation, initial training, and technical-assistance materials and procedures that would be required. The necessary steps to assure that LEAs would accept and support the CIP would be planned. Optimum program size and staff configurations for replicating the CIP would be assessed. A practical implementation calendar and a staff- and curriculum-development schedule would be designed.

Since similar educational dissemination efforts had previously been undertaken (e.g., the dissemination of the Experience-Based Career Education program) provisions for capitalizing on the lessons learned would routinely be built into the CIP replication.

Selection/Adoption

Once strategies were plotted and OIC/A briefed about important issues in educational dissemination, the demonstration would be publicized throughout the OIC system. The notification materials would contain explicit details about performance expectations for the replication sites and qualifying criteria for interested local OICs. To allow for collecting the necessary data about the pool of potential interns and for gaining solid assurances from LEAs, local OICs would be given approximately two months to develop their proposals. Proposals from OICs would be required to contain, in addition to documentation of their own capabilities, solid assurances of cooperation from LEAs, and estimates of the availability of potential interns. OIC/A would select the responding OICs with the most concrete and practical operational plans and the most highly qualified staffs, making use of the expertise and advice of NIE and DOL in the process.

Start-Up

The start-up stage in the idealized dissemination approach begins as soon as an adopting site's commitment to implement a program becomes formalized through an agreement with the disseminator. At this point local OICs would begin hiring staff members, leasing facilities, ordering materials, and establishing the necessary working agreements with LEAs. Ideally, the CIP project directors would be hired first, and would then take the lead in making the remaining arrangements. After consulting with OIC/A to become oriented to the program, the directors would recruit and hire the remaining staff members, oversee any necessary modifications to the CIP facility, and arrange for necessary furnishings and equipment. They would work with LEA personnel to coordinate curriculla, establish ground rules for crediting work experiences, secure available in-kind support, and lay out student referral and recruitment procedures. Key groups and leaders in the community would be contacted to generate interest and support for the CIP.

Following initial training from OIC/A, the staff members would start work on their various tasks. The instructional staff would focus on merging the CIP and local curricula so both CIP and LEA criteria could be met and LEA approval obtained. The counseling staff would contribute to the curriculum development to assure that all the relevant career and personal objectives were included. Instructors would peruse instructional materials, adapting the learning packets from OIC/A as necessary. They would also develop lesson plans and prepare their classrooms.

Simultaneously, the counselors and career developers would develop working procedures for the counseling department. Career developers would begin soliciting support and commitment from local employers for the Hands-On component and for field trips. The school coordinator would talk with LEA administrators, principals, and school counselors to arrange specific recruitment procedures. Other agencies would also be contacted to generate referrals of additional dropouts to the CIP.

Informal local networks would also be made aware of the impending availability of the CIP, and publicity materials would be circulated and posted in areas where the target youth congregate. The last start-up activity would be selection of a first, small group of interns.

The project director and the instructional and counseling supervisors would oversee all these activities, calling on OIC/A for technical assistance and advice as necessary. So that all of these activities could be accomplished in a rational, well integrated manner, a full school semester would be allocated to the start-up period. The local OIC's role would be to provide logistical help as needed, while DOL and NIE would have minimal, observing roles, perhaps giving help in the area of coordination with other federal programs in the community. Start-up activities would be scheduled to terminate just prior to the beginning of a semester in the local schools.

Operation. In the ideal implementation scenario, operation would begin with the entry of the first groups of interns at the beginning of a regular school term. The CIP calendar would continue to be coordinated with the LEA's and with the calendars of other programs aimed at the same youth, such as summer CETA programs. The first cohort would be deliberately small, no more than fifty interns, so the CIP staff could work through one cycle of the program in relative calm, learning their operational tasks without the pressure of full enrollment. This would allow thoughtful adjustment and revision of program activities and procedures during the first few months, solidifying staff members' skills and building their confidence. Regular staff meetings and in-service training would be held to facilitate communication and cooperation among staff members, to introduce and reinforce specific CIP techniques, and to continue the development of a team spirit. Recruitment and community outreach would continue, assuring a growing number of CIP applicants and wide awareness of the program in the community.

A second cohort of interns would enter about half a year after the first, again on a schedule coordinated with the LEA calendar to facilitate transfers from the schools and to avoid conflict with local vacation times. Pretesting would be conducted with the second group for outcome evaluation purposes, but formal summative evaluation would be held off until the third cohort of interns entered the program. By this time the program would be expected to be stable and mature and the staff members comfortable in their duties and well established as a team.

Throughout this time, the roles of the various agencies would be the same as during start-up. The CIP staffs would be fully in charge of the programs, with the local OICs giving moral and logistical support and continued access to community groups and leaders. OIC/A would remain available for technical assistance, visiting the sites to observe and give feedback but allowing the sites to control operations unless major problems were evident. DOL and NIE would remain in the background, available to assist if needed but refraining from intruding on the sites unless invited.

Several factors stand out as very important in the ideal dissemination/implementation approach. Adequate time and appropriate scheduling are necessary to allow the program to mature and become stable. The local program staff must be involved in the planning of operations, both to create local ownership and to enable program modifications to fit the context. Leadership at the local level must be outstanding to pull together the complex of people and activities necessary for a smooth beginning and continued progress. Training and assistance from the developers must be concrete and timely, but not so directive as to hinder local initiative or create unrealistic expectations. The role each agency plays must be consonant with the goal of developing a stable, exemplary program with firm roots in the new community. While studying the early growth and evaluation of the program is important, such study should be structured as research--as opposed to evaluation--during the formative period so it does not itself become a destabilizing factor.

VI. DESCRIPTION OF CIP IMPLEMENTATION

The preceding chapter described the CIP as it would ideally operate and presented an idealized process for dissemination/implementation. In this chapter, the actual events of the demonstration and the constraints in the various sites are described. As will be seen, the replication effort was affected by the interaction of numerous forces. In some instances seemingly inconsequential situations contributed to significant difficulties for the sites.

Background of the Demonstration

The CIP was developed and evaluated with the Philadelphia school district's cooperation, during 1972-1976. It was funded first by the U.S. Office of Education and subsequently by NIE. In June 1977, the Joint Dissemination Review Panel found the CIP to be an exemplary educational program and recommended it for dissemination. When NIE's developmental funding for the CIP stopped, the Philadelphia schools, faced with stringent budget limitations, did not assume CIP funding, and the program faced termination.

OIC/A contacted NIE and together they approached the Department of Labor (DOL) about the possibility of funding the CIP as a YEDPA demonstration project. To qualify the CIP as a demonstration project, NIE developed a proposal to test whether the CIP model could be as effective in new communities as it had been in Philadelphia. The demonstration would last two years, from late 1977 to late 1979. DOL would fund the demonstration, but NIE would manage and oversee implementation and evaluation. OIC/A would be the disseminator. The proposition seemed attractive to DOL and it agreed to provide $5 million to NIE. NIE promised $4 million to OIC/A, subject to presentation of a more detailed proposal.

Preparation

There was very little time for formal preparations for dissemination. The Interagency Agreement between NIE and DOL was signed on 3 November 1977. By that time negotiations had been going on between NIE and DOL for at least two-and-a-half months, as the NIE proposal to conduct the demonstration is dated 20 August 1977. OIC/A's grant from NIE to conduct the CIP demonstration was signed 8 December 1977. The local OIC subcontracts from OIC/A began 15 December 1977. Training was conducted in three sites the week of 19 December 1977 and in the fourth the week of 26 December. By the terms of the local OIC subcontracts, the CIPs' first cohort of 150 interns, with 150 controls, was to start no later than the end of January 1978.

The rapidity of events at the beginning of the demonstration left little time for planning strategies or preparing training materials. In fact, OIC/A, acting on faith that the demonstration would proceed, had actually gone ahead with developing training materials before the grant from NIE became effective. They had also alerted the local OIC affiliates about the possible CIP demonstration in September 1977, and requested capability statements from them, as discussed below. OIC/A had also reviewed some literature on educational dissemination suggested by NIE. Some preparatory steps were thus taken, but in a context of uncertainty and under great time pressure.

Adoption

OIC/A wanted to employ only its affiliates, the local OICs, as program adopters. This decision limited the pool of communities where the CIP might be tried to those where the 150 local OICs operate. While negotiations among OIC/A, NIE, and DOL were going on, OIC/A contacted several of its affiliates in early September 1977 to alert them to the possibility of the demonstration and to ask them to obtain data about the following community conditions it considered critical to CIP implementation:

- the number of youths in the CIP's target population;
- LEA receptivity to alternative educational programs;
- OIC capabilities to develop support and commitment within the LEA and community, and to supervise the operations of the CIP;
- absence of competing federal programs.

In late September, as the possibility of funding became stronger, OIC/A developed an RFP for the sites. The RFP, or "feasibility study," consisted of a list of 48 questions. On the basis of the answers to these questions, OIC/A selected four sites and prepared a specific proposal for DOL.

At the time the local OICs were requested to respond to the feasibility study, the only information they had about the CIP was what they could infer from the set of questions contained in the feasibility-study review criteria and the weights assigned to the different sections of the feasibility study. It is uncertain to what extent the local OICs were familiar at this time with the description and evaluation of the CIP prototype (Gibboney Associates, 1977).

The local OICs received the feasibility study and review criteria toward the end of September 1977. They had, according to their own recollection, "two to three weeks to respond." The October 14 deadline was imposed by OIC/A because selection of the sites was necessary prior to completion of the DOL/NIE agreement. The feasibility study's 48 questions asked for evidence of:

• Program need	13 questions
• Community support	6 questions
• Board of education support	7 questions
• Capability to secure a facility	7 questions
• Cooperation and support by prime sponsors (i.e., local YEDPA administrators)	2 questions
• Local OIC viability	13 questions

The questions dealing with program need asked for demographic and social data about student enrollment in the LEA, the dropout rate in the community, socioeconomic and ethnic characteristics of students, existing alternative schools, and so on. Though these questions were aimed at determining the availability of potential interns, the information failed to differentiate between statistics that applied to the community or the school district in general and those that referred specifically to the immediate neighborhoods or schools from which students would be drawn.

The questions dealing with community support sought names of businesses and industries in the community, post-secondary educational institutions in the area, and social service and community agencies supportive of the CIP, as well as information about the level of interest of individuals from various segments of the community in participating on the CIP Advisory Council. The local OICs responded to these questions by submitting lists of names and addresses. In no instance was participation in the CIP Advisory Council discussed.

To demonstrate LEA support, the feasibility study requested a letter of intent or a resolution by the school board or superintendent "pledging the full cooperation and support of the local system in establishing the CIP in the community." It asked also for descriptions of the in-kind contributions the LEA could offer, of the credit system and academic subject requirements, of terms and provisions of teacher union requirements that might conflict with the CIP, and of LEA certification requirements for "educational program staff members." Given the vague knowledge most local OICs had about the CIP, school officials probably understood even less of what the program would entail. Thus, though boards or superintendents at the sites expressed support for the CIP, the wording of their letters indicates this support was no more than an expression of good will.

The feasibility study required a description of the building that would house the CIP, an estimate of costs for remodeling and leasing, and evidence of intention to rent the facility. There were questions about space for "classrooms, offices, meeting rooms, recreational areas, laboratory, and kitchen facilities." Further details about how these facilities would accommodate the number of youths and cohorts to be served or LEA requirements for a gym, private counselors' offices, cafeteria space, and so on were not requested.

"Documentation of cooperation and support" from local CETA prime sponsors was requested. Most prime sponsors, however, had not yet completed planning their annual programs. Nevertheless, all sites presented general letters of support.

The questions about OIC viability asked for a description of the strength and experience of the local OIC. They requested also evidence of the local OIC's ability to recruit the CIP staff and to "establish, operate, and maintain a successful CIP." The four selected sites showed extensive experience in managing different federal programs and in running vocational-training and employment-placement programs. Nothing in the feasibility study described what the local OIC's role or responsibilities in the demonstration would be.

From the perspective of OIC/A, the feasibility study allowed it to choose among various local OICs even though it knew the documents were of limited reliability. OIC/A checked the accuracy of the feasibility-study information by paying each site a one-day visit. But according to an OIC/A staff member, "during the one-day visit we talked only to the executive director. It was not possible for us to meet the school officials or to weigh the amount of community support for the program."

Because of the brief time allowed for the preparation of the feasibility study, only 18 OIC affiliates were able to respond, and of these only 8 returned the study before the deadline. OIC/A had mixed reactions about the short time to respond. On the one hand it asserted that "we thought that those who had the capability and sophistication to answer in a short time would be able to implement the CIP." On the other hand, it was also acknowledged that "not all the best candidates had the time to apply."

Site Selection

The sites ultimately chosen for the demonstration were three large metropolises and a small city. The main differences between the original CIP site and the new sites were greater ethnic diversity in Site A and a population in Site C only 2% as large as that at the original site. Such differences were not deemed to be major obstacles to the demonstration project and, in fact, were welcomed by the funding agencies and OIC/A because of the variation they offered.

The prime motivation for the local OICs to adopt the CIP appears to be that it offered a new (for OIC) type of service that was clearly needed by the target population. In addition, the local financial and technical burdens associated with adoption of the CIP were minimal. Each site was to be allocated approximately $800,000 for the two-year period and receive close monitoring and technical assistance from OIC/A.

The four sites were also influenced by encouragement from OIC/A in the form of requests they apply because they were such exemplary OICs. The chain of events during this stage differs from the logical and normal sequence of an innovation being selected solely by the adopter. Rather, a two-way process was at work: the developer selected the adopters as much as the adopters selected the program.

One issue not fully understood by the local OICs or by OIC/A at the time of adoption was the potential conflict in the new disseminator-adopter relationship. This potential conflict was historically based, as the following organizational history of OIC/A reveals.

From its beginning in 1964 until 1973, OIC/A had operated under the categorical, centralized funding pattern used by the Economic Opportunity Act legislation. Under this arrangement, funds were distributed to a national organization that, in turn, distributed funds to its affiliates throughout the country. During that nine-year interval, the local OICs had depended on OIC/A for funding, and with the power afforded by control of the purse, OIC/A had employed--as perceived by the affiliates--an authoritarian approach in dealing with them. The changes in the administration of manpower funds brought about by the "new federalism" of 1973 shifted administration of program funds to the state and local levels. Under CETA legislation, community-based organizations would still have access to these funds, but by applying to state or local, rather than national, agencies. Since 1973, then, the local OICs had enjoyed relative autonomy to design, operate, and evaluate their programs.

In this respect, having OIC/A become the prime contractor for the CIP demonstration, with the local OICs as subcontractors, represented a return to the pre-1973 centralization. The majority of programs at the local OICs are now totally under their own jurisdiction, and the affiliates are accustomed to and proud of their local autonomy. The relationship brought by the demonstration effort was accompanied by a contractor-subcontractor role. This later produced difficulties because it no longer fit the dominant organizational arrangements between OIC/A and its affiliates.

At the same time the local OIC proposals were being reviewed, OIC/A made other preparations to disseminate the program. Its four-person CIP staff hurriedly reviewed the CIP core curriculum used in Philadelphia and produced descriptive and training materials for the staffs of the new CIPs. When the interagency agreement between DOL and NIE was signed on 3 November 1977, it stipulated that the sites would begin functioning in January 1978. In consequence, OIC/A had only two months in which to complete site selection, and finalize their preparations for dissemination effort.

During this same period, NIE was developing an evaluation design for the CIP replication. According to this design, each site was to serve at least 300 students in four cohorts during the two-year demonstration period, and each site would produce randomly selected experimental and control groups to enable precise measurement of student outcomes. The enrollment targets for the sites were determined on the basis of the numbers needed "to detect educationally [significant] as well as statistically reliable differences."[3] The evaluation design thus did not reflect either community differences or program-development considerations.

Start-Up

Immediately after the DOL/NIE agreement was signed at the beginning of November 1977, OIC/A asked the local OICs to proceed with start-up activities. The local OICs complied, and in doing so acted before they signed formal contracts with OIC/A and received a detailed description of the CIP model. A description of the model became available only in mid-December, after the subcontracts were signed.

The Selection of CIP Personnel

The CIP staff had to be trained before January 1978, since interns were supposed to be enrolled before the end of that month and there would be little time for training after operations began. To meet this deadline, OIC/A gave the local OICs two weeks to hire CIP staffs, which were to be ready for training the week before Christmas 1977 (in the cases of Sites A, B, and C) or the week following it (in the case of Site D).

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[3] Subcontract agreement between OIC/A and the local OICs, December 1977.

To guide the local OICs in staff selection, OIC/A sent the sites descriptions of the various positions in the CIP. However the local OICs did not completely understand what the innovation entailed, so several important positions were not filled by some of the sites. In other cases, positions could not be filled because the search time was too brief, salaries were noncompetitive for the degree of expertise required, or preliminary talks with the LEAs had suggested some positions would be redundant. The time of year was also inopportune for staff recruitment. Individuals with school-related experience usually seek jobs during the spring and summer of the preceding academic year, and by December, most have already found jobs.

The local OICs proceeded differently in their personnel searches. At Site C--the smallest community--there were 400 applicants for the 18 positions advertised in the local paper. In contrast, Site D--a large city--received only 30 applications. It is unclear whether this was the result of a non-publicized personnel search or a reflection of different educational market conditions.

Because the CIP would operate as one additional federal program under the local OIC, salaries for instructors and counselors were pegged to the local OIC salary scale. Almost all existing programs at the affiliates were vocational, and their staff salaries were considerably lower than those of instructors and counselors in public schools. These salary differences limited the pool of applicants, and made it virtually impossible to find math and science instructors. A number of CIP staff positions (about 30% at each site, mostly in the categories of counselor and career developer) were filled by people working at the local OICs.

Although the low salaries discouraged many individuals, the four CIPs were able to attract applicants with a strong commitment to alternative educational settings and to disadvantaged youth. The administrative staff members had less experience in educational management than called for, especially at the director's level. Instructors met the educational requirements for the job descriptions at all sites, but in several sites they lacked previous teaching experience, and several instructors did not possess credentials. Counselors at two of the sites met both professional preparation and experience requirements; at the third site, they lacked credentials; and at the fourth site, they lacked experience. The fact that many counselors and career developers had worked previously at the local OIC, on the other hand, brought to the CIP individuals familiar with the OIC philosophy of "self-help."

Training by OIC

When the time set for start-up training came, three sites had chosen their personnel and assigned them their respective positions. Site D had selected potential staff members but had not yet appointed them to positions.

Retrospective reactions to the initial training were mixed. In general, instructors seemed to be more satisfied with the training than supervisors, counselors, or career developers. Individuals in administrative positions, particularly two of the CIP directors, claimed not to have received specific training for their role. Those pleased with the training felt that the CIP philosophy and goals had been communicated very effectively, that the nature of the individualized instruction, personalized counseling, and the overall attitude of special care for the CIP intern that characterized the CIP had been superbly conveyed. These individuals said that after the initial training they felt "a real sense of commitment toward the CIP." Those who rated the training as insufficient were not critical of the knowledge they had received but said the training had been short and dealt too much with "general issues." They referred to the inconvenient time at which it was offered for three sites (just before Christmas) and commented that, whereas they understood the CIP's goals and philosophy, they were uncertain about roles and procedures. Though all the staff members were given manuals describing the CIP goals and positions and instructors received copies of the core curriculum, many felt "overwhelmed by the quantity of materials" and the "speed of training."

The Procurement of a CIP Facility

Locating a facility had been relatively easy at the time the feasibility study was prepared. Making it suitable for the program turned out to be a difficult task for three sites. In Site B, the chosen facility needed extensive remodeling, which cost $120,000 and took three months. Several months later, as the program increased its enrollment, Site B had to rent a neighboring building to increase the number of classrooms. In Site C extensive remodeling was needed, leading to a wait of approximately 17 months in getting a cafeteria and lounges for the staff and interns. Remodeling in Site D, though not a large task, was delayed, forcing the program to use another building for three months. Later, the antique heating system proved unreliable and the program had to be shut down for several days while repairs were made.

Agreements with the LEAs

Although school district officials in all sites had expressed a general willingness to support the CIP in early October 1977, the formulation of detailed agreements of cooperation took months. This was due in part to intervention by teacher associations in two sites, but several other issues subject to negotiation also surfaced gradually. Reaching agreement with the LEA took four months of negotiation at Site A, eight months at Sites B and C, and almost a year at Site D.

Obtaining an agreement with the LEA was complex because decisions had to be made about whether the CIP would be an independent alternative school within the LEA, a program attached to one school, or a program serving many schools. Resolutions had to be made regarding the certification CIP instructors should have, the courses the program should offer, the number of credits to be granted for new courses and the Hands-On, attendance procedures, the type of students to be referred by the feeder schools, the mechanisms for referral, and so on. As it turned out, the formal agreements with the LEA dealt only with some of the issues and procedures. Other procedures had to be developed over time, as issues arose.

At Site A, the understanding with the LEA was facilitated by the long-standing reputation of the local OIC and the resourcefulness of its leadership in maintaining the initiative in negotiations with the LEA. The agreement was also facilitated by the LEA's extensive experience with alternative schools. It had 25 alternative schools, of which 16 operated at the high school level. When the LEA was informed of the proposal to institute the CIP, it decided to absorb it as an additional independent alternative school in the system.

School authorities at Site A also wanted to control the management and leadership of the CIP. A compromise resulted in position and role changes in the CIP staff. An LEA official in charge of several alternative schools in the district was given the role of liaison between the CIP and the LEA. The role of school coordinator was thus diminished by the working structure of the LEA. In addition, the LEA appointed two curriculum specialists to work at the CIP site to monitor the curriculum, see that requirements for granting a high school diploma were met, and keep attendance records.

According to the agreement with the LEA at Site A, the CIP would take only dropout students. Identifying "potential dropouts" is time consuming for school personnel Therefore, the response by the LEA sought to simplify the process of student referral. This meant that the high schools would not refer students with attendance and academic problems. Rather, students with problems would be terminated according to the LEA's normal procedures and the lists of dropouts thus generated would be given to the CIP.

At both Sites B and C agreements with the LEAs were not signed until July 1978, due in large part to opposition from the teachers' associations. DOL's response to these difficulties was to threaten program termination. Deadlines were relayed by NIE to these sites on three occasions: the initial deadline of April 26 was extended to May 12, then to June 16 and, ultimately, to July 16.

At Site B, a very large school district, many individuals had to be contacted about each issue that arose, such as teacher certification requirements or curriculum approval. Opposition by the teachers' association to the principal of the feeder school in the community where the CIP was located made it necessary for the program to rely on a feeder school in an adjacent section of the city. As negotiations evolved with the principal at that school, it became clear that one of his main motivations for cooperating with the CIP was that his high school was overcrowded. In his agreement with the local OIC, he required that 75% of the CIP youths be potential dropouts, thus maximizing the possibility of tranferring students from the high school to the CIP.

Since most interns were to be provided by only one feeder school, it appeared unnecessary for Site B to hire a school coordinator. Because the LEA was fearful the union might protest if the CIP were in any way to be assisted with school district resources, the LEA also refused to render any type of in-kind contribution. An additional factor complicating events at Site B was the imminent retirement of the superintendent. As a lame duck, he could not make agreements that would bind his successor. This exacerbated the delays.

At Site C the agreement with the LEA took until July 1978 to formulate because the teachers' association objected to the program and because the LEA was uncertain about curriculum approval, ways to identify "potential" dropouts, and conditions under which the CIP could grant a high school diploma. The teachers' union maintained that its contract with the board of education gave the union "authority over hiring and other personnel practices of any agency delivering instructional services under the LEA." Since the union was very protective of teachers' positions--the city reportedly had approximately 400 "excessed" teachers--the LEA was obliged to require that the CIP hire one union teacher for every 25 students referred from the high school. These teachers were to be hired at the union salary scales, which meant they would earn approximately twice as much as non-union CIP instructors. Since the school coordinator position called for familiarity with the feeder school, this position was filled by a union teacher.

The Site C agreement was negotiated by OIC/A. The local OIC resented this interference, and both local-OIC and CIP staffs were very displeased with the compromises made by OIC/A, particularly the commitment to hire union members at their current salary rates. Negative feelings persisted for some time and affected the site's willingness to receive training and technical assistance from OIC/A.

At Site D, the LEA is organized into several regions. The local OIC dealt directly with the region in which the CIP was located. Site D had a number of alternative programs but they all functioned within a school, not independently as at Sites B and A. As a result, much confusion arose among school officials as to how the CIP would operate and how approval of curriculum and staff certification were to be achieved. Further, the inexperience of the region in dealing with an alternative school was compounded by the CIP director's inexperience in dealing with the school system. Although a formal agreement was signed by school authorities and the local OIC in May 1978, a consistent set of procedures for transactions between the main feeder school and the CIP was not achieved until December 1978, when OIC/A intervened directly.

Only at Site A had the LEA reviewed and approved the CIP curriculum by the time the CIP opened its doors. Curriculum approval was attained within a few months at Site B, but at Site D the curriculum was not approved until December 1978. Coursework done by Site D's interns could not be officially recorded and credited until then. At Site C, the principal first thought the state department of education should approve the curriculum, then the board asked the school district's curriculum committee to review it, and finally the board asked the department heads in the high school to review it. The curriculum was not approved until May 1979, so for three terms the CIP was not sure of the sequence in which certain courses should be given nor of the number of credits that would be allowed.

The Agreement with the Teachers' Association

Reaction by teachers' unions to the CIP varied according to the militancy of the union, enrollment trends in the LEA, and the enthusiasm of the LEA to endorse the CIP. At Site A, where the CIP was given the status of an additional alternative high school within the system, the union agreed "not to interfere with the CIP for one year." The union requested that CIP teachers attain certification but did not demand that these teachers become union members. At Site D, a very large LEA with a stable enrollment, the union has been totally uninterested in the CIP.

At Site B, the union initially took a very strong stand against the CIP because it feared teacher layoffs and because it did not like the principal of the selected feeder school. The union first demanded that the entire CIP be unionized. A few months later it softened its position to demanding that the union provide staff for 25% of the CIP enrollment and that a different feeder school be employed. As time went by, some of the personnel in the high school and union changed, and the agreement has not been enforced with respect to the hiring of union teachers.

At Site C, the teachers' association demanded that the CIP hire one union teacher for every 25 students referred from the high school. This requirement forced the CIP to pay union members much higher salaries than nonmembers, created problems for the CIP budget, and introduced divisiveness among staff members.

Summary of Start-Up

The sites were expected to start operations as soon as possible and did not have time allocated exclusively to planning. They started to serve their first cohorts between 8 and 22 weeks after receiving subcontracts from OIC/A. Table 1 shows the dates at which the sites admitted their first students and the interval they required to prepare for this first intake. It should be noted that operations were supposed to start in January 1978, and the time between then and the first intake was very tense as every delay led to increased concern that funding might be terminated.

Table 1
Initiation of Cohort and Planning Times Available per Site

Site	Date First Cohort Began	Time Beyond Planned Intake
A	March 20, 1978	8 weeks
B	April 17, 1978	12 weeks
C	February 23, 1978	4 weeks
D	June 5, 1978	19 weeks

Only Site A had negotiated a formal agreement with the LEA before it began operations. Site A was also the only site that had a clear understanding with the LEA regarding the provision of students when it opened its doors. Site B started operations prior to a formal agreement with the LEA and the feeder school, though it had made sufficient progress with the feeder school to anticipate a satisfactory resolution. Sites C and D, on the other hand, began operations without either having appointed a school coordinator or having obtained even preliminary approval of their curricula or staff.

Time alone was not a sufficient condition for effective planning. During the 15 weeks prior to taking in its first cohort, Site B managed to revise the OIC/A curriculum, accommodate it to the local high school graduation requirements, and rewrite a number of learning packets. These achievements resulted from effective leadership and the ability and commitment of staff members. The fact that the pool of potential interns had been unambiguously identified by the feeder school's principal also enhanced Site B's start-up. In contrast to Site B, Site D had 22 weeks before the first cohort enrolled, but little was accomplished during that time. Recruitment became an overwhelming concern at Site D, but the CIP leadership was reluctant to take the initiative in asking for more help from the schools. A very punitive instructional supervisor created divisiveness among the staff, and delays by the local OIC in supplying materials and furniture to the CIP further lowered morale. Thus, time is seen as a very important factor in start-up, but not as the only salient issue. The competency of the staff members, especially of those in leadership roles, also plays a critical role.

Operations

Staff Organizations

After the sites began operations, CIP staff members had two tasks: one was to make the program comply with LEA standards; the other was to make the program meet CIP design standards as an innovative, career-oriented school for youths disaffected from the public schools.

Compliance with LEA requirements made it necessary to obtain staff certification (especially for instructors), to modify the CIP core curriculum to satisfy local curriculum requirements, and to provide all the courses interns would need for graduation.

Since the CIP staff members had been hired before agreements with the LEA were signed, many instructors did not have the needed state or local teacher certificates. Three sites had to arrange for certification of their teachers. At Site A, the process was relatively simple because certification could be obtained by presenting the endorsement of an LEA. But at Site B, a number of examinations were required and city as well as state teaching licenses were necessary. At Site D, requirements for teacher certification resulted in many teachers taking courses at night at their own expense.

To comply with the CIP model, the staffs had to become familiar with its features and implement such activities as disposition conferences, Hands-On experiences, and individualized instruction. The responses of staff members to the model requirements were diverse, and the presence of strong leadership was required to achieve the proper perspective. Although overall there was a "caring atmosphere" at all the CIPs, some instructors saw the CIP as different from the regular schools only in size. Others were quite conscious of the need to produce a unique program, particularly of the need to provide individualized instruction and a fused curriculum.

Among counselors and career developers there was ambiguity about procedures and staff roles. This ambiguity was generally resolved in Sites A and B. In the two other sites, poor leadership and reluctance to ask OIC/A for technical assistance contributed to the continuation of role ambiguity.

Added to the sometimes conflicting obligations to comply with both LEA and model requirements, the staffs also had to contend with low salaries, working twelve months a year with no time for planning between cycles, an uncertain future for the program, and a setting that demanded intense professional and personal involvement. These challenges were accepted and met by most staff members, but a sizable group left the program. Staff turnover varied across sites. Site A had a turnover of 50% in its first seven months of operation. The other sites lost an average of four of their approximately 18-member staffs, which in several instances had been incomplete since the beginning. By the time the CIPs enrolled their third cohorts, the proportion of new staff ranged from 23 to 50%. The high turnover led to a situation in which replacement staff members often had not received extensive training in the CIP model and there had been inadequate time to develop the staff cohesiveness that characterized the prototype program.

The majority of instructors, counselors, and career developers appeared to understand the overlapping nature of their roles. Instructors showed substantial personel interest in interns, and counselors and career developers concerned themselves with the academic progress of the interns. Despite the difficulty of filling a variety of roles in addition to teaching and counseling, the majority of instructors and counselors understood the CIP demands and were sympathetic to them.

In all four sites, the performance of the director has had significant impact on program functioning and staff morale. Where there was ineffectual leadership, divisiveness arose among staff members, esprit de corps failed to develop, and confusion about roles and responsibilities appeared. In fact, the seriousness of problems caused by ineffective leadership forced the replacement of directors in three sites in late 1978 and early 1979. In contrast, the site with suitable leadership achieved satisfactory levels of staff commitment and clear operating procedures both within the CIP and between the CIP and the LEA.

Also significant in its effect on program operations has been the performance of staff members in middle-administrative positions. Where an experienced and assertive instructional supervisor was present, instructors were able to review the OIC/A curricula, develop their own learning packets, and explore ways to fuse academic and career content. The absence of this position in Site A and the deficient performance of the instructional supervisors at Sites D and C led to corresponding deficiencies. The presence of an effective career counseling supervisor was decisive in such areas as preparing and using the intern's Career Development Plan, implementing disposition conferences, and giving frequent counseling.

Where leadership was initially ineffective it has also been difficult to effect improvements. The best solution has been replacement, but this has been a time-consuming process. Problems with the CIP directors at two sites were detected by OIC/A as early as July 1978, but replacements were not found for many months, creating stress for the staff members who had to help in the interim. A strong association has been observed between professional qualifications and experience of the individuals in leadership positions and their ability to perform their functions adequately. In the three sites where leadership positions were occupied by underqualified individuals, only two of the nine original job holders remain.

A major problem facing the CIP staffs at present is the absence of several instructors and counselors. Some sites are missing key instructors such as science teachers, a reading specialist, or a math specialist. Other sites have too few career developers or counselors. As noted before, budget considerations and the low salaries have made finding replacements very difficult.

To date, the CIP staffs have been working together for slightly over a year and a half. Due to the constraints so far discussed, they have not evolved into the kind of integrated teams described as existing at the original site. However, the original site staff had several years of joint development and experimentation, and thus adequate time to focus on internal staff and organization development. Present site directors are clearly aware of the need to improve staff skills and teamwork. Action in this area was taken after the crush of recruitment passed, and recent evidence indicates that improvement is occurring.

Relations with the LEA

The CIPs have developed different working relationships with their repsective LEAs. In Site A the LEA absorbed the CIP as an additional alternative high school, Site D considered the CIP as an alternative program associated with one particular high school, while the LEAs in Sites B and C have allowed the CIPs to function as alternative programs to whichever schools provided them with students.

Feeder schools that could supply students to the CIP and still retain these youths on their rolls became, over time, quite cooperative. In Site A, on the other hand, the CIP is perceived as a competitor for students. Therefore, there has been some reluctance to provide names of potential dropouts. However, the high school counselors are now beginning to refer students who are viewed as almost certain to drop out.

From the point of view of the CIPs, dealing with the LEAs has been difficult. Local requirements for graduation have necessitated scheduling additional classes. Some graduation requirements have presented logistical problems, such as the requirement to provide a certain number of credits in physical education. Since only one site has a gymnasium, the other three CIPs have had to look into alternative ways of meeting this requirement; in two sites interns are taken by bus to a nearby school.

In the large urban centers, the CIP has had to negotiate with just one LEA. In the case of the smallest site, finding enough interns required that the CIP negotiate with two LEAs by November 1978 and with three additional ones by January 1979. Consequently, this CIP has had to meet five different sets of graduation requirements.

In regard to acceptance of the CIP, two LEAs approved the curriculum and other programmatic aspects without much examination or verification of what goes on in the classrooms. At Site A, where the CIP is now an alternative high school within the district, the LEA accepted the CIP curriculum, but it placed a team of curriculum consultants on site to carry out a quality-control function. In Site C, a team of department heads from the LEA reviewed the curriculum and observed classes before approval was given. A possible consequence is that over time the CIP curriculum may come to resemble that of the regular high schools. One indication that this may happen is the fact that the LEA has not accepted the accelerated feature of the CIP courses at Site A.

Many of the model's expectations of substantial support from the LEA, but not all, have been realized. The LEAs have provided support to the CIPs. They grant credit for CIP course work and for a number of career-oriented activities. They also accept (in three of the sites) the accelerated nature of the program and provide lists of actual and potential dropouts. The LEAs have also provided in-kind support such as lunches and bus passes, school facilities to meet physical education requirements and, in three sites, some furniture and textbooks. In the case of one site, the school district pays part of the salary of one LEA counselor appointed to the position of CIP school coordinator. In one other site, the LEA has assigned a three-person team to work at the CIP and pays their salaries. In general, while relations between the CIPs and the LEAs have taken more time than implied in the model to become stable and explicit, all sites now have good understandings with their LEAs.

Recruiting

Recruitment was not anticipated to be a problem in the demonstration. The feasibility studies of all four sites claimed a large pool of youths 16 to 21 years old, high dropout rates in the communities, and (in three cases) extremely high youth unemployment rates. Moreover, OIC/A's description of the school coordinator's role conveyed the impression that this person would obtain referrals from community groups (mostly for the "actual" dropout students) and receive the cooperation of feeder schools, where counselors and other staff members would provide lists of suitable and interested "potential" dropouts. Sites A and B did not appoint school coordinators because their arrangements with the LEA and the feeder school, respectively, seemed to obviate such a position. Sites C and D did not hire school coordinators until shortly before their second intake of interns.

As recruitment began, numerous unanticipated complications arose. There was confusion between the CIPs and the feeder schools in determining what "potential" and "actual" dropouts were. LEAs used varying criteria for deciding that students had dropped out. Some used a criterion of consecutive absences, while others looked at cumulative absences over a given period of time or considered as dropouts those who failed to re-register for the next term. For these reasons, LEAs produced dropout lists at different points during the school year, and these lists varied in precision depending on their recency.

The term "potential dropout" was even more problematic because it was a subjective decision. Potential dropouts were usually identified by counselors. They employed criteria that may or may not have included poor attendance patterns, low grades, few credits accumulated toward graduation, and disciplinary and personal problems. Not only was the definition of potential dropouts subjective, but the CIP selection process also took time. The student's transcript had to be reviewed so an overall judgment about the probabilities of his or her completing high school could be computed. In addition, school personnel hesitated to identify potential dropouts since to do so is tantamount to admitting that the public school has failed to meet the needs of some students.

The lists of actual dropouts produced by the LEAs were of little use to the CIPs that received them (Sites A, C, and D). The addresses were often incorrect and many telephones were out of order. Site A reports having begun with an LEA list of 3,500 names. After identification, contact, review of transcripts, and administration of the reading test, these 3,500 names produced 14 CIP enrollees.

To recruit actual dropouts, the CIPs had to resort to community agencies, word-of-mouth referrals, and on-the-street recruitment. This, in turn, necessitated the involvement of many staff members in addition to the school coordinator. To canvass neighborhoods, staff members often recruited in pairs, taking time away from their regular duties.

At Site A, where the CIP was given the status of an alternative school within the LEA, school officials had decided that only actual dropouts would be referred. This decision meant that students enrolled in the schools had to drop officially from their high schools to enroll in the CIP. However, schools were reluctant to release students because it meant a loss of revenue. Thus, the CIP was competing with these schools. Furthermore, students who dropped out of school on their own to come to the CIP were taking a chance: if they failed the reading test, they would have to seek readmission to their former schools.

At Site B, where one feeder school promised to send its excess students to the CIP, recruitment was not expected to pose problems. Nevertheless, problems arose because a minimum number of credits was required for admission so interns could complete their studies and receive their high school diplomas within the two-year demonstration period. Though the high school principal was willing to help, some counselors were less willing to comply with the credit requirement, and the school employee assigned to work with the CIP lost student transcripts, failed to give referrals when needed, and was hard to locate. Thus, while Site B operated almost exclusively with potential dropouts, its enrollment was lower than anticipated.

At Site C, the small city, it was soon discovered that the pool of potential dropout students at the feeder school was too small to meet the intake goal. The feasibility study mentioned that the local high school could refer to the CIP approximately 150 potential dropouts. But this figure yielded a much smaller number for the CIP because many of the potential dropouts did not show interest in the CIP and high school counselors were intially very slow in identifying and releasing them. In consequence, Site C had to approach additional LEAs in the area to meet its enrollment targets.

At Site D, the instability of previous federal demonstration programs left bad impressions among residents that became barriers to CIP recruitment. The city's economy also utilized unskilled and low-skilled labor, and though unemployment was high, it was cyclical. In addition to these conditions, the CIP school liaison inadvertantly contributed to recruitment problems. He had understood from the CIP director that potential interns would first have to drop out of school. Fearful of "losing" students, school counselors did not identify any potential dropouts, and students interested in the CIP did not ask for admission into the program because they considered it too risky to drop from school given their uncertainty about passing the reading test. The failure rate on the reading test was, in fact, most severe at Site D--35%.

The recruitment experience of the sites showed them that, for a variety of reasons, a small proprotion of the "actual" and "potential" dropouts interviewed or otherwise contacted by CIP staff eventually enrolled in the program. Partial data from the sites, presented below in Table 2, show that on the average, one of six "potential" and one of twelve "actual" dropouts joined the program.

Table 2

Differences in Numbers of Interviewed and Enrolled Youths

	Interviewed/Contacted Youths		Enrollment		
Site	Actual Dropouts	Potential Dropouts	Actual Dropouts	Potential Dropouts	Total
A	N/A	N/A	111	88	199
B*	N/A	307	4	110	114
C*	398	N/A	76	12	88
D**	1873	805	112	57	169

*Refers to data for the first and second cohorts only.

**Refers to data for all three cohorts.

Another factor contributing to recruitment problems was the lack of congruence between the CIP and feeder school calendars. Recruitment for the first cohort took place in the middle of the second school semester and towards the end of the academic year. Recruitment for the second cohort took place in the summertime. Neither time was suitable because LEA personnel do not identify "actual" dropouts until September and "potential" dropouts until several months after the academic year begins. The third recruitment in December and January coincided with the closing of the first school semester; hence, it was easier to identify the "potential" dropouts.

At two sites, competition from other federal programs (with recruitment goals of 5,000 to 6,000 youths during an 18-month period) made CIP recruitment more difficult. This was particularly true at Site D, where the other programs offered students paid jobs in the summertime. Both sites resolved this problem by cooperating with these federal programs so that youths could participate in both.

Recruitment issues turned out to be most difficult and time consuming. The data provided by the feasibility study in the category of community need proved to be of little use because only a small proportion of those broadly identified as "unemployed" or "school dropouts" later showed interest. Furthermore, many school dropouts had accumulated practically no credits toward graduation, and so were unacceptable under the demonstration's requirement that participants would graduate before December 1979.

The ability to recruit was linked to CIP visibility in the community, a condition that only time could create. The sites did become more successful in recruitment with successive cohorts as recruitment methods increased in diversity and shifted from reliance on high school counselors and community groups to more direct approaches. Extensive use of mass media, access to the feeder schools, and assistance from interns improved recruitment results. In addition, school administrators' willingness and efficiency in producing referrals for the CIP increased over time.

Table 3 shows the enrollment and composition of the three cohorts. According to these figures, the CIPs had a 49% "actual" dropout enrollment, much higher than the 32% in the prototype site.

In-Service Training and Technical Assistance

A main role of OIC/A in the demonstration effort was to provide in-service training and technical assistance. Since OIC/A is three hours by car from the nearest site and five hours by plane from the farthest site, training and technical assistance were difficult to provide very frequently. In fact, personal visits from OIC/A staff members took place approximately every two months, and there was much telephone consultation. OIC/A did not initially reserve time on the CIP calendars exclusively for training and technical assistance, so when workshops did occur, they conflicted with regular classes.

In early January 1978, as a follow-up to the initial training effort, OIC/A organized a workshop/conference for local OIC representatives and members of the CIP staffs in Philadelphia. OIC/A's purposes for the workshop were "to reinforce CIP programmatic concepts, to forge a level of cohesiveness and unity among participants, and to provide reinforcement for the belief of importance of succeeding in the endeavor." CIP participants recalled mainly the address given by Dr. Sullivan--the founder of OIC—and the sessions that dealt with sensitivity training. Many of the CIP staff members who attended this workshop found it "interesting" but "not very helpful."

Table 3

CIP Enrollment and Composition by Site and Cohort

	First Cohort		Second Cohort		Third Cohort	
Site	Enrollment	% Actual Dropouts	Enrollment	% Actual Dropouts	Enrollment	% Actual Dropouts
A*	47	62	52	66	100	48
B	54	0	60	6	119	10
C	38	100	50	77	105	30
D	23	100	41	100	105	46

*The LEA in this site refers only "actual" dropouts to the CIP. It has been noted that these youths are those who were attending a school but were recently taken from the LEA rolls due to attendance problems. The "dropouts" so obtained by this LEA are considered as potential dropouts in this table for the purpose of distinguishing between youths who were recently attending a school and those who had been out of the educational system for at least two months (the U.S. Census definition for "dropout").

By July 1978, OIC/A had produced a list of workshops it could put on for to the sites, but the issue of who determined what type of technical assistance and when it would be given was never formally settled. In practice, this decision was often left to the discretion of the sites. Not wanting to impose on the local OICs or the CIP staffs, OIC/A suggested a number of workshops to each site. Two of the sites, with weak CIP leadership and local OIC leaders who favored local autonomy, did not request technical assistance. OIC/A staff found that "the staff at [Site C] kept asking for training in individualized instruction, but the director never seemed to find a time that was suitable. The staff also asked for training in team building and value clarification but the director didn't feel it was necessary."

The training given by OIC/A dealt with issues such as goal setting, team building, working with adolescents, rostering, instructional and counseling methods, and relations with the LEA. OIC/A provided workshops dealing with some 20 topics all together. Each CIP received about the same number of workshops, though only two identical workshops were provided at all CIPs. The remaining topics were interspersed among the four CIPs in such a way that eleven workshops were given only once and seven topics were addressed at only two sites.

In evaluating the technical assistance received, CIP staff members commented that OIC/A personnel contributed a great deal by observing operations, providing feedback, and offering workshops. For reasons that are not clear, CIP staff members have little or no recollection of the more detailed workshops mentioned above. The training and technical assistance process was also a learning experience for OIC/A and, in some instances, they used techniques developed at one site when training another. For example, when Site A developed a short but effective format for disposition conferences, OIC/A introduced the format to Sites C and D.

There was interaction between local conditions at the CIP and the site's ability to use OIC/A's training. For instance, rostering was a troublesome and time-consuming procedure in all sites. When Site B had problems with rostering, its director first sought assistance from other alternative schools that did their own scheduling manually. After getting some help but finding it insufficient, he asked OIC/A for assistance in rostering, and found the training most helpful. "After the training," he said, "we knew more about rostering than anybody else." But facilitating this process was the fact that Site B admitted students who had already completed a certain number of credits toward graduation. Thus, the number of different courses these students needed was smaller than at other sites where students had fewer credits. At these sites, rostering was more problematic, and the technical assistance from OIC/A was not perceived as helpful.

Another common comment made by CIP staffs was that they would have preferred more frequent technical assistance. As it was, the OIC/A visited the sites on the average of once every two months, which meant that many small, day-to-day problems were not treated. Another complication was that in addition to its technical assistance and training role, OIC/A also performed an auditing role that would determine whether the program would be funded its second year. This duality of roles--the consultant/trainer on the one hand and the monitor/evaluator on the other--caused both the local OICs and the CIP staffs to be cautious in asking for help for fear that admitting the existence of problems would be construed as an indication of poor performance, and might affect future funding.

The contractor-subcontractor relationship between OIC/A and the local OICs was contrary to accepted organizational prerogatives. The staff of OIC/A noticed problems with the leadership provided by the director and the instructional supervisor at Sites C and D. "We presented our recommendations to the local OIC but nothing changed." According to OIC/A staff, "both sites resisted interference and wanted to make their own decisions." In Site C, the leadership of the local OIC did not react because "they were pretty much in control and didn't want outside help." In Site D, the local OIC would not intervene because its leadership preferred to "manage by exception" and to have a "hands-off attitude" vis-à-vis its programs. The OIC/A staff believed that their recommendations had had little impact also because the CIP directors in those sites protected themselves by stating that "the OIC/A people don't know anything." The recommendations made by OIC/A regarding leadership changes for Sites C and D were accepted only in November 1978, when OIC/A presented preliminary audit reports.

The seriousness of the problems in Site D led the local OIC to request that OIC/A assume direct control of the CIP for approximately four weeks. During this time, OIC/A retrained the staff in their roles and responsibilities, dealt with the various procedures problematic to the staff, clarified the relationship between the LEA and the CIP, and helped the site undertake a massive recruitment effort. This intervention constituted the most effective display of OIC/A's ability in providing technical assistance.

In all, the training and technical assistance provided by OIC/A was available and usually helpful to the sites. On the other hand, it was neither as constant nor as specific as many staff members would have liked, though there is some doubt it could have been under almost any circumstances. Further, the perceived dual role of OIC/A as both auditor and technical assistant did not encourage the CIPs to reveal their problems.

The liaison role of the local OIC. Since the CIP had been developed by OIC/A, it was a natural extension that OIC/A affiliates would be enlisted to provide local support and monitoring for the demonstration. The basic understanding was that each local OIC would treat the CIP as one of its programs. This meant it would monitor CIP operations, administer its budget, process its requisitions, and provide other supportive services. There were, in addition, certain other resources of the local OICs that could facilitate CIP implementation, such as access to the target population, and familiarity with business, educational, and government agencies in the community.

Unquestionably, one reason for OIC/A's reluctance to provide specific guidelines for implementation was the realization that OIC affiliates were accustomed to running their own programs. Intrusion on that customary autonomy could easily be rejected. The role of the local OIC was thus left to local discretion and therefore varied according to the prevailing management practices at each site. At one site, the local OIC made all budget and personnel decisions for the CIP. In contrast, at another site, the CIP director had total control over the CIP budget and personnel selection. At the two other sites, important decisions were made jointly by OIC leadership and the CIP director.

In administering the budget, the local OICs at two sites were reasonably diligent in processing purchase requisitions and budget modifications quickly. At the other two sites they hampered program operations. These problems were caused in part by the lack of efficiency at the local OICs and by the fact that processing CIP requests placed an additional burden on the purchasing and payroll staffs.

Obtaining the necessary materials and supplies was a problem for all sites. Materials and supplies had to be ordered via local-OIC requisitions, which added a significant amount of time to the process. In fact, members of one site's staff charged that the local OIC "sat on" requisition orders without informing the site of their status. A second factor contributing to the problem was that some CIP staff members took a long time to determine what materials and supplies were necessary. In these cases a problem would have existed even without the additional time required by OIC review and approval of requisitions.

Another factor delaying acquisition of some materials and supplies was the local OIC's caution about exceeding the budget. To replicate the CIP, each site was allocated a budget based approximately on the operating expenses in the prototype site. This allocation did not sufficiently recognize the need for sites to make start-up purchases of such items as classroom furniture and materials. Expectations that significant amounts of materials would be donated by the LEAs also turned out to be unrealistic. In only two sites did the LEAs contribute any furniture or textbooks.

The budgets initially drafted by the local OICs turned out to be low. Site B had overspent $20,000 by its 14th month of operation, despite the fact that there the local OIC had contributed $120,000 to remodel the building. The CIP director estimated later that the site needed $1.3 million per year (more than twice his budget) to cover fully all needed expenditures. The realization that funds were limited forced the local OICs and the CIP directors at all sites to leave some important staff positions vacant, to limit the number of field trips, to order fewer instructional materials, and in some instances to shift funds from significant program areas (such as the science lab funds) to more immediate needs (such as file cabinets).

At Site A, the local OIC considered the CIP one of its high-priority programs and gave its director substantial support in establishing contact with other community organizations, particularly with the LEA. At Site B, the local OIC was instrumental in providing Hands-On experiences to the interns and contributed its own funds for remodeling the CIP facility. In the other sites, local OIC support was limited and access to community resources was achieved mostly by the individual efforts of the CIP staff members. On the other hand, several career developers and counselors at these CIPs had worked at the local OIC and had developed community contacts there.

Altogether, the local OICs have shown mixed performance with respect to model expectations. There is evidence that some of the problems encountered by the CIPs led the local OICs to be more aware of the need to help. The crisis experienced by Site D in November and December 1978, however, when the CIP had to be "reshaped" by OIC/A, was a lesson for the leadership of the local OIC. Its executive director later commented: "We did not know when we undertook to have a CIP that it would take 110% of an administrator's efforts. But we're committed to making it work." At Site C, where OIC/A also identified personnel and procedural problems, the board of the local OIC realized the CIP needed greater supervision and help, and stated its commitment to work more closely with OIC/A. From recent events, it is quite likely the local OICs' performance will continue to become more functional over time.

Evaluation Activities

The Interagency Agreement between DOL and NIE refers to the "provision of CIP services to 150-200 participants at each project site annually." For evaluation purposes, the agreement stated that students at each site would be served in four cohorts and that sufficient numbers would be recruited for at least two of the cohorts to form both treatment and control groups. At the time the agreement was signed, the evaluation requirements seemed reasonable to DOL and NIE. Yet compliance with them interfered significantly with implementation efforts.

Though the subcontracts between OIC/A and the local OICs stipulated that the first cohorts would have 150 interns and an equal control group, the first cohort actually admitted by the sites was a "try out" cohort. The sites experienced major difficulty finding enough youths to enter the program. The largest first cohort had only 54 interns.

As the sites started their second cohort, which was to be the first cohort in the evaluation, more problems arose. First, because plans called for testing the students in groups of 15, intern recruits had to be told they would be "contacted later to come to take a test." Since recruiting was slow and uncertain, CIP staff members could not tell the youth when the testing would occur. Several had to wait as long as four weeks, and many of them lost interest. Attrition rates between the initial interview and testing ranged from 26% to 59%.

Because the sites were aware that they would have to serve 150-200 interns per year, they understood the second cohort, scheduled for June 1978 intake, should consist of at least 75 interns. Because recruitment yielded fewer candidates than expected, the intake was postponed, and future interns were informed they would be "told later when their classes would begin." Interns had to wait between one and 14 weeks for news about the program initiation. Not surprisingly, many lost interest and never enrolled. Site D lost 49% and Sites A and B about 20% each of their potential interns due to the waiting time between testing and intake.

A third complication was the evaluation design's requirement for experimental and control groups. It was difficult enough for CIP staff members to sell a program to potential interns who considered it risky because it was part of a "demonstration program," because it was perceived as "a school for dropouts," and because a test was required for admission. When admission was also dependent on luck in being chosen by lottery, the CIP's appeal was further reduced. The sites fought the idea of having control groups and concentrated on getting at least the numbers of youth needed for the experimental group.

Both local OICs and CIP staffs became aware of the evaluation requirements only gradually. The evaluation design was not formalized until May 1978. One local OIC administrator stated: "At the time of the feasibility study, there was never an indication of the numbers to be served. Had I known, I would not have contacted just one LEA." As the sites complained to OIC/A of what they perceived to be unreasonable demands, OIC/A asked both NIE and RMC to work out solutions to the test-scheduling, waiting-period, and control-group problems. One site started its second cohort without a control group and, with this precedent, the other sites followed suit.

The problems resulting from the evaluation requirements were discussed by the sites at the first meeting of the CIP evaluation advisory panel. Recommendations by panel members suggested that "data collection for evaluation purposes [mainly testing] should be synchronized and coordinated [with CIP staff] to minimize any adverse effects on the implementation of the program." The panel also recommended that "interview, testing, and entry be compressed into a minimal period."

The recommendation for liberalized testing made by the panel was taken into consideration for the third cohort, so testing was done on a demand basis. This reduced the attrition between testing and intake to 7% to 15%.

By November 1978, DOL had become increasingly concerned about the inability of the sites to attract the anticipated number of youths and the failure to produce control groups. From its perspective, DOL had been contractually promised control groups. In early December, after examining a number of possibilities--all of them involving a control group--DOL communicated a decision to NIE: given the recruitment difficulties, the sites would not be required to serve four cohorts; instead, they would recruit one last cohort (the third for the sites), to consist of an experimental group of 90 students and a control group of 55. Failure to meet this goal would result in contract termination. The sites were told they had until the end of January 1979 to recruit a last cohort, but the exact numbers were not communicated until late December or January 1978. During the months of November and December, the most important concern for the four CIPs was survival. Activities intrinsic to the program such as instruction, counseling, and the provision of Hands-On experiences came practically to a halt as the entire staff, and in three sites the interns also, put their efforts into recruiting. Recalling the recruitment efforts, a staff member commented, "We had to stop everything. We made it by 6 p.m. that day. I worked every night for two months. I spent days away from the program."

Each site was required to meet the 90/55 criterion, without regard for community size. Doing so was a particularly difficult task for Site C, where a total of five LEAs had to be canvassed, and for Site D, where applicants failed the reading test at a high rate. By January 31, all sites had met their goals, but the cost was high. Site C was forced to admit youth with few credits toward high school graduation and without examining their transcripts. Approximately 30% of Site C's last cohort had five or fewer of the 16 credits required for graduation. This situation had a serious impact on rostering procedures. Instructors had to teach a large variety of courses to meet intern's graduation requirements.

Subsequently, as the transcripts of interns were obtained from the feeder schools, it was discovered that the students' recollections of the work they had performed did not match what the transcripts stated. Many transcripts were unclear, internally inconsistent (grades and credits did not match), and out of date. In Site D, similar problems existed with the transcripts. The greatest impact at Sites C and D, however, was that, since the minimum-credits requirement and the reading cut-off test scores had been lowered, many students could not cope with the instructional materials and were difficult to motivate. The CIP curriculum is not designed for students at such low achievement levels.

The creation of control groups did not initiate the community uproar that some CIP staff members had feared. Nonetheless, it had serious repercussions. Officials at the LEAs complained that lottery results could place students out of both the program and the school system. The comment was frequently made that recruiting people for a program with assurances that it would help them and then denying them admission was unfair and cruel. A few parents complained of the use of their children as guinea pigs and threatened legal suits. The youth in the control group were told that, though they had passed the test, unfortunately they would not be admitted into the program. In effect, this amounted to a negative treatment. The evaluation concerns of the study had a significant impact on a number of program implementation activities. While the primary impact was on recruitment operations, the need to recruit so intensively robbed time and effort from program activities.

Program Status

Processes discussed to this point have been supportive or enabling in nature. Discussion now shifts to the program components that make up the CIP treatment: the cognitive, career-oriented, and affective features of the CIP that are conveyed directly to interns.

Instruction. CIP classes have from 3 to 35 students, with a modal enrollment of 15. Instruction is individualized in the sense that interns proceed at their own rates of progress, but fewer instructional options and less individual attention are given than the model describes, though there is considerable variation across sites. The instructional techniques described in the design--problem solving, role playing, and small-group activities--are not as much in use as expected. Instances of whole classes involved in the same activity are more evident than in the model description. Similarly, the sites differ in variety of learning materials, but no site provides the variety described in the model. The CIP's inadequate budget for instructional materials and the need to comply with the LEA curricula have contributed to the use of few and rather traditional instructional materials. The limited experience of some instructors has also been a factor.

The OIC/A learning packets are not being used as had been expected, except in CCS classes and, occasionally, in social science classes. Instructors have mentioned a variety of reasons for abandoning most of the learning packets: (a) they are not advanced enough for the interns or for the content of the LEA curriculum, (b) they were too difficult to read for some interns (the case of sites where interns were mostly dropouts or were reading at the fourth-grade level), (c) the packets have ethnic references that are not suitable for the new site, (d) the interns consider them boring unless supplemented by other materials, (e) instructors feel they do not allow for the development of needed skills, and (f) they are difficult to reproduce in the numbers needed. Although most OIC/A-developed packets are not used, instructors in all four sites have borrowed the learning-packet format, which they find very appealing because of its "bite-size approach." Using this format, instructors divide their course content into several small units, for the interns to work through one at a time.

All CCS classes are using the learning packets. Instruction in these classes approximates model guidelines. Many interns enjoy these classes very much because the opportunity to explore career choices and to learn about jobs is a new experience. Describing how he liked the CCS, an intern said:

> Just being here has allowed me to think, write a resume, business letters...things I hadn't thought about. The CCS is very valuable. How can you get a job with wrinkled pants and a comb in your hair? I always wondered how I could never get a job. The people I was hanging around with looked the same as me so I didn't tell the difference.

According to program specifications, interns in the CCS prepare two career reports. These reports have helped interns clarify their understanding of selected occupations. In consequence some interns have become more committed to original career interests while others have decided to investigate new fields. In one site, the career reports have been modified so the interns prepare them in stages, before and after their Hands-On experiences. In another site, only one career report is required of interns bcause of their low writing abilities.

It was expected that a "fused curriculum" (relating academics to careers) would be heavily emphasized at the sites. However, this emphasis was observed in only three sites and is occurring mostly through the efforts of individual instructors. The integration of practical and academic learning is not as extensive as described in the model. Fused curricula have not been fully developed because meeting LEA course requirements has been difficult and instructors have had little time to spend in "fusing" curricula. Instructors' daily routine includes five to seven hours of classes, and there have been no breaks between terms when curriculum development could be pursued.

Field trips have been made for both career and academic purposes (e.g., to industrial and business firms, nearby colleges and vocational schools) and for cultural enrichment (museums, plays). For several interns, who reportedly had seldom visited places beyond their immediate neighborhood, the trips have been unique experiences. Difficulty in arranging transportation and efforts to be frugal have kept the sites from making as many field trips as desired. Career-day seminars were not observed, but the sites all reported having had them.

The expected teaching format in which an instructor, a counselor, and a career developer share planning and instruction for the CCS has been generally implemented. The CCS formats range from rotating the teaching schedule among staff members to team teaching. The design also describes instructors working together in planning academic instruction so that skills taught in one subject area can be reinforced in others. This kind of coordination was reported to occur from time to time, but it is not common practice. Both the shortage of time available for joint planning and the lack of emphasis on teamwork by the site leaders are cited as causes.

During later visits, instruction was observed to have become less like that in the model than during earlier visits. Staff turnover is a major factor related to this trend. Another factor appears to be a general lack of systematic, developmental, inservice training programs. A third factor has been increased enrollment with the latest cohort. At one site, the failure of the photocopying machine made individualizing instruction difficult for a time.

At some sites, particularly where leadership was weak or the staff was divided, intern attendance has been low, and considerable class cutting has taken place. In general, class attendance has been more of a problem on Mondays and Fridays and during public-school vacation periods. Low attendance appears strongly related to the difficulty many interns face in reentering the academic world. General program climate is also believed to be a factor, in that it is not motivating enough to keep interns "turned on."

Counseling. At all four sites, interns receive as much individual attention from the counseling staff as the model describes. The small counselor/intern ratio--an average of 1:35--no doubt contributes to the frequent attention and consistent follow-up. Counselors and career developers work well together, and are supportive of each others' roles. Most counselors and career developers also play larger roles than described in the model. Career developers provide substantial counseling in the course of talking to interns about jobs, and counselors frequently provide the career developers with contacts for generating Hands-On and job opportunities.

Counselors describe their day as "hectic," with "lots of discipline, documentation, counseling sessions, telephone calls to parents, meetings with staff." In their opinion, the CIP is a "program that recognizes barriers to learning that are not academic." They describe the interns as youths with "non-traditional problems," which include pregnancy, housing problems, court appointments, and need for welfare aid. In addition to academic and career counseling, therefore, counselors provide a number of critical auxiliary services, such as arranging for child care, accompanying some interns to juvenile court to report on their current progress, and finding part-time employment.

Substantial counseling effort goes into motivating interns to attend classes punctually. Though the process takes time, given the fact that many interns come to the CIP "completely turned off by school," counselors stated that interns are making progress and that "interns who missed two classes a day have improved to a ten-minute tardiness." Much time is also spent going over interns' personal files and transcripts with them. In the opinion of one counselor, this process is critical because "some students have never had information given to them, shared with them or [they] have never been made aware of time frames and planning." In referring to her counselor, an intern who "had been kicked out of school," commented: "She is really sweet. Helps me a lot with real problems and school problems. If I have trouble getting up, she'll call me up before it's too late." Another intern said: "Counselors are nice. My counselor has helped me get a very good job at _____. I'll be assistant secretary." For some interns, staff concern for their personal situations provides an important element in their lives. For their part, counselors report that "with those students [with whom] we have been successful, it has taken a great deal of one-to-one meetings, with one counselor and also with a career developer."

Interns speak very highly of the individual counseling they receive, as they do of the attention they get from the whole program. Some interns were surprised by the real concern the staff members show about them, and, as they spent more time in the CIP, that concern became more and more important to them. "Really caring and showing it" were what interns mentioned most frequently about the difference between the CIP and the high schools they came from. This attitude reflects both the quality and the amount of attention interns receive from the CIP staff, in contrast to the regular high schools, where counselors typically carry caseloads of 300 or more students.

Referral to social service agencies is extensive. So are such activities as reminding interns of events and getting them to school. The only area in which the model expectations are not met is in regard to home visits by counselors to involve and inform parents. This can be largely attributed to the extraordinary efforts made to recruit interns for the second and third cohorts. With a reduction in recruitment activities, however, home visiting has increased.

In two sites, frequent group counseling is also being carried out in the CCS classes, focused on such career-planning issues as how to arrange and conduct interviews with prospective employers and the importance of keeping appointments on time. Adequate opportunites for interns to express their feelings and concerns about the program are arranged whenever interns ask for them. The CIP staff members have found these "rap sessions" to be a valuable feedback mechanism.

There was some concern that the entry of the last and largest cohort of interns might affect the time counselors could spend with individual interns. This situation could become severe at Site D where the counseling team has fewer than half of its members. With the new influx of interns, the ratio of counselors to interns has increased to 1:45 in some sites, which will make such events as home visits more difficult to schedule. Nonetheless, since recruitment pressures have ceased, counselors are making stonger efforts to meet more often with individual interns and involve parents.

Hands-On. To date, career developers in all sites have found Hands-On experiences for the interns in their first- or second-choice career fields. The Hands-On placements have been one week long and have occurred during the interns' second term, as specified by the design. Hands-On experiences have been arranged in many diverse fields, including secretarial work, computer programming, sales, child care, broadcasting, photography, and social services. In several instances, the local OICs have provided Hands-On experiences for interns.

Interns returning from their Hands-On experiences have expressed a great deal of satisfaction. Illustrative of the reaction to the Hands-On experience are the following comments by two interns:

> I had two career choices--computer programmer and accountant. For my first choice I went to [firm] in [city]. I spent a whole week there. I got turned on changing reels, reading cards, setting up a printout. I learned a whole lot. For my second choice I went to OIC's finance department. I worked with records, books, purchase orders, paid bills, filing. I worked there four full days. I wrote a Hands-On report later about what I learned. Now I am more interested in computer programming.
>
> I had two choices--special education for the deaf and freelance photographer. I had my first choice already. Instead of having a week period I go one day a week to ______ School for the Deaf. I observe what teachers do with deaf children compared to regular teachers. I had the opportunity to talk to teachers. They said their job is difficult but rewarding. I volunteer in a kindergarten class. It has been a meaningful experience. The teachers told me it wouldn't [make sense to] pay for five years of college if I wasn't sure that's what I wanted to do. I'm sure now even more that this is what I want to do. Without the Hands-On experience I probably would have not known very clearly how to go about it.

Some difficulties have affected the Hands-On component. Two sites experienced problems related to transportation and lunch costs because of the distance to work sites. Consequently, intern attendance at some working sites has been low. Other difficulties resulted from the confidential nature of some occupations, the scarcity of Hands-On opportunities in some career fields (e.g., mortuary science, medical areas, auto mechanics, police, and airline stewarding services), and some negative employer reactions to the prospect of dealing with "dropouts." These difficulties have precluded always obtaining first-choice Hands-On experiences at two sites; nevertheless, suitable Hands-On assignments have been arranged for all interns.

The sites are apprehensive about obtaining the necessary number of Hands-On opportunities now that the CIP enrollment has attained its highest point. In developing the inventory of placements for the Hands-On experience, the career developers have relied almost exclusively on their own or fellow staff members' personal contacts, gained in several cases during employment at the local OIC. The anticipated role of the Advisory Council in providing leads to potential Hands On providers has not yet materialized. The major test for the CIPs' ability to provide Hands-On experiences will occur in the months of September to December 1979, as a large number of interns will then be reaching this stage of the program.

Intern assessment. Intern assessment is a major activity at all sites. Diagnosis of interns' learning needs was performed shortly after intake for all interns in all sites. In general, however, the assessment procedures were not as formal as those described in the model. In only one site has the assessment procedure included a presentation to interns' parents, and in only two sites have there been in-depth discussions of the assessment results and their implications with interns themselves. These were held at the end of the term, but not at midterm.

Disposition conferences are held at three sites at least biweekly, although recruitment pressures caused a hiatus at one site. Staff members report they are very pleased with the results of these conferences. Not only do they benefit from hearing others' perceptions of interns, but they feel the interventions planned in the conferences have made considerable differences in interns' behavior and progress. The disposition conferences have also provided the sites with new avenues for staff communication.

Procedures for holding disposition conferences vary from site to site. In three of the replication sites these conferences are held on a regular basis, using locally developed procedures. At one of the three sites, during the time period when recruitment pressures were strongly felt, the conferences were limited to interns who had problems. At the site where disposition conferences were not being conducted until recently, they are now being instituted, using the procedures developed in one of the other sites and transmitted by OIC/A.

Program climate. The climate of the CIP has been highly reactive to implementation problems such as ambiguous relations with the LEAs and teachers' unions and recruitment pressures. Because of this susceptibility, program climate has fluctuated throughout the demonstration. Various subclimates at the sites correspond to subgroups in the program--old interns, new interns, dropouts, new staff, old staff, counselors, instructors, and so on. However, two general categories are predominant: intern climate and staff climate.

At Site A, the staff climate began at a high point. Morale was high and staff members were enthusiastic. However, staff salaries were much lower than in the public schools, and an austerity budget led to a policy of no raises--for either merit or cost of living. This policy, coupled with "weak" management, infighting, and constant intrusions by evaluators soon contributed to high staff dissatisfaction, absences, and turnover. Staff climate deteriorated.

Recently, however, staff spirit has been "rekindled." Changes in administrative personnel and greater local-OIC support have significantly contributed to the staff redirection. Through minor conflicts remain, including fears that the management will use scapegoat techniques to remove middle management personnel, preliminary indications suggest morale will continue to improve.

Intern climate at Site A has paralleled staff climate--beginning at a reasonably high point and progressively declining. High staff turnover detracted from program continuity. Most interns report coming to school to see specific instructors, and high staff turnover or absenteeism (often interpreted by interns as forms of "not caring") decrease interns' motivation to attend regularly. Although many of the staff-level problems have been resolved, the effect on the interns remains. In addition, new dress code and attendance policies have been instituted, to the dismay of the interns. There was talk among interns of boycotting the program in protest, but the boycott did not materialize.

Interns are "more complacent here," than in other communities, according to administrators, instructors, counselors, and interns themselves. Many interns report satisfaction with their jobs, social relationships, and overall situations. Also, interns are aware that they don't have to dress according to convention to get a job. Many already have jobs. The principal of one of the feeder schools wears a hat and shorts in the high school. Therefore, the interns believe the new dress code rules are "arbitrary and irrelevant." Although the interns were indignant about the new policies, few became involved in discussion about or attempts to alter the dress code during student council meetings, giving credence to the charge of complacency.

Stabilization of the staff-level climate should remedy many of the current problems. In that event, the climate at Site A will again approximate the climate attained in the early months but it will take conscientious effort. Counselors report they must use more motivational techniques, for more interns, more of the time than reported for the prototype CIP.

The staff climate at Site B has remained relatively positive throughout the demonstration. Minor hostilities and personality clashes exist, but they do not significantly affect program operation. The director is often referred to as a dictatorial figure by interns and a few staff members; however his ability to run the program is respected by the majority of the staff and interns, and most of these remarks are tongue-in-cheek and fondly delivered.

The intern climate was extremely positive during the early months of the demonstration. Interns were enthusiastic about learning and supportive towards other interns. This climate was temporarily interrupted when the last cohort entered the program and the building became crowded. The site required expansion to accommodate the new interns, so a second building was secured. Though this tempted interns to cut classes or roam in the streets while passing between buildings, most of this behavior was reduced by strictly enforcing existing rules. The climate has improved considerably since that period, and interns rate Site B highly for its supportive, caring, and productive atmosphere.

At Site C the staff climate had been characterized by conflict, confusion, and disillusionment until recently. Interpersonal communication problems had been extensive throughout the staff, reflecting serious leadersip deficiencies. The morale of the staff was given a temporary boost in mid-1978 when the local OIC executive director intervened to monitor and train the original director and to direct recruitment efforts. However, the original director was reinstated and the same destructive patterns of behavior re-emerged. Finally, the original director was removed. An interim director began a process of revitalization within the staff, and a new permanent director was appointed over. Though the new director has serious problems to deal with, staff response so far has been encouraging and major improvements have been effected.

Concomittently, the intern climate in Site C has been far from the spirit of the prototype. Large numbers of interns customarily loitered in the halls during class hours. Altercations periodically occurred in and around the building and many interns complained about the staff. One intern said she was really hurt when told, "You don't have the stuff to make it in an accounting program in college." A few interns have complained about not receiving the credits from the CIP that they anticipated. This situation has improved since the installation of the new director. The new director has developed a streamlined and more accurate method for analyzing incoming transcripts and rostering interns. In addition, she has pushed the concept of personal accountability for all members of the program. The director was very concerned about the large number of students hanging around in the halls, on the steps, and in the lounge, so she has initiated actions to involve instructors and other staff members in enforcing class attendance. Overall, the new director appears to be creating substantial changes in the program operation and climate.

The staff climate at Site D has fluctuated dramatically from committed and enthusiastic, to alienated and demoralized, to the present state of cooperative and committed once again. Significant difficulties at the site during the first year eroded the morale of the staff. The local OIC was considered "non-supportive," the director was considered aloof from program concerns, and the instructional supervisor was viewed as harassing.

The replacement of the director and the instructional supervisor in late 1978 improved staff morale immediately. One staff member said it was as if "a yoke had been lifted from our shoulders." The new director has been positively received. Staff members have described her as a "competent administrator and educator.... Interns and staff members can and do respect and trust her.... [The director's] leadership can help make [the site] first class."

Intern morale at this site has paralleled the staff morale with some time lag. During the first site visits, significant differences between "serious" and "immature" interns were observed, but everyone appeared to "get along with one another." Few rules were adhered to or enforced, but a warm and friendly rapport existed among interns and between interns and staff members. Thus, though the climate was accepting and friendly, it did not resemble the prototypical climate because it was not balanced--"it was caring but not firm."

Morale at Site D suffered a serious setback immediately preceding and during the recruiting crisis. Staff had already become disenchanted with the administration and the local OIC, and staff absences or early departures were frequent. Interns interpreted this it as a form of not caring. This was compounded by the lack of adequate heat in the building, which resulted in the CIP being closed for a period because it was simply too cold to hold classes. The lack of heat and winter vacation broke the continuity of the program and further lowered interns' morale. During the recruiting crisis OIC/A intervened, replacing staff members and initiating a media "blitz." The overall effect was positive, though the confusion created for the interns had repercussions. The establishment and enforcement of rules concerning attendance and suitable attire has produced a marked change in the interns' attitudes and appearance. Only one or two interns continue to wear clothing characteristic of the "street culture." Older interns (second-cohort interns) who were originally less serious about the program now defend and enforce program rules.

Overall, the intern climate has improved since the early and middle months of operation. Interns continue to be as friendly and open as before and their attitudes toward careers, school, and social norms have become more mature. The site climate as a whole is "caring and firm" and now closely approximates the climate reported for the prototype.

Despite the fluctuations in program climate, most interns find the program to be unique in the care and individualized attention they receive from staff. Most significantly, they find the CIP to be "a lot better" than their old high schools, especially in its supportiveness and small size. Representative comments from interns in the various sites illustrate this.

> We are all together here as one body and all one group. We all is friends together. We're mostly like family here.... It's like our own little community here you know.
>
> They check out and see where your mind is at, you know. Try to see where your head is at... and they give you a lot of advice. Everybody is interested, you know.... They can deal with people now better than the public schools, 'cause some of them have been where we going and where we are trying to get to. So they can deal with us better. It's alright.
>
> I think CIP is alright, you get more freedom.
>
> If this place was to close there is no way I'm tellin' you, ain't no way I'd be goin' back to the high school. I'd be just hangin' out again, gettin' back with _____ and _____ and gettin' back into my old ways, you know.

Implementation Results

After 18 months of operations, the sites have implemented most program components, even though their degree of congruency with model descriptions varies.

In general, implementation of enabling compponts has been laborious and time consuming. Personnel to staff the programs and resources to operate them have been procured; relationships with LEAs took months to develop, but now school authorities understand the purpose of the CIP and are, in all sites, very supportive. Community relations need to be strengthened, but efforts to set up Advisory Councils were intensified following the intake of the third cohort and the Councils' contributions should show effects in the near future.

Staff roles have been fully implemented by counselors and career developers. Instructors understand the need to provide individualized instruction and a fused curriculum, but have not yet completely succeeded--as a group--in doing so. Ambiguity about supervisory roles and operating procedures has required strong guidance and initiative by the site directors and intermediate leaders. In two sites, these personnel have met most administrative and coordinating responsibilities, but two sites developed serious leadership problems that were not resolved until after about a year of operation. The local OICs interpreted their roles in the implementation process variously. CIP autonomy has not been as great as the design calls for until recently. However, this issue is now generally resolved.

The sites have attained generally high fidelity to the design in regard to counseling, the Hands-On, and intern experience of program climate. Interns have received frequent personal counseling and been referred to auxiliary services, particularly child care, as needed. Most interns have received Hands-On assignments in their two selected career fields, and have found these experiences useful and enjoyable. Instruction, though outstanding in some cases, is less varied than described in the model. Assessment procedures are not, in most cases, as formal as the model describes and do not usually involve parents extensively. At the same time, they do appear to be accomplishing their functions, especially in initial diagnosis and the disposition conferences. Staff members' experience of the program climate has not been as positive as the model indicates is appropriate. However, the interns perceive the treatment they receive in the CIP as far superior to that in the schools they previously attended. In general, the current status of the treatment given to the interns is remarkable considering the many obstacles faced by the CIPs in their early stages.

VII. FURTHER FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A central focus of this study is the of extent to which the new CIPs are able to retain the objectives and practices of the prototype. The description of events in Chapter VI shows a harried and unstable existence for the CIPs. It also shows that despite considerable difficulties in the attainment of essential "enabling" components, most CIPs had--after 18 months of operation--attained a satisfactory level of implementation.

Does the Program Remain the Same?

The process of implementation brought about a series of changes from the CIP prototype. The issue of change is complex. There is a prevalent view among experts in the field of dissemination that total fidelity to a model is seldom possible. In fact, innovations which "take hold" are usually characterized by significant changes from the original prescriptions.

Changes, defined as departures from the CIP design, could have been manifested in five areas:

- departures from pursuing CIP objectives,
- departures from model specifications regarding basic inputs,
- departures from model specifications regarding organizational procedures,
- departures in attaining "treatment" features in the design; and
- departures in accomplishing program objectives. (Assessment in this area involves the measurement of student outcomes and is dealt with in separate reports; see Tallmadge & Lam, 1979.)

In assessing changes, it is crucial to identify their sources, since the feasibility of program implementation is related to the ability to achieve key functions. If implementors cannot control or influence program changes, the advisability of dissemination is called into question. Another consideration in the assessment of changes relates to the time at which observations are made. There is agreement among students of the innovation process that a new program takes some time to become stable. While the state of the art does not allow the prescription of a specific period for program "maturation," a rule of thumb, judging by the time allotted to most educational programs before evaluating them, has been two to three years.[4]

The new CIPs have remained committed to their original objectives. This commitment is evident in day-to-day site operations. The emphasis on providing a career-oriented education is seen in the daily CCS and the Hands-On experience. The attempt to improve basic skills is reflected in instructors' efforts to meet intern's needs in the core subjects of English, reading, and math. The objective of school retention is demonstrated by frequent personal counseling, provision of auxiliary services to the interns, and the overall caring atmosphere at the CIP. Likewise, the objective of facilitating the transition from school to work is manifested by the provision of career-oriented experiences and the assistance given to interns in job placement or admission to post-secondary instititutions upon graduation.

The maintenance of a commitment to the program objectives is no minor achievement. Studies of innovation have frequently reported that initial program goals are watered down or forgotten as time goes by. In the case of the CIP, two factors emerge as powerful determinants of this retention of program objectives. First, the fact that the CIP is a totally new program precluded the emergence of such internal forces as staff resistance to change, bureaucratic obstructionism, or lack of top management support. Second, the ideology of OIC/A was transmitted to staff through the start-up and in-service training on the philosophical and affective aspects of the program. The ideology was also transmitted by staff members who subscribe to the OIC philosophy. Approximately 30% of the CIP staff in each site had worked for OIC prior to coming to the CIP. There is reason to believe that the presence of these individuals accounted to a significant extent for the "caring" and "self-help" norms in the CIPs. In addition, these staff members served as effective role models for the interns and acted as the main conveyors of "high expectations" for them.

In regard to CIP practices, differences from the prototype have emerged in inputs, organizational procedures, and the attainment of anticipated "treatment" components. Three main types of changes have been identified:

- Changes were initiated by staff in order to improve the program design or accommodate program features to the contexts in which the program operated. These are called intentional changes.

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[4] EBCE, one of the largest cases of educational innovation and one that has been thoroughly researched, was evaluated after three years of implementation.

- Modifications resulted from unanticipated events or conditions that forced a site to do something differently. These are called unintended changes.

- Differences from the prototype are also evident that do not reflect either intentional or unintended changes, but are rather products of their stage of development. These are considered developmental differences.

Intentional Changes

Departures from model guidelines resulting from formal or conscious decisions by local CIP staff members or the local OIC leadership had two sources, both reflecting local intentions to facilitate implementation:

- preferences stated by staff

- accommodations to the LEAs and teachers' associations

Changes due to staff preferences. These changes were a combination of position and role changes, modifications of certain organizational procedures, and alterations to the "treatment" components of the program. Overall, intentional changes due to CIP or local OIC staff preferences varied across sites, except those affecting the use of the OIC/A-developed instructional materials.

At one site, the CIP director's realization that his counseling department did not include certified personnel led him to create two sub-units (one for counseling and one for career development) and to appoint a "team leader" to each. He believed that by substituting the title "team leader" for "counselor" he could avoid having the teachers' union or the LEA question the lack of certification. At two sites there was no curriculum liaison/learning resource center specialist. One CIP director thought the role of curriculum liaison was being adequately filled by the instructional supervisor, the other felt the learning resource center did not require a full-time staff member. At one of these sites, the director reasoned that it would be more effective to have learning resources in each classroom rather than all together in one central location.

Another change affecting roles was the appointment of a program manager at one of the CIPs to maintain the organizational structure common to all the programs of the local OIC. The creation of this position resulted in the director and the program manager sharing (in an ambiguously defined manner) the roles of the instructional supervisor and the school coordinator.

CIP staff members at one site changed the format of the disposition conference so that instead of being held every two weeks and including review of about 15 interns, it was held weekly and encompassed review of the entire student body. The format was simplified and incorporated a decision procedure that appointed either an instructor or a counselor to do any necessary follow-up on each intern's case. At the same site, counseling was organized on a team basis, with each team of a teacher, a counselor, and a career developer responsible for 30-35 interns. It was felt that in this way the counselor would have an opportunity to interact closely with an instructor and a career developer so that iterns' academic, personal, and career needs would be coordinated.

At two sites, formats for Career Development Plans were simplified and modified to facilitate the acquisition and review of data. Other procedures included the development of formats that allow the staff to conduct intake interviews more efficiently and compute more easily the courses taken and credits earned by the interns.

The major instances of intentional change caused by staff preferences have been those affecting use of the learning packets developed by OIC/A. Although OIC/A described the packets as essential to a fused curriculum, the sites have gradually abandoned their use. As noted in the preceding chapter this change had a variety of causes. For instance, one site felt the packets did not adequately reflect the ethnic diversity or the economic activity of the community. However, all sites have adopted the learning-packet format, thus allowing instructors to present a small amount of new material at a time and permitting interns to progress at their own pace. In almost all cases these new learning packets are used in conjunction with textbooks.

It is of interest to observe that the only course in which the learning packets developed by OIC/A are used consistently is the CCS. Here, the innovative nature of the course and the fact that few teachers had "career" knowledge have encouraged retention of the original materials. Over time, instructors have added new materials to this course, but they have not replaced the learning packets.

Changes to accommodate the LEA or the teachers' association. Changes in this category occurred at all sites. At one site, the LEA response to the CIP was to incorporate it into the system by making it an additional alternative high school, even though it was not funded by the LEA. This decision brought with it the appointment of two LEA curriculum consultants and one clerk charged with monitoring the CIP curriculum and maintaining records of grades and attendance. At another site, an LEA condition for cooperation with the CIP produced a change in the type of intern recruited. The feeder-school principal insisted that CIP recruiting efforts focus on potential dropouts. In response to these conditions, the CIP directors in these two sites decided not to appoint a school coordinator. It was assumed that the duties of the position (seeking referrals, obtaining transcripts, and keeping records) would be shared more or less equally by the LEAs and the CIPs.

At two sites, the teachers' associations demanded that the CIPs hire a certain proportion of union teachers. At one site, three union staff members were hired. In the other site, the CIP/teachers' association agreement was not enforced, but the union's antagonism toward the principal of the selected feeder school forced the CIP to deal with another school in a different section of the city.

Unintended Changes

These changes, which were beyond the CIPs' staffs' control, derived from five main sources:

- community characteristics such as size, economic conditions, and performance of the school system
- start-up pressures
- inefficient CIP leadership performance
- evaluation design requirements
- sites' anxiety about model specifications

Community characteristics. In the case of the small site, enrollment pressures led to lowering entry requirements so as to be able to recruit more students. Thus, approximately 30% of its third cohort interns had five or fewer credits accumulated toward high school graduation. At another site, where general high school achievement was lower than the national average and where employment opportunities and other federal programs competed for the youths' attention, entrance requirements for reading were lowered to a fourth-grade level. The admission of youths who did not meet the original admission criteria added to staff workloads as additional courses had to be offered, increased counseling became necessary, and a number of auxiliary services had to be provided. Other effects of community characteristics included prolonged negotiations between the LEAs and the CIPs in the two sites where the LEAs had no experience dealing with alternative high schools, and increased recruitment difficulties in two sites where massive work-oriented federal programs competed with the CIP for participants.

Start-up pressures. The need to start program operations as soon as possible led to hiring personnel who did not meet all of the instructor and counselor qualifications required by the LEA at two sites. As a result, several staff members had to expend time and energy obtaining the required credentials, which lessened their effectiveness in their CIP role. The short start-up period was not the only factor leading to discrepancies between LEA and OIC/A staffing criteria and the qualifications of the staffs actually hired. CIP salaries were based on OIC pay scales, which are significantly lower than LEA scales. Thus, many qualified educators simply were not interested in working at a CIP. The same issue has made it difficult for the CIPs to retain some of their more highly qualified staff members. Other differences between the CIPs in the replication sites and the prototype that were influenced by, if not directly caused by, start-up pressures include incomplete curriculum development, lack of on-going in-service training programs, the immaturity of program climate, and lower-than-expected staff morale.

Inefficient CIP leadership performance. The dysfunctional performance of some CIP directors and instructional supervisors created departures from the model in the execution of several organizational procedures. Role confusion and staff divisiveness emerged, affecting the overall climate of the CIP. As noted in the preceding chapter, the ineffective performance of these key CIP staff members was a result of their inexperience with educational programs and their limited managerial abilities for the positions they held. These administrators were replaced between December 1978 and May 1979; the new leaders brought significant changes at two sites and it is anticipated that a similar development will occur at the other site.

Evaluation design requirements. The evaluation design created recruitment pressures to meet experimental and control quotas and indecision as to the beginning dates for program cohorts. Evaluation design requirements also affected certain organizational procedures and attainment of "treatment" features, because the time given to recruitment had to be taken from other tasks. Involved in recruitment, the staff had little time to spend in holding disposition conferences or making home visits. Instructors had to suspend classes to help in door-to-door or in-school recruitment. Counselors had to limit their meetings with interns to "emergency cases" only. The possibility of not meeting the enrollment quotas brought fears of program termination. This, in turn, affected staff morale and caused delays in attaining the cooperative staff climate that is supposed to prevail at the CIP.

When recruitment pressures ended in late January 1979, all sites were able to show improvement in instruction and counseling. Staff meetings were then held more frequently and attempts were made to rebuild the various program areas that had been neglected. Nevertheless, the evaluation caused setbacks in implementing the CIPs.

Sites' anxiety about model specifications. Implementation guidelines pertaining to operational procedures and the role of the local OIC were less specific than the sites would have liked. These deficiencies coupled with the difficulties OIC/A experienced in providing timely and concrete technical assistance to the sites on such issues as recruitment, rostering, and holding disposition conferences sometimes led to weak implementation. Thus, sites with poor leadership failed to schedule interns into appropriate courses, to provide effective follow-up of intern progress, and to maintain a smooth process of intern referral and admission. These departures from model procedures were not in kind but only in degree.

The fact that the role of the local OICs was undefined led to variations in their attitudes toward the CIPs and to departures from the model in providing basic resources and giving autonomy and support to the program. The slow processing of budget modifications and purchase requisitions by the local OICs caused delays for two CIPs in remodeling their buildings, receiving needed furniture and instructional materials, and obtaining timely approval and funds for field trips. The limited autonomy given to the CIP directors of these two CIPs made it difficult for them to make decisions, ranging from approval of field trips to hiring of new staff members. These difficulties, however arose in the early months, and the realization that these issues hurt the CIPs led the local OICs to be more responsive to their needs.

Developmental Differences

In addition to the intentional and unintended changes discussed above, a number of other features differ from model descriptions in degree. These deviations are characterized by an evolving nature, generally moving toward more closely approximating model descriptions over time. These differences are considered developmental because their status depends mainly on the point in time at which the CIP implementation was last observed.

Earlier, vague program prescriptions regarding certain important operational procedures were mentioned as sources of unintended changes in CIP operations. On the other hand, it must be underscored that no amount of detailed guidelines could serve as a substitute for experience or incremental learning. From OIC/A's perspective, "one of the main problems was communicating the CIP model to the sites." From the implementors' perspective, some of the initial technical assistance workshops were not even remembered. As time went by, however, instructors and counselors at the sites perceived the technical assistance as more focused and more helpful.

Some of the CIP model components require a maturation period before satisfactory implementation can be expected. Some of the recruitment difficulties, for example, arose from the newness of the CIP in the community. For the first and second cohorts significant problems were experienced in appealing to both potential and actual dropouts because the youths had not heard about the CIP before and had no evidence supporting its claim to be successful. In one site, there was considerable reluctance to participate in the CIP because community members felt that "federal demonstration projects" had often "used" people, rather than helped them. As the program became known in the community and produced graduates, the sites developed waiting lists of potential enrollees for their fourth cohort.

In the case of rostering, it was unclear to the sites what steps should be taken to determine course offerings and to assign interns to courses; similarly, it was unclear whether the task should be accomplished by the school coordinator, the instructional supervisor, the career counseling supervisor, the instructors, or all of them. In the case of the disposition conferences, there was also ambiguity about staff roles and, particularly, about the function of the disposition conference. The role of establishing and maintaining liaisons with the schools fell upon the school coordinator; but it also devolved upon this person to obtain youth referrals for the CIP as well as to obtain and review their transcripts. The task of recruitment was so time consuming and complex that although one staff member was officially in charge of it, other personnel had to become involved. During the three cohorts the CIPs have served, staff members sometimes assumed each others' official roles to get an on-going process in place. In sites with resourceful directors, implementation was generally accomplished more readily; in sites where leadership was less competent, the staff foundered repeatedly.

Some difficulties in finding first-choice Hands-On experiences also can be attributed to the newness of the program in the community. To many employers, the "Hands-On experience" concept was new, and initially indistinguishable from "on-the-job training." On the other hand, since CIP Advisory Councils had not been set up in three of the sites, CIP staff had not been able to utilize these bodies as sources of referrals for the Hands-On experience. As the career developers' familiarity with existing resources for Hands-On increased, difficulties in obtaining the desired experiences diminished.

Two treatment components currently not implemented as fully as anticipated in the model are individualized instruction and the fused curriculum. At present, individualized instruction is primarily characterized by allowing the intern to proceed at his or her own pace rather than by using a variety of instructional methods. Regarding the fused curriculum, some instructors make efforts to provide practical, career-related examples when presenting academic subjects, but these attempts are not systematic or coordinated. The dearth of these features appears to have resulted from their inherent difficulty and the consequent need for additional time to incorporate them. In the most recent CIP visits there was evidence of an increased awareness among instructors of educational materials with a career-oriented, practical emphasis.

An important program feature also affected by developmental changes has been the relationship between the CIP and the LEA. Initially, LEAs feared that the CIP would take away many of their students or that the alternative program would "cheapen the high school diploma." For their part, CIP staff interpreted LEA hesitance as "sabotage" or "unwillingness to help." These problems have not totally disappeared, but trust has grown and LEAs are manifesting cooperation with the CIP, as demonstrated by the agreements and letters of support signed by school authorities to approve CIP operations for an additional year.

A last but crucial feature of the CIP subject to developmental changes is program climate. CIP climate has fluctuated in response to staff composition, recruitment pressures, the type of youths admitted, fears of program termination, and even the time of year. Summertime, for instance, brought about a very low attendance rate, which in turn affected the program climate. The site with the most stable leadership and staff has been able to develop a relatively stable program climate but in the other sites, the climate has been susceptible to high and low points. The fact that the site with stable staff has also been the site to exhibit a consistent and desirable climate suggests that this condition will emerge in other CIPs as their staffs stabilize.

Summary

Three major types of changes took place as the CIPs were implemented. Intentional changes affected positions and roles, organizational procedures, and the mix of enrollees. Unintended changes affected all sites with diffuse results on multiple aspects of program operation. Finally, the early stages of component development were characterized by weak implementation, but maturation has led to more robustness and promises to continue to do so.

In spite of numerous factors producing changes that could not be avoided, two sites in the CIP replication had succeeded by mid-1979 in recreating model features that approximated the CIP prototype. The two other sites had not, but by September 1979 there were strong indications that major progress had taken place at one of these sites. The fourth site underwent important leadership changes in during the summer and early fall of 1979. The effect of this could not be assessed by the time of this report.

A review of the changes that took place by site reveals that the sites that have been able to reproduce the CIP model features most closely were sites where the most intentional changes had been made but where unintended changes remained at a minimum. In contrast, sites that by mid-1979 reflected significant departures from the model were those characterized by a small number of intentional changes but a larger number of unintended changes.

Most of the intentional and unintended changes that occurred in the sites took place early in the life of the CIP, Developmental changes were departures in their degree of approximation to CIP model descriptions, rather than failures to recreate specific components. In general, the four CIPs remain committed to original program goals and most of their practices are congruent with the stated goals.

Are Changes Improvements?

Changes made in the implementation of the CIP are evaluated as adaptive or maladaptive based on their consequences. The most important consideration in evaluating a change is the extent to which it resulted in a modification of the CIP goals. A second consideration is whether the change facilitated essential implementation tasks, or led to their disruption or abandonment.

Many of the observed changes have been classified as adaptive or maladaptive based upon the current status of the sites and trends that have been observed. Important changes are still in progress at three of the sites, however, and one can only speculate as to what the ultimate outcomes of these changes will be. For this reason, and because the impact of the changes on student achievement, graduation, and other CIP outcomes are not yet known, the findings thus far should be considered tentative.

Instructional Changes

A number of changes to the instructional program were observed at the four sites. The "fused" curriculum was not emphasized at one site and at all four sites instructional techniques such as problem solving and role playing were not as much in use as expected. It appears that these departures from the model were unintentional and were caused by the limited time available for curriculum planning and development. Thus these changes, although maladaptive, are expected to disappear with time.

The development of new English, social studies, and math learning packets by the instructional staff is viewed as an adaptive change for several reasons. First, the change assisted the sites in movement toward the goal of providing an instructional approach that was not only innovative, but also tailored to the needs of interns. In those instances where staff felt the materials were too elementary for their interns, for example, more challenging materials were developed. Second, a direct consequence of the changes to the content of the packets was a feeling of "ownership" among the staff as a result of having developed their own materials. Finally, interns were motivated by the fact that instructors had developed materials specifically for them.

Counseling Changes

Only a few changes to the counseling component were observed. One such change was that counselors did not make home visits as often as expected. All the sites changed the record keeping and documentation required for each intern. Finally, one site changed the format of the disposition conferences. These changes are considered adaptive for the reasons outlined below.

It now seems likely that none of the sites will make home visits as frequently as described in the CIP model. Staff at several sites commented that while information was gained about the interns, the visits themselves had not resulted in increased parent involvement. Staff at one site commented that parents were reluctant to have them come into the homes. Efforts other than home visits have been made to involve parents. For example, two sites have set up regular meetings for parents and parents have been involved in school activities through special events. Also, sites have frequent telephone contacts with parents.

The change in format of the Career Development Plan and other counseling documentation has made record keeping more efficient. At one site, the development of an abbreviated interview form made intake more efficient. As another example, adding new information to the counseling forms (e.g. on social services received, and number of dependents) helped the staff know the kinds of services the interns needed.

The change in the format of the disposition conferences by one site had four consequences, all positive. First, the new format allowed all staff to become familiar with the problems of the interns. Second, the new format made it possible for staff to review the progress of each intern on a more frequent basis. Third, staff are immediately assigned follow-up responsibilities depending upon the intern's problem. Last, the new format has been adopted by two other CIP sites, and they have found it a major improvement.

Changes to the Hands-On Component

Sites have been slow to use a CIP Advisory Council to expand community support and help place youth for Hands-On experiences. Only one site had an active council during the first year and a half. At other sites, staff have relied upon local OICs and personal contacts for youth placements.

Thus far, not using the Advisory Council to recruit Hands-On opportunities has had only minor negative consequences. It has not always been possible to obtain two Hands-On experiences for each intern. In a few sites, first-choice Hands-On experiences have not been provided. However, it is not clear that the formation of Advisory Councils would have changed these situations. As more sites make greater use of the Councils, this question will receive more attention.

Changes to Staffing Patterns/Personnel Qualifications/Roles

The CIP model has clearly defined staffing patterns, staff skill requirements, and role responsibilities. All four sites have made some changes in this area. For example, in one site a program manager was hired to assume the roles of the instructional and career counseling supervisors. In another site the school coordinator's responsibilities were allocated to the instructional and career counseling supervisors. At all sites, changes in the certification requirements were made, and a number of staff members (e.g. counselors) were hired who were not certifiable as was required by the LEA.

These changes to the personnel requirements had negative consequences on CIP operations in three sites. In those instances where a different staffing pattern was established, staff members were confused about their responsibilities and the lines of authority and/or suffered from overwork. At the site where a program manager was hired to function in three different roles, supervision of instruction suffered. In the site where changes to the configuration did not have a negative effect, the leadership was stronger and lines of authority were clear-cut.

All four sites hired personnel with less than the recommended certification and skills. Again, this change had a negative effect in all sites but the one with the strongest leadership. The greatest negative effects occurred in the case of the CIP directors. At one site the director was fired. At two other sites, the directors resigned.

Changes in staffing patterns, qualifications, and roles cannot be viewed as adaptive or as improvements to the CIP. Staff morale has been affected, especially in those instances where there was confusion in roles and lines of communication and authority.

Recruitment Changes

The practice of involving the feeder school in the recruitment process has caused the sites a number of difficulties. At three sites, difficulties with the LEA led to on-the-street recruitment and expansion of catchment areas. The result of this change was that in two sites more actual than potential dropouts were recruited for the first two cohorts. This change may be contributing to low attendance rates.

A second change resulting from recruiting pressures was that very few parents were involved in the intake interview. Consequently, the credibility of the CIP to parents may not have been established as early as was needed. Some parents were initially reluctant to let their children participate. Over time, however, all sites have been able to establish and maintain parent support for the CIP.

Changes in Relations with the Local Education Agency

All four CIP sites experienced difficulty in gaining LEA support. Particularly in regard to the length of time it took to get LEA approval and cooperation, relationships with the LEAs have made implementation difficult.

In one site, the CIP was changed from an independent alternative school to one of the district's alternative schools. This change in CIP status resulted in the LEA having more authority over CIP instruction. As a consequence, there were disagreements between the on-site LEA staff and CIP staff during the early months. The problems in this CIP-LEA relationship have been worked out, but they were not initially conducive to implementation.

Changes in Relations with Teachers' Associations

It was expected that the CIPs would have to get permission from teachers' unions to operate. It was not expected that the CIPs would have to have union teachers on their staffs. In one site, however, the union insisted on this. The union members hired there received union-scale salaries and felt little obligation to accept the CIP philosophy or methods. Consequently, they were disruptive to CIP implementation.

Changes in OIC/A Role

The technical assistance role of the OIC/A was expected to be confined to providing workshops. However, it was necessary for OIC/A to assume a management role temporarily at one site, and in the case of another site to negotiate with the teachers' union.

In the first instance where OIC/A staff came on site to handle project operations until a new director was identified--the implementation of the CIP was enhanced. The intervention of the OIC/A staff not only resulted in a revitalization of the CIP, but it also improved the site's ability to serve the required numbers of youth and strengthened its relationships with the LEA staff in the feeder schools. This was clearly an adaptive alteration in OIC/A's expected role.

The second change in the OIC/A role--involvement in union negotiations at one site--had both positive and negative consequences. The intervention resulted in a needed resolution of the dispute with the union. However, because the intervention was resented by local staff, they did not request the technical assistance they needed to implement the program. Subsequently, instruction suffered because the CIP staff did not receive training in individualizing instruction and other topics.

Changes in the Local OIC Role

The precise nature of the role played by the local OIC in CIP implementation is not described in the design. Generally, the local OIC was expected to provide logistical support, access to community resources, and autonomy to the CIP leadership to operate the program internally.

The local OICs have generally allowed the CIP directors less autonomy than implied in the design, especially in personnel matters. The local OICs have also required all CIP purchases, in any amount, to be approved by the OIC purchasing departments. An almost ludicrous illustration is that one CIP was forced to wait two months for a ten-dollar bottle of developing fluid for its photocopy machine. During this time, instructors could not make copies of instructional materials for interns. Though extreme, this instance was not atypical. For example, the CIPs were not allowed to have petty-cash accounts to cover minor or emergency needs. In general, during the early months, the local OICs did not allow the CIPs to make their own decisions. Though this situation has changed, it was a significant problem during the first year of implementation.

Summary

In general, changes made by sites to the instructional and counseling components have been adaptive, while changes to personnel qualifications and roles have been maladaptive. At the one site that had strong leadership, personnel changes did not have a significant negative effect, while at other sites they were disruptive. Changes to the local OIC role and to the Hands-On had some initial negative consequences, but these have since been alleviated.

Differences in program climate were not discussed. Differences do exist, but the sites are still in the process of stabilizing program operations. Improvement in climate over time has been observed and is expected to continue. However, it is likely that the sites will not achieve a climate that exactly replicates that of the developer site, because the students and communities are so different.

Relative Effectiveness of Disseminating the CIP through the OIC System

The OIC/A system offers a constructive alternative mechanism for implementation that available data suggest is at least as effective as the usual developer-public school linkages. The question of whether the OIC/A system is better than the traditional system is addressed here, but no final answer can be offered since the evidence is not conclusive.

The traditional public school system tends not to recognize the need for programs of the magnitude and complexity of the CIP for students it has been unable to help. As a consequence, no attempt has been made to disseminate this type of alternative program through the traditional linkage system.[5] Furthermore, if such an attempt were made, it is unlikely that the alternative program would be disseminated with significant modification of "key" elements. The fidelity of a "replication" appears to depend on the amount of control the disseminators have, and school systems typically try to preserve local autonomy rather than accept central control.

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[5] Though the EBCE program is similar to the CIP, it is not directed to the same group of young people. Rather it is directed to "average high school students." Though EBCE's various models were disseminated through "traditional" linkages, data about its implementation are not yet available.

The single most powerful advantage of the OIC/A system over traditional linkages is the ethos derived from a religious/social movement with political strength. OIC/A is capable of providing potential sites with a "family" identity as part of the larger organization. This serves to establish cooperation, self-sacrifice, and a sense of purpose.

The Reverend Leon H. Sullivan is the most influential and charismatic leader of OIC/A. He has imbued OIC/A with a religious commitment to social change. The OIC/A philosophy is captured in its motto--We Help Ourselves. At a recent OIC/A national convocation Reverend Sullivan said he told the President of the United States, "We're not going to wait for the government, we are going to wage our own war on poverty."

Observations of OIC/A convocations are convincing evidence that "Webster's definition [of convocations] hardly captures the magnitude and symbolism of the word" (International Voice, Spring 1979). Church songs are sung. Petitions are signed and collected. Uplifting speeches and audiovisual presentations abound. These elements create a spiritual milieu that instills participants with the motivation and commitment of a mass movement.

OIC/A is capable of infusing or transmitting the ideals and aspirations of the movement (as well as channelling appropriately socialized personnel) through its massive network of affiliates throughout the country. The usual developer-public school linkages and most community-based organizations (CBOs) cannot provide the inspiration, motivation, and commitment of a spiritual movement of this magnitude.

On the other hand, a significant shortcoming of this or any other comparable organization is its highly politicized nature that tends to produce factions and peer rivalry at the local OIC level. Factions protecting their turf can significantly obstruct demonstration programs. One of the consequences of this situation has been OIC/A's frequent decision to "tread lightly" with respect to the local OIC. This has interfered with the process of implementing the programs. Clearly, the organization is capable of crossing political boundary lines and intervening with the weight of the movement when this is seen as necessary and appropriate. Exercising the highly centralized nature of the system seems to be necessary to ensure that the program is implemented as specified.

A second advantage the OIC/A system provides over the usual developer-public school linkages is the organization's reputation and years of experience with minority populations in local communities. OIC/A's skills and reputation in working with the unskilled, unemployed, and underemployed provide a base of community trust and respect for their programs. The usual developer-public school linkage system would require years to attain this level of trust in the community. Without a large, religiously imbued movement/organization behind it, it is unlikely that any other community-based organization would be able to engender as much trust and respect as the local OIC. The contacts established in the community over the years by the local OICs produce a sense of stability and strength.

Firmly established community business contacts can be used by the local OIC to assist new and developing programs such as the CIP. Usual developer-public school linkages have also established contacts in the community; however, they are not necessarily the appropriate contacts for individuals who feel alienated from the public school system and its network of relationships. Other CBOs are clearly capable of developing community contacts though new CBOs would require a substantial period of time to do so.

OIC's business contacts have been under-utilized to date in the dissemination and implementation of the program. This situation is thought to result from time pressures and is expected to improve in the future. In any case, better lines of communication between resources and those who need them should be established.

The relationship between socialization and implementation is of critical importance. The structural effects alone of the traditional system--constantly reinforcing traditional behavior--will generally outweigh the influence of alternatively socialized staff members within the system. Acquiring appropriately socialized staff can ensure the program's cohesive stability and common purpose. The ability and conscious choice of the OIC/A system to recruit alternatively or non-traditionally socialized program staff members is a third advantage over the usual developer-public school linkage system. Staff members socialized in alternative education or disenchanted with the traditional system are more likely to implement alternative education goals, objectives, and practices. Staff members socialized in the traditional system are more likely to implement a traditional program--regardless of the model specifications.

Other CBOs, presumably, could draw appropriately socialized staff as readily as the OICs--assuming they had similar guiding philosophies. In addition, CBOs are likely to maintain the goals and practices specified in a given model because they are largely unaffected by the traditional structure and organization of the school system.

On the other hand, a significant drawback of using CBOs may be communication difficulties between the LEA and the alternative program. Alternatively socialized administrators, for example, will lack knowledge of the school system and be unaware of important protocol. Miscommunication is probable during interaction between these parties and can impede implementation processes, e.g., LEA giving CIP outdated lists of potential interns. With alternatively socialized administrators, then, inefficient and potentially disruptive patterns of interaction are likely, while traditionally socialized administrators may well co-opt the program into a traditional format. Nevertheless, alternatively socialized personnel are likely to implement an alternative program with less deviation from its design.

OIC/A's general competency and specific dissemination skills complement the organization's socioreligious ideals. Some of OIC/A's skills can be highlighted by drawing briefly on dissemination models discussed in the literature. Juxtaposing these models and the OIC/A process can provide useful insights into the complex nature of the OIC/A dissemination and implementation process.

Fundamentally, the OIC/A system resembles the Research, Development, and Demonstration (RD&D) Model (Havelock, 1969). This model involves a rational sequence of activities from research to development to diffusion. The model requires a passive consumer ready to accept an innovation that is appropriately delivered. A large number of consumers are required to offset the high initial development costs.

The OIC/A system also has elements in common with the Social Interaction Diffusion Model (Havelock, 1969) as evidenced by its emphasis on such qualitative variables as treating interns as whole persons; understanding the interrelationships among instructors, counselors, and interns; "charismatic" leadership and management; and so on. This model is more sensitive than the RD&D Model to the program's context--the labyrinth of human interrelationships, roles, network, societal and organizational structures and substructures, and patterns and processes of communication.

In contrast, the Problem-Solving Model (Havelock, 1979) focuses on self-directed change, and assumes the user's needs should take precedence in the utilization of knowledge or in the search, selection, and potential adoption of specific innovations. The "outside" change agent simply guides self-initiated and self-directed change. This model, although apparently antithetical to the basic tenets of the RD&D Model, reflects the strategy OIC/A employed at Site A during the start-up and operation stages of the dissemination process. OIC/A adopted the role of simply guiding self-directed change at Site A because a more directive approach would have aroused strong antagonism and territorial behavior. Since OIC/A did not wish to engage in a major confrontation, the decision to adopt a consultant role was appropriate. The benefits included a highly developed sense of distinctiveness, autonomy, and affiliation with the program. The latter was a direct result of the participatory decision-making process that took place in the absence of OIC/A directives.

As the dissemination effort progressed, circumstances forced OIC into additional roles. OIC/A's intervention in Site C during its management and recruitment crisis, for example, exemplifies the crisis intervention category in Sashkin's (1973) Therapeutic-Intervention Model. OIC/A's intervention and resolution of the program's problems has significant consequences for future development. The staff gained renewed vigor and commitment to the program because "somebody finally listened" to them and took specific steps to alter the dysfunctional elements of the program. Lingering doubts, however, do remain at the sites concerning their future relationship with the disseminator (OIC/A) because they "waited until the 11th hour before coming in to save us."

OIC/A's behavior at Site D, where the technique of listening to staff "gripes" about management was used to relieve tension and obtain a more objective perspective of the situation exemplified what Sashkin terms cathartic intervention. While this approach proved useful, one of its drawbacks is that an enormous amount of time can be spent in gaining an in-depth understanding of a problem that could be corrected through some straightforward administrative action.

Examples could be cited where OIC/A employed catalytic intervention, confrontation intervention, and prescriptive intervention strategies--other types of behavior described by Sashkin. Parallels could also be drawn with other well known dissemination models. OIC/A's use of most, if not all, of the strategies described in the literature suggests that the OIC/A staff left few stones unturned in the dissemination effort. On the other hand, each strategy had to be developed as situations arose for which it was appropriate. This conclusion, of course, implies that OIC/A would be a significantly more effective disseminator now than it was during the early stages of the present demonstration. In fact, OIC/A staff members have expressed the same conviction.

Thus far this discussion has been confined to considerations of OIC/A and the developer-public school consortium as two alternative dissemination mechanisms. Another alternative to the present format involves an OIC/A-LEA team approach. OIC/A could transmit the structure, organization, and functional dynamics of the Career Intern Program to the LEA staff. The LEA would make decisions concerning staff selection, youth referrals, curriculum modification, and so on. The LEA would rely on OIC/A for training and technical assistance. This system would be extremely efficient and OIC/A-LEA political problems would be largely eliminated.

A major disadvantage of this approach is that it ignores the significance of the context (LEA versus OIC system) of a program. In addition, it neglects the potential importance of the OIC/A philosophy, reputation, and power in dissemination and implementation. The survival of a program is dependent on a variety of variables. One of them is placement in the appropriate environment. Placing an alternative program in an LEA context is likely to result in rapid erosion to more traditional educational approaches.

A third option involves selling the CIP to an independent contractor who would agree, under contract, to follow the model as stipulated. OIC/A would closely monitor the implementation. The contractor would assume the role presently assumed by the local OIC. The assumption underlying the selection of an independent contractor is that much of the counter-productive territorial behavior would be ameliorated. A disadvantage of this approach is that OIC/A's accumulated knowledge, experience, and charisma would not be utilized. Significant obstructionism from local OICs could also develop. Furthermore, the local networks available to the OICs could not be as effectively involved.

The last option involves packaging the CIP for a government network system. OIC/A has already received government validation of the CIP. The National Diffusion Network has added the CIP to its catalog of innovations and refers it to interested LEAs wherever appropriate. OIC/A potentially serves as a consultant. This option has not yet been used. A disadvantage of this approach parallels the disadvantages cited in the last two options--OIC/A talents and experience are minimized. A probable result is that errors made by the OIC/A early in the dissemination would be repeated--over and over again. This option might be useful, however, when serving populations outside OIC/A's range of experience or in locations where there is no OIC affiliate.

The OIC/A process of dissemination/implementation appears to be at least as effective as the usual developer-public school linkages. It's advantages include: the ethos provided by a soicoreligious movement/organization; the local OIC's reputation, experience, and community ties; and the alternative socialization pattern of the OIC/A-OIC network. Major disadvantages demonstrated by the OIC/A process of implementation/dissemination include: political divisiveness; under-utilization of resources; and interface difficulties, particularly with the LEAs. To some extent, however, these disadvantages are likely to diminish with time and increased experience. Finally, consideration of alternatives does not imply the existence of any mechanisms significantly more effective than the OIC system. In fact, RMC believes OIC's advantages outweigh, by a considerable margin, its disadvantages. Certainly, no other systems have demonstrated greater ability to disseminate such a complex program in such a short time.

Findings about the Implementation Process

In earlier sections, an idealized general approach for disseminating and implementing the CIP and the actual events that took place were described. In the following discussion the ideal and the actual are brought together for consideration. Findings and conclusions of other research are cited to determine the extent to which the experience of the CIP demonstration corroborates or refutes what others have observed.

Of course, no series of actual events is ever likely to follow an ideal path to its intended outcomes without problems. Even the most experienced program disseminators are bound to make some strategic or tactical errors, to misinterpret situations, to fail to anticipate some conditions or responses, and to encounter points of resistance or hesitancy among the groups affected by the implementation. Nevertheless, there is a substantial body of knowledge about the dissemination/implementation process that can be very helpful to those who are charged with introducing a new program to a community. It is in light of this knowledge that the findings about the CIP demonstration are presented.

Time and Timing

Adequate time for planning and start-up is critical for a program to succeed in actual implementation. The more complex a program is--and the CIP, being so comprehensive, is very complex--the more crucial it is to have the time to lay plans and marshall resources. In the case of the CIP, not only intra-program concerns had to be addressed, but many relationships with outside groups also had to be established in order for the CIP to operate effectively.

The intra-program concerns included selection of a qualified staff, staff orientation and training, intern recruitment, facilities selection and renovation, materials and equipment procurement, curriculum adaptation and development, and, finally, a start on creating staff cohesiveness or "team spirit." With the exception of the last, these concerns are relatively straightforward. However, they do take time to accomplish, especially the selection of a staff, since the person selected as project director should be involved in selecting the remaining staff members.

Relationships with other groups in the community are less straightforward. In order to gain the LEA's authorization to grant graduation credits to interns, the CIP must have the school board's and administration's explicit support. The program must be explained to the LEA and procedures worked out for accomplishing the necessary paperwork. - Similarly, the LEA's approval is a prerequisite for CIP recruitment in the schools and for getting access to interns' LEA records. Making these arrangements takes time, not only for making presentations to the school board and top administrators to get official endorsement, but also for the endorsement from the top to be transmitted to the operational levels of the LEA. Another significant relationship is that with the teachers' association or union. Especially at a time of declining enrollments and public reluctance to finance schools, teachers may be threatened by any program that will remove students from the public schools. In addition, as professional associations, teachers' groups take an interest in maintaining high standards for teachers. Therefore, they may want some involvement in defining the qualifications of teachers and counselors to be hired and assuring the standards are met. Establishing relations with a teachers' group in a new CIP site may thus be critical to getting the program going.

Business and industrial groups and social service agencies are also important to the program for developing Hands-On resources, for establishing the CIP as a program to which agencies can refer youth, and for creating a pool of resources to whom CIP interns with specific needs can be referred. Finally, the CIP needs to make itself known to a wide array of such diverse community groups as block associations, youth clubs, and gangs in order to generate interest for intern recruitment. Making initial contact and developing relationships of mutual trust and support with all these groups and individuals is a major, time-consuming task. Of course it would be unrealistic to expect these relationships to be fully developed before program operations begin. Indeed, several years are required for the full potential of such relationships to be realized. Still, the operation of the program requires relationships with such groups, so time to initiate them solidly is essential during the preparatory stage.

Earlier studies confirm the necessity of thse activities and of time to accomplish them. Miles (1964a, 1964b) calls attention to the complexity of planning needs in innvoation and program implementation efforts, noting the highly interactive nature of planning processes. The Rand change-agent study reports frequently point out a positive correlation between successful program implementation and early, comprehensive, and inclusive planning, while Fullan and Pomfret (1977) found in their review of implementation studies that lack of time for planning led to poor implementation. Paul (1977) and Lipham (1977) both discuss planning issues. Stearns (1975) pointed out difficulties that emerged from lack of clear planning by LEAs that hurriedly adopted Project Information Package (PIP) projects, as did Campeau, Binkley, Treadway, Appleby, and Bessey (1979). In his review of implementation of Follow Through programs, Beers (1976) cited thorough planning activities as very important to success. Many others have also discussed planning as an issue in implementation. These earlier studies do not indicate precise amounts of time that should be given to planning before other activities commence. Nor do we. The amount appropriate for a given implementation is dependent on the complexity of the program and the characteristics of the context.

A review of the implementation schedule planned for the CIP demonstration reveals the sites had at most six to seven weeks from the time their contracts with OIC/A were signed (15 December 1977) to the expected entry of the first cohort of 150 interns, with a control group of the same size also in place. (January 1978 is identified in the Interagency Agreement between DOL and NIE as the time when service to youth in the sites was expected to start.) Though the sites were notified of their selection prior to conclusion of contracts and were told to begin recruiting staff members in early December 1977, actual hiring could not be done until contracts were signed. In fact, most staff members started on the first day of initial training, 19 December for three sites and 26 December for the other. Also, the first cohorts, far smaller than 150 members and with no control groups, did not actually start in the CIP until late February 1978 in one site, mid-March 1978 in a second, mid-April 1978 in a third, and June 1978 in the fourth. Thus the time between beginning implementation and serving interns was longer than originally scheduled, but staff were under pressure to hurry, and planning and preparation were characterized by uncertainty and a lack of adherence to a well articulated plan. Furthermore, in three sites the original endorsements from LEAs and/or acquiescence from teachers' groups the local OICs had obtained when putting together their proposals did not result in cooperation and support when implementation began. This further delayed implementation. Protracted negotiations with LEAs and teachers' unions had a debilitating effect on recruitment and clouded operations by casting doubt over the whole enterprise.

Long negotiations with these goups were not the only factors unanticipated by overly ambitious schedules. Recruitment and selection of staff members were very hurried, resulting in appointment of some seriously under- or misqualified personnel. Review and adaptation of the original CIP curriculum and instructional materials took longer than planned. Acquisition of materials and equipment and renovation of facilities could not be completed within the time allotted, both because suppliers could not respond with the time frame of the schedule and because the local OIC requisition procedures delayed sending CIP purchase orders to suppliers. In sum, the original implementation schedule was far too tight to allow for orderly planning and preparation. The slippage in the entry dates for the first cohorts, while it could have conceivably been used for more thorough preparation, in fact served primarily to create anxiety in the sites. This was not alleviated by the threats of the OIC/A project director to close the CIPs down if they didn't meet their enrollment targets by certain dates, nor by the hands-off attitude of NIE, which refused to play a more active role.

The early confusion and frantic pace demoralized the staffs and curtailed the development of the esprit de corps that should characterize the program. The selection of inappropriate staff members, especially in leadership roles, delayed the growth of teamwork and resulted in some ineffective teaching and counseling. Of the original holders of the twelve leadership positions in the four sites (director, instructional supervisor, and career-counseling supervisor), only three are still with the project. Total staff turnover has been slightly lower, but is still a major problem. While the time allowed for assembling the staffs is not by any means solely to blame for this, it was clearly a factor.

Just as earlier research does not give specific, consensual findings about the appropriate amount of time for program planning, no conclusive recommendation emerges from the findings about the CIP demonstration. Too many interacting factors contributed to implementation problems to isolate the effects attributable to shortness of time alone. This dissemination has demonstrated that when objectives are clear and appropriate ways of achieving them are known, OIC/A is a very effective organization. OIC/A's record and the authors' prior experience in educational dissemination lead to the conclusion that, with the OIC/A team in the lead, the local planning and preparation necessary to lay a solid foundation for CIP operation could have been accomplished in about one semester.

Another way in which time caused difficulty in the implementation of the CIP was in the early exposure of the replication sites to the scrutiny of the evaluation team. Even under the best circumstances, some aspects of program implementation take considerable time to develop. Program climate, for instance, involves the gradual acculturation of staff members to each others' ways of doing things. Though there are structured ways to encourage development of a desired climate, much depends simply on working on shared tasks directed at shared goals. Thus expectations that program climate can develop quickly are unrealistic, and imposition of evaluation processes on a still developing program can result not only in failing to find the expected characteristics but also in impeding their development.

A few researchers have called attention to the effects of evaluation on program operations. Glass (1975) refers to "evaluation anxiety" that can detract from program operation. Fullan and Pomfret (1977) argue that if evaluation is imposed before users feel they know what they are doing, there may be few valid data collected. Miles (1964b) points out tha informal evaluations--i.e., those done with no formal design or data collection, but on the basis of higher-ups' feelings about projects--have been done before projects have taken hold, leading to their discontinuation. Likewise, Sikorski, Turnbull, Thorn, and Bell (1976) find that "too much evaluation can strangle an innovation" (p. 122). Rossi (1978) notes a variety of issues concerning evaluation of social-service programs. More common than reference to evaluattions' harmful side effects are many observations that implementing a program simply takes time (the Rand reports; Moore et al., 1977; Emrick, 1977; Stearns et al., 1975, 1977; Campeau et al., 1979; Havelock, 1970). Hall (1975) and his colleagues seem to be expressing a near-consensus that innovations should not be summatively evaluated until the users have had at least one complete program cycle's experience, because the program will not become fully operational until then.

The experience of the evaluation team in studying the CIP demonstration corroborates these conclusions. Though CIP staff members in all the sites have been most gracious and forthright in responding to evaluators' questions and in allowing observation of CIP activities, their anxiety about the conclusions that could be drawn from observing immature program operations has been very evident. It is clear from the trends in all the CIP sites that operations are moving toward full implementation, and that mature, stable, and full implementation is relatively close where it has not already been achieved. Thus, the findings of this report should be viewed as no more than preliminary indicators of the success the CIPs may ultimately have in achieving full implementation.

The timing of the sites' implementations, relative to the schedules of other local programs, has also had an effect on the demonstration. Timing has not been the focus of extensive research. However, the SRI/RMC evaluation of the PIP field test found several ways in which timing had a major effect on project implementation (Horst et al., 1975). Most of these findings concerned the importance of coordinating project planning and start-up with the LEA calendar.

The timing of CIP activities has been important in three ways. First, the CIP started in the middle of a school year. This made fewer potential staff members availble than if staffing had occurred in spring or early summer. Directors of all four sites mentioned the December project start as a negative factor in recruiting staff members. One director summed it up this way: "Since we started in December, the only teachers available were ones who couldn't get jobs in the regular schools anywhere around here or who had just moved to the area. We were lucky to find some good teachers, mostly from the new arrivals...."

Secondly, CIP versus LEA timing affected recruitment of interns, especially for the second cohort, originally scheduled to enter in June 1978. Though the difficulty in working out arrangements to recruit potential droputs in the schools presented major problems in reaching in-school youths during this period, an equally severe problem was that young people did not want to commit themselves to starting in a school program immediately after finishing the regular school year. Potential interns' desires to have their accustomed summer vacation and summertime job opportunities contributed to reluctance to get involved in the CIP at this time. The schedule for CETA and other DOL youth programs also failed to match the original CIP calendar. CIP staff members who were involved in recruiting during this period unanimously mentioned vacation and summer job opportunities, almost all with DOL programs, as the prime reasons potential interns had declined or postponed further investigation of the CIP.

Finally, timing affected the CIPs by virtue of the mismatch between CIP and LEA school-year schedules. This aspect of the failure of the CIPs to coordinate with LEA calendars has been most evident in terms of attendance. Attendance has been especially problematic during the times the CIPs have been operating but the public schools have been on vacation. Thus, for instance, the LEA spring-break period drew large numbers of CIP interns out of school to enjoy the spring weather with their friends who attend public schools. This probably could have been avoided had the CIP and LEA schedules been the same.

Lack of time and lack of coordination between the CIP and other local calendars have affected CIP sites in important ways. Program implementation, youth interest in CIP, and attendance have all suffered as a result of the failure of the demonstration to take these factors into acount. These findings confirm those of earlier research, and they reinforce the nation that time and timing are important factors to consider in implementation plans.

Agency Roles

The literature contains little discussion of possible effects of institutional roles in dissemination projects, though Sikorski et al. (1976) note organizational roles as important and Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein (1971) discuss organizational innovations in terms of institutional roles. In the CIP demonstration several results of institutional roles can be seen. The first is that when agencies have multiple roles, ambiguity and confusion can result for program staff. Four agencies--NIE, OIC/A, the local OICs, and RMC--had multiple roles in this demonstration. NIE had responsibilities for managing both the operation and evaluation of the overall effort. OIC/A was given the roles of overseeing the demonstration, providing technical assistance, and administering the contracts with the local OICs. The local OICs' roles included getting the CIPs underway and giving assistance as needed, acting as fiscal agents for the CIPs, and monitoring the CIPs as units within their local OIC structures. RMC had a purely evaluative role in theory, but the nature of the evaluation impinged on site operations, so a role in program operation devolved on RMC soon after the evaluation began.

At the sites, NIE and the local OICs soon became perceived as evaluators. As a result, visits from either to the CIPs created anxiety among the staff members. Local OIC executives seldom appeared at the CIPs. However, they made their presence known to the CIPs, particularly in fiscal matters, and came to be regarded by some CIP staff members as meddlesom and insensitive. NIE was a rather frequent visitor to the CIPs. NIE's interest in visiting is perfectly understandable. However, since they were perceived by the CIP staffs more as judges and important funding sources than as benignly interested observers, the staff members were put on the defensive by their presence. In all four sites, staff members report having been given explicit warnings of impending NIE visits and told to put their best act on. Thus the two agencies without direct evaluative responsibilities were nevertheless cast in the evaluative role, with the result that their activities tended to raise tensions and retard implementation.

OIC/A's role also included an evaluative responsibility. Since OIC/A was also the direct funding source for the CIPs, OIC/A staff members were regarded with substantial trepidation. The perception of OIC/A as an agency that might cut off funds was reinforced by the early threats from the OIC/A project director, and by the structure of the OIC system. Probably the most severe effect of OIC/A's multiplicity of roles was the way in which the evaluation and funding roles significantly obscured the technical-assistance role from the viewpoint of the CIPs' staffs. Staff members at all sites affirmed that they were reluctant to ask

OIC/A for assistance because they were afraid that revealing implementation problems might jeopardize future operations.

RMC came to have an operation role by virtue of the impact of the evaluation design, which called for administration of pretest to large groups of CIP applicants. As the problems created by this approach became evident, the sites asked for a revised testing approach, involving frequent small-group sessions and staggered admission of interns. In turn, this necessitated changes in the entry procedure and in some operational practices.

Another way in which the evaluation design affected implementation was in the need for random assignment of qualified applicants to the intern and control groups. This process created public-relations problems, especially when there were fewer applicants than places in the program. While a control group design might find acceptance when a program is heavily oversubscribed, the assignment of needy youths to control groups while program slots remained unfilled was odious to CIP administrators, the youths themselves, and the entire community.

The implementation was affected by the multiplicity of institutional roles, and also by the number of different agencies involved in the demonstration. Six actors--DOL, NIE, OIC/A, local OICs, CIPs, and RMC--were linked together in an often-confusing communications network. It is significant that at the time of this report, there has never been a meeting at which all actors could interact together. Such a meeting might have served to resolve problems more quickly and facilitate prompt decision making. Instead, messages became ambiguous, rumors circulated, and making decisions became a confusing and protracted process. One example is the way in which the sizes of the final cohort and its control group were determined.

The original demonstration plan called for each site to put four cohorts of interns through the CIP. The total number of interns at each site was to be 300. Two cohorts were to have control groups of equal size. As the demonstration approached the end of its first formal year--that is, in late fall 1978--it became clear that the sites would not be able to meet either of these objectives. Both NIE and DOL considered aborting the demonstration, but after appeals from and consultations with the local OICs and the CIPs, DOL and NIE considered consolidating the third and fourth cohorts, setting the size at 90 interns and 90 control group students. NIE asked RMC to comment on the effects of such a change on the evaluation's validity and reliability. RMC accepted the plan, but suggested the addition of some comparison groups of youth in similar programs. NIE then took the plan to DOL, which added the stipulation that these final third/fourth cohorts and their controls had to be in place by the end of

January 1979, or the site would be terminated. NIE relayed this message to OIC/A, which sent it on to the CIPs via the local OICs. Massive recruitment drives, involving all staff members and even some interns, began at the sites.

As the sites launched their final recruitment drives, however, OIC/A asked RMC how small the control groups could be and still offer sufficient reliability. RMC responded that control groups of 45 members would be minimally adequate, and OIC/A took this number to NIE and DOL. After lengthy telephone conferences in which NIE suggested control groups of 55, DOL superseded its original directive four days later with one requiring 90 interns and 55 controls. However, the reduced control-group size was not made known by OIC/A to the sites until several weeks later, for unknown reasons. During those weeks the sites were aware that decisions were being made but were unable to learn their content. Frequent phone conversations were held between CIPs in which they speculated about what would happen.

Early in January 1979, the final cohort and control group sizes were disclosed to the sites, whose recruiting efforts had begun to yield numbers of applicants approaching the target. By 31 January 1979, each site had secured 145 applicants, 55 of whom had been assigned control status. The frantic and demoralized nature of this period for the sites was testified to by virtually all staff members in all four sites. This series of events illustrates the cumbersomeness of the decision-making apparatus in the demonstration, and its potential and real effects in terms of creating confusion and ambiguity at local levels.

Another institution with a role in the implementation is the LEA. The fact that the LEA role has not been mentioned earlier underscores the minimal involvement of the LEAs. Perhaps paradoxically in view of other findings, the relative non-involvement of the LEAs in the demonstration had negative effects on implementation. Indeed it is surprising that with the leverage afforded by the pivotal nature of its major role--i.e., allowing the CIPs to grant credit toward LEA diplomas--only one LEA insisted on a greater share of operational involvement.

One LEA used its leverage to place district personnel on site in an advisory and monitoring capacity. This LEA also had had long involvement with alternative school projects, and had an established organizational division for alternative schools. Both the placement of LEA personnel within the CIP and the experience with alternative schools are thought to have contributed to the relative ease with which this site obtained LEA support. This LEA assisted the implementation from the beginning. In the other sites, active support and encouragement were not forthcoming until much later. Obtaining potential interns' school records, curriculum approval, teacher accreditation, and cooperation in recruitment were all areas affected by the CIPs' relationships with the LEAs. The LEAs' hesitancy about the CIP, exacerbated by their exclusion from the implementation, most certainly had a retarding effect. As one top LEA official put it,

> They haven't consulted with us about anything. I really support what they're trying to do, but I've got to report [to the school board] about program quality and I don't really know what's going on there. My reputation is at stake. I'd feel a lot better if I had some impact, even on staffing the thing, some control.

An official in another LEA put it more bluntly: "I can just see what would happen if some investigative reporter found out about this [arrangement]."

The roles of the various agencies in the implementation had a definite, if unmeasurable, impact on the overall process. The multiplicity of roles some actors held was confusing and provoked anxiety in the CIPs. Different structuring of the demonstration might have alleviated some of the problems. The complexity of the demonstrations' structure slowed and made more intricate the decision-making process. Though the number of actors involved was not realistically reducible, it might have been possible to design an explicit process for communication and decision making. Finally, the non-involvement of the LEAs in the active processes of implementation appears to have led to a lower level of LEA cooperation than might have resulted had they had fuller participation. Each of these findings should be tested further for corroboration. If generalizable, each has implications for future dissemination/implementation policy.

Personnel

Disseminating and implementing a complex program such as the CIP is a major undertaking. The skills required are specific and well documented. Sikorski et al. (1976), Moore et al. (1977), Crandall (1977), Havelock and Havelock (1973), the Human Interaction Research Institute (1976), Piele (1975), Siebert (1972), Campeau et al. (1978), Treadway (1978), and Harris, Eiseman, Harris, and Doyle (1979), as well as others, have all pointed out sets of educational dissemination knowledge and skills that relate to successful program adoption and implementation. Some sets are very specific, as Crandall's and the Havelocks', while others are more general. In addition, there are several general guidebooks to implementing educational innovations, such as Havelock's

A Guide to Innovation in Education (1970) and Niehoff's Handbook of Social Change (1966). Collectively these sources represent a very comprehensive pool of approaches and strategies for planning and effecting an educational program's installation in a new setting.

By and large the personnel involved in the CIP implementation were not experienced in educational dissemination. DOL personnel had been involved with previous DOL youth programs, but not with dealing with school programs or with dissemination issues. It was in fact because DOL did not have expertise in this area that the partnership with NIE seemed appropriate, particularly because of NIE's long association with the development and diffusion of the Experience-Based Career Education (EBCE) program. Nevertheless, the NIE staff members assigned immediate responsibility for the CIP demonstration had not been involved with EBCE, nor with other NIE dissemination programs.

Within the OIC system, the OIC/A demonstration staff included one member who had helped develop the CIP, taught in the prototype, and conducted other OIC training programs, and one other member who had been involved in the evaluation of the original CIP. However, the demonstration staff did not include anyone with experience in the operation of traditional school systems or educational-program diffusion. At the local OIC level, neither the OIC executives nor the project leaders (director and supervisors) had experience in disseminating or developing school-affiliated educational programs. As a result of this consistent lack of experience with school systems among the leaders of the demonstration, there was no first-hand knowledge about some of the important issues relevant to implementing the CIP--for instance, the extent to which LEAs would be critical to the process and the kind of training that would help CIP staffs meet LEA requirements.

Staffing practices within the CIPs also affected implementation, though it is unclear whether staff recruitment could have followed a different course. The impact of the time of year at which the staffs were chosen and of the short lead time given the sites have been noted. The decision to use the OIC pay scale also affected staff quality, as LEA scales in all sites are considerably higher. For these reasons, the initial staffs put together for the CIPs were generally less qualified than the design specified, especially in the areas of school teaching and counseling.

Moreover, staff turnover in the CIPs has been high. While this has removed some unsatisfactory staff members, it has also led to bringing in new staff members who were unfamiliar with the CIP philosophy and design and had to be trained. In addition, some well qualified staff members have left as well as unsatisfactory ones. The present CIP staffs are generally well qualified and experienced, but this state has been achieved only with delay and travail.

Those initial staff members who were underqualified or underexperienced were ineffective in developing their instructional or counseling programs in the early days of operations. As initial staff members exited and were replaced, the new staff members had to be oriented, trained, and acculturated to the CIP. The frequent injection of new members into the staff delayed both implementation of the CIP components and development of an esprit de corps. The overall result was to slow the implementation process.

Training and Technical Assistance

The CIP staff members were very impressed with the personal qualities and desire to help of the OIC/A technical assisters, but less so with the clarity, depth, and organization of the training and the program materials OIC/A provided during the start-up and early operation periods. Typical staff members' comments were to the effect that the training left them with a good overview of the CIP's goals and the nature of program components, but with little idea of how to put them into practice. CIP staff members' recollections of the training they received does not correspond with OIC/A's recollection of the training it gave. The reason for this discrepancy is not clear, although some of it may be due to the fact that much of the training was delivered over such a short period of time. Since RMC staff did not attend the training sessions, the content of the sessions cannot be evaluated.

The reports of several earlier studies and projects point out the need to give concrete guidance to new users of an instructional approach. Documentation of the characteristics of effective training materials for new implementors of exemplary educational projects is included in Horst et al. (1975). Fullan and Pomfret (1977) note the relationship between lack of specificity in training materials and low implementation. Sikorski (1976), Miles (1964b), and Emrick (1977) all discuss the importance for effective implementation of concrete training and materials with a "how-to" orientation. In addition, there have recently been published some excellent materials on how to package information about educational programs for adopters, such as Rosenau and McIntyre (1977).

One especially salient finding of the earlier work done by RMC with the PIP projects was that program descriptions and implementation materials are made more useful for new users when an outsider is involved in developing them. The analytical perspective of the outsider serves to make the descriptions and materials more balanced. An outsider also is less likely to overlook details that are so obvious to an insider that they are omitted from training materials.

Perceived Design Inflexibility

The basic thrust of the CIP demonstration has been to install the components of a program developed in one location in four new sites. According to the documents generated in the course of the demonstration, a strong emphasis was placed on adherence to the CIP design. The very use of the word "replication" in many of these documents illustrates this emphasis. The local OICs' subcontracts specifically stipulate that no modifications can be made without prior consultation and permission from OIC/A. However, staff members were also expected to adapt the model to local conditions. Interviews with CIP staff members revealed it was their impression that they were expected to copy the design exactly. Although they were aware of the need to respond to the unique requirements of their sites, the CIP staffs were under the impression that any deviations from the model would be negatively received by OIC/A.

On the other hand, OIC/A staff members report they were quite aware of the need for local adaptation, and point to the broad nature of the design as evidence they expected the local staffs to adjust procedures to meet local conditions. They feel they never insisted on exact fidelity to the extent the sites perceived. The reasons for this inconsistency betweeen local and OIC/A impressions are difficult to identify. It is probable the wording of the subcontracts about modifications was a factor. It is also likely that the pressures of getting the program underway and the sites' staff members' uncertainty about how to proceed led the staffs to interpret too narrowly OIC/A's insistence that the program components had to be implemented. That is, while OIC/A was telling the sites to get the program components operational in any way that would make them functional, the sites were hearing a message to do things just like they were done before without an accompanying plan for doing so. As one staff member said, "They tell us to follow the model, but the don't tell us how." Regardless of the reasons, the results of this miscommunication between OIC/A and the CIP staffs were confusion, frustration, some ill will, and slowed implementation. The delay caused for these reasons reconfirm Rogers' and Shoemaker's (1971) finding that the perceptions of adopters' determine the rate of adoption of an innovation.

It is unfortunate that the sites and OIC/A did not clarify the extent to which local modifications to CIP practices were expected, for in the early months of implementation, adaptations rarely grew out of a joint OIC/A-CIP analysis of how best to accommodate the main functions of the program. The conflict between adaptation to local conditions and strict adherence to model design is a common one. The concept of "mutual adaptation"--both the program and the context must be adapted for successful implementation--has become a mainstay in the lexicon of educational diffusion since its appearance in the Rand reports. Others who have noted the necessity to allow for adaptations in project implementation include Emrick (1977), Stearns (1977), House (1974), Fullan and Pomfret (1977), Sikorski et al. (1976), Campeau et al. (1979), Beers (1976), Pincus (1974), and Miles (1964b).

In addition to complicating the process of fitting a program into the local context, a pure replication approach slows the development of ownership feelings among local implementors. This has been found particularly significant in relation to program material, as reported by Beers (1976), Sikorski et al. (1976), and others.

Evaluation Issues

The evaluation also had a negative effect on implementing the CIP in the new sites. It began too early, and so intruded on local program development. CIP operations in the sites had not matured and stabilized before being subjected to the evaluators' scrutiny. CIP staff members complained that the early investigation detracted from their ability to get the CIP running properly. This is not to argue for eliminating study of implementation. However, it would seem desirable to restructure such study so it is not threatening or intrusive. This might be accomplished by building a research component into the start-up and early operation phases and using the results for program improvement and future implementation planning, but not for making judgments about a site's continuation before operational stability has been achieved.

Implementation was also affected by the control-group requirement of the evaluation design. Using a control group to determine no-treatment expectations against which actual results of CIP participation can be compared would be the most accurate way to evaluate program impact. However, there is strong evidence that assigning people to control status constitutes a negative treatment. Thus, measures of control-group achievement do not in fact determine no-treatment expectations. Moreover, the need for the sites to recruit control groups in addition to interns added to recruiting pressures. Tallmadge (1979) explores theoretical and practical problems with the control-group design, finding it inappropriate for situations such as the CIP demonstration. Rossi (1978) also addresses many issues relevant to evaluating programs like the CIP.

All sites reported that significant numbers of potential applicants lost interest when told they might be placed in a control group even though they met all entrance criteria. Public relations with the community in general were affected also. As one site director said,

> It turns people off. It makes us seem like another social experiment—here today, gone tomorrow, and not really interested in helping people, just in using them as guinea pigs. Some kids come here after they get the rejection letter and beg to be let in. They say this was their last chance, and it might have been. It just tears me up. And it doesn't make the program look too good either. How can we come in here talking about helping people, turning lives around, and do that. If we had more kids applying than places [for them], it might not be so bad, but I still would hate shutting them out. With room in the program I can't justify it to anybody, including myself.

Testing procedures necessitated by the evaluation also created recruitment obstacles in the early stages of the demonstration. Overall, the evaluation's impact on implementation was serious. Begun too soon to permit the CIP staffs to learn their roles thoroughly, the evaluation was threatening and deterred full implementation. Moreover, the evaluation design itself was responsible for keeping many potential participants from entering, or even applying for, the program.

Summary

Under even the most propitious circumstances, getting an operation as complex as the CIP successfully underway takes dedication, energy, creativity, time, careful forethought, application of relevant knowledge, and a fair share of good luck. In the case of the CIP demonstration, there were available large quantities of dedication, energy, experience, creativity, and some luck. What seems to have been missing were time, planning, and in some instances application of relevant knowledge.

The principal actors learned a great deal about educational program dissemination and implementation. As the demonstration proceeded, they applied their knowledge to the unique problems of each site with increasing effectiveness. As the present status of the CIPs attests, the sites have achieved or are approaching full implementation. What is unfortunate upon review of the implementation process is that full operation was achieved later and with a good deal more difficulty than was probably necessary, because of the lack of time to plan fully and to hire appropriately qualified CIP staffs.

However, not only does the experience of the CIP demonstration underscore the importance of adequate time and fully qualified staffs in implementing innovative social-service programs. It also raises questions about the appropriateness of dominant policy-research approaches. As the events of this demonstration have made clear, there is need both for more careful forethought in conducting demonstrations of programs and for more sensitivity to the inherent complexities and difficulties of implementation in the ways in which research about implementation is planned and conducted.

The CIP demonstration has been successful. The program has been implemented in four new sites and scores of disadvantaged young people have been or are being benefitted by it. The OIC system has proven to be an effective diffusion mechanism. Existing knowledge about implementation processes has been corroborated, and new knowledge has been generated. In the policy sciences, knowledge is cumulatively and iteratively spawned. The authors hope that their research, and the efforts of those whom they studied, will facilitate future endeavors of the same sort.

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

This section describes the instruments used to collect and process data pertinent to the CIP implementation study. The descriptions encompass development and nature of the instruments, ethnographic methods used in the study, data-collection procedures for each site, and the data analysis methodology used to arrive at the findings. A complete set of the instruments for the study is presented at the end of this section.

Other sources of data, not dealt with in this appendix, were the monthly and quarterly reports prepared by the sites and OIC/A, as well as reports and correspondence by NIE and DOL.

Development and Nature of the Instruments

The instruments used for this report include unstructured interview guides and classroom observation schedules. The purposes of each instrument, how they were used in the study, and how they were developed are presented below.

Interview Guides

The primary avenue through which data were obtained was in-depth interviews with staff members, interns, and relevant others in the community. From these, answers were sought to questions about CIP processes and outcomes. By pooling answers from many individuals in each site it was possible to develop models of the CIP as implemented in each site for comparison to the prototype model.

Interview guides (see Discussion Topic Checklists) were developed for all staff positions explicitly contained in the CIP prototype. In addition, interview guides were designed for CIP interns, program graduates, program dropouts, and various other individuals in the community who played significant though unofficial roles in the program. The interview guides that were developed for the interviews are little more than mnemonic lists of topics to be covered in all interviews. Their unstructured nature resulted from RMC's experience that the most comprehensive and accurate data are obtained when respondents are not limited to a prespecified set of responses to preworded and presequenced questions.

Interview guides were developed for the 17 different actors in the CIP:

- Director
- Instructional Supervisor
- Career Counseling Supervisor
- School Coordinator
- OIC/Local Director
- Curriculum Liaison/Resource Center Specialist
- Intern Operation
- Intern Follow-Up
- Instructor
- Counselor
- Career Developer
- Associate Professional
- Parent
- Community Leader
- Social Agency Personnel
- Business/Industry Contact/Decision Maker
- Hands-On, On-Site Supervisor

Two of the checklists--the Intern Operation Checklist and the Intern Follow-Up Checklist--were used to elicit complete descriptions of the CIP in the adopter sites from the intern's perspective. The various staff checklists were used to elicit information about personnel qualifications, orientation, training, and staff roles and relationships to determine whether model specifications have been replicated. The Parent, Community Leader, Social Agency Personnel, Business/Industry Contact/ Decision Maker, and the On-Site Supervisor for the Hands-On checklists were intended to provide information about the involvement of these persons in the program that was used to determine what changes to the model specifications had been made and why. Relatively few individuals in the last group of checklists could be interviewed during the field visits. Reasons include the brief duration of the visits, the fact few interns had been on Hands-On by the time of the field visits, and the unavailability of some individuals. Pertinent data about these individuals, however, were obtained indirectly from staff and intern informants who had come in contact with them.

Classroom Observation Schedule

The Classroom Observation Schedule (COS) was designed to assess the extent to which classroom instruction in the four sites was similar to the instruction specified in the CIP model. The COS was developed as a systematic way for recording specific teacher and intern activities in the classes and for describing grouping patterns and characteristics of the physical environment of the classroom. Teacher feedback and questioning strategies, management and discipline techniques, instructional practices, and instructional materials used, classwork assigned to interns, and instructor-intern interactions are assessed by the instrument. For each visit, a minimum of two, ten-minute focused classroom observations were conducted for each class over a two-day period by two observers. For the intern and teacher activities section, the observers made judgments about how frequently each type of activity occurred.

The instrument is patterned after the classroom observation instrument developed for the Follow-Through Planned Variation Study (Stallings & Kaskowitz, 1975) and the instruments developed by SRI and RMC for the PIP replication study (Stearns, 1975).

To develop the COS, a detailed review of the CIP model and learning packets developed for the original CIP was conducted. A list of all teacher behaviors and activities and intern activities was generated by reviewing, and in many instances simulating, the activities specified in the learning packets. The list was not exhaustive; it was designed to cover the most important instructional features associated with the CIP model.

The RMC research team was properly trained in the coding of classroom activities covered in the instrument. The COS was pretested in a preliminary visit to one of the sites. Data from the COS was used to substantiate interview information and to draw inferences about whether the sites implemented the instructional program as specified in the CIP model.

Ethnographic Techniques

Ethnographic concepts and techniques were incorporated into the study to supplement the more structured evaluation techniques and to allow site visitors to assess better the qualitative components of the CIP such as its ethos, program climate, the charismatic qualities of staff, and community support. These techniques are summarized in the Site Visit Guide and the Site Visit Procedures Manual at the end of this section.

The Site Visit Guide was developed prior to the first round of site visits and is divided into two parts: the ethnographic orientation and the ethnographic observation-of-the classroom section. The first section provides a general ethnographic orientation to data-collection procedures. This section comprises a number of ideas borrowed from the field of anthropology and its subdiscipline, ethnography. The overall aim of providing these concepts was to teach site visitors new ways of eliciting qualitative information in the data-collection process. The document describes how to perceive the school as a cultural system and how to elicit the insider's (or emic) perspective. This orientation was adopted to enhance the site visitors' senstivity to facts and relationships that might not have been anticipated when formal data-collection instruments were developed.

The second section of the Site Visit Guide provides specific guidelines for conducting naturalistic classroom observations. This section was also developed to supplement more structured data-gathering procedures. Description of naturalistic classroom observation was included to prepare the site visitors to detect and respond to events other than those covered by the structured instruments. Included were methods for documenting the larger context of the CIP in before-, during-, and after-class sessions. Guidelines were presented for observing the moods, attitudes, and motivations that the interns and instructors bring into the classroom each day. Specific techniques such as the use of mnemonic devices were also included in the guide to assist the site visitor in observing and recording information.

The Site Visit Procedures Manual was developed to provide the site visitors with guidelines for accomplishing the data-collection tasks. Information on aspects of interactions between interns and instructors were provided. Twelve primary categories of comparisons between the kinds of interactions and the frequencies with which they occur were made between classes at each site and across the sites.

The entire project staff reviewed the Site Visit Guide and Procedures Manual prior to the first site visit. Group discussions, led by the staff ethnographers, were held to clarify and expand upon the most important points. Questions raised in these sessions were explored in depth until all prospective site visitors felt comfortable about their ability to collect the desired types of information.

Data-Collection Procedures

Data collection was carried out mainly through site visits to each of the adopter sites. Get-acquainted visits were made to all sites to introduce evaluation staff and discuss the requirements of the evaluation.

A total of three formal data-collection visits were made to each site. All visits were carried out by a team of two researchers per visit. A total of five researchers were involved in data-collection activities, which took a week to ten days per visit. The visits were scheduled to coincide with the intake and recruitment timelines of the sites as specified in their agreement with OIC/A. The rationale for this timing was that it would allow researchers to obtain data from similar program operations at different points in time and, thus, to observe the program as it evolved over time. Difficulties in recruitment and unanticipated consequences of this upon program operations led to delays in the time of the visits, although their close occurrence relative to cohort initiation was maintained. Table 4, below, lists the visit and cohort initiation times.

Initial Conditions, Adoption/Selection, and Start-Up were the primary foci of the initial data-collection efforts. Subsequent site visits centered on Operations activities.

The RMC site visits in the context of CIP operations were as follows.

> Site A took in its first cohort on March 20, 1978, just twelve weeks after its director was hired. The site took in the second cohort 18 weeks later (July 24). The first official data-collection visit was conducted on August 7-15. The third cohort of interns entered the program in February, 1979. The second site visit closely followed that intake (February 26-March 2). The third site visit was conducted shortly after the second following a major change in the CIP leadership (April 23-May 2).
>
> Site B was organized 15 weeks before it took in its first cohort on April 17, 1978. The site took in the second cohort 26 weeks later (October 16). The first site visit was conducted from October 23 to November 2. The third cohort of interns entered the program February 1. The second site visit closely followed this intake (February 12-16). Another (brief) visit was made by one team member (March 8) to show interns the pictures he had taken during the previous visit, to observe changes, and to speak informally with the director. The final site visit was conducted shortly after the second (April 23-27).
>
> Site C operated for eight weeks before taking in its first cohort on February 23, 1978. The site took in its second cohort 33 weeks later (October 11). The first site visit was conducted from October 30 to November 3. The third cohort of interns entered the program on February 5, 1979. The second site visit closely followed that intake (February 26-March 7). This site visit followed a major alteration in CIP leadership. The third site visit was conducted shortly after the second (May 7-11).
>
> Site D had 22 weeks before taking in its first cohort on June 5, 1978. The site took in its second cohort 19 weeks later (October 16). The first site visit was conducted from

TABLE 4. COHORT INITIATION AND VISIT TIMES PER SITE

	Cohort Initiation	Visit Time
Site A		
First Cohort	20 March 1978	—
Second Cohort	24 July 1978	7-15 August 1978
Third Cohort	1 February 1979	26 February-2 March 1979 23-27 April 1979
Site B		
First Cohort	17 April 1978	—
Second Cohort	16 October 1978	23 October-2 November 1978
Third Cohort	1 February 1979	12-16 February 1979 23-27 April 1979
Site C		
First Cohort	23 February 1978	—
Second Cohort	11 October 1978	30 October-3 November 1978
Third Cohort	5 February 1979	26 February-7 March 1979 7-11 May 1979
Site D		
First Cohort	5 June 1978	—
Second Cohort	16 October 1978	13-17 November 1978
Third Cohort	5 February 1979	8-16 February 1979 7-11 May 1979

November 12 to 23. The third cohort of interns entered the program February 5. The second site visit closely followed the intake (February 8-17). This site visit followed a major change in CIP leadership. The third site visit was conducted shortly after the second (May 7-14).

Site visits were not made during the early months of the project, which included start-up activities and the first cohort, due to the fact that the evaluation contract was not awarded until April. In retrospect, site visits during these difficult periods would have been extremely useful. The first site visits were conducted shortly after intake of the second cohort to observe the program participants during orientation and the beginning of the term. The second site visit was also conducted almost immediately after the initiation of a cohort--in this case to observe the effects of the intensive recruitment that had been required to meet enrollment quotas and to observe the major leadership changes in two of the programs. Contractual deadlines for the preparation of the Task A report required that the third site visit be conducted very shortly after the second.

As mentioned above, the CIP data-collection methodology was planned to include ethnographic evaluation techniques to complement more structured data-collection procedures and to add qualitatively to the evaluation of the CIP sites. The RMC research staff included an anthropologist trained in ethnographic techniques who, in addition to collecting data in a naturalistic way, observed and interviewed beyond the initial week of data collection. Other members of the staff included individuals with expertise in program dissemination and implementation, and organizational behavior.

During the data-collection effort RMC adapted to the program schedule and talked to staff and observed classes at the CIP staff's convenience. Interviews and observations were conducted with staff, in classes, and in the school using the naturalistic approach whenever possible. Interviews were conducted, for example, in restaurants, hallways, and other informal settings.

In addition to those with CIP staff, interviews were conducted with local OIC administration who had been directly involved with the feasibility study and the actual start-up of the program, including the choice of site and staff hiring and training. These OIC individuals were also questioned about the ongoing technical assistance the local OIC provided to the CIP.

All CIP staff members, from the CIP director to clerical staff, were interviewed during the staff visits. The interviews were conducted by both of the RMC team members to glean as much information as possible. Interviews covered the following areas of implementation.

(1) The professional background of staff
(2) Staff training
(3) Intern recruitment
(4) Materials (use, availability, and appropriateness)
(5) Instruction
(6) Counseling
(7) Site selection

Although interviews formed the major part of the data collection, observations were conducted in a variety of settings to substantiate interview data and to obtain data on the interaction of CIP staff and interns.

Observations of the CIP consisted of formal classroom observations using the previously described classroom observation schedule and ethnographic observations of staff and intern behavior in and out of the formal setting of the class and on school grounds. All instructors were observed in classes. The ethnographic observations focused on a range of intern and staff interactions and interaction among staff.

Data-Analysis Methodology

Immediately after site visits, RMC researchers completed debriefing forms, which called for sorting the interview and observation data according to the intended processes and outcomes specified in the CIP model.

According to this debriefing approach, intended outcomes--for each stage of the dissemination/implementation process--are stated in question form. For example, a question from the start-up stage reads, "Were appropriate brochures, training materials, etc. available for diffusion of the CIP?" To answer the question, site visitors used the following rating system:

0 = the task was not accomplished at all
1 = the task was accomplished, but not as specified in the CIP model
2 = the task was accomplished as specified in the model

Each specific rating was justified by explaining, in narrative form, problems the site experienced in implementation and the site's rationale for the selection of a particular approach that differed from the CIP model specifications.

Finally, the site visitor recorded the bases for statements made and listed dates and sources of information, including documents that support the statement. This information was recorded for each of the anticipated CIP processes and outcomes and entered in their respective Debriefing Form.

Site visitors shared the debriefing task and discussed each others' observations and opinions. In case of divergent ratings, the data supporting these positions were reported. This format of recording observations allowed for systematic comparison of each of the sites based on the same criteria used to assess the process of implementation between sites.

The various interview guides, site-visit procedures, and related instruments used in this report are presented below.

CIP Study

Discussion Topic Checklist

Director

1. Background
   * recruitment
   * prior experience
   * special qualifications
   * motivation, goals

2. Relationship with OIC/A
   * satisfaction
   * level of direction/autonomy

3. Start-Up
   * LEA arrangements
   * personnel
   * materials
   * facilities
   * interns
   * community, Advisory Council
   * training

4. Operation
   * role, management style
   * relationship with staff
   * relationship with interns
   * relationship with parents
   * relationship with community
   * relationship with OIC/local
   * relationship with LEA

5. Problems, issues so far

6. Changes to CIP design

CIP Study

Discussion Topic Checklist

Instructional Supervisor

(in addition to Instructor's topics)

1. Why selected as supervisor

2. Role as supervisor

3. Relationships with
    * instructors
    * director
    * other staff members
    * interns
    * others (outside CIP)

4. Problems following CIP design

5. CCS planning and instruction

CIP Study
Discussion Topic Checklist
Career Counseling Supervisor
(in addition to Counselor's topics)

1. Why selected as supervisor

2. Role as supervisor

3. Relationships with
    * counselors and career developers
    * director
    * other staff members
    * interns
    * others (outside CIP)

4. Problems following CIP design

5. CDP use

6. CCS planning and instruction

CIP Study
Discussion Topic Checklist
School Coordinator

1. Background
    * recruitment
    * selection process
    * prior experience
    * special qualifications, skills
    * motivation, goals

2. Orientation and training
    * process
    * satisfaction

3. Role
    * vis a vis CIP
    * vis a vis LEA
    * others

4. Problems, issues to date
    * with recruitment
    * with LEA

CIP Study
Discussion Topic Checklist
OIC/Local Director

1. Background
   - prior experience
   - OIC/local history in community
   - why applied for CIP
   - other OIC/local programs

2. Feasibility Study
   - process
   - critical people
   - data sources

3. Start-Up role
   - staffing
   - facilities
   - materials
   - LEA arrangements
   - teacher-union arrangements
   - community support

4. Operation
   - linkage to community
   - budget/fiscal process
   - CIP autonomy
   - other

5. Relationship to OIC/A

CIP Study

Discussion Topic Checklist

Curriculum Liaison/Resource Center Specialist

1. Background
   - recruitment
   - selection process
   - prior experience
   - special qualifications
   - motivation, goals

2. Orientation and training
   - process
   - satisfaction

3. Role description

4. Relationships with
   - instructors
   - counselors
   - supervisors
   - interns
   - others

5. Problems, issues to date
   - getting materials, supplies

CIP Study
Discussion Topic Checklist
Intern - Operation

1. Program intake
    * recruitment
        -- motivation for application
    * selection
        -- interviews
        -- testing
        -- notification

2. Orientation to program

3. Instruction--Required and Electives
    * content
    * methods
    * materials
    * projects

4. Counseling
    * content
    * methods
    * materials

5. Intern Formalized Assessment procedures

6. Program climate

7. Field trips

8. Hands-On Experience
    * placement appropriate
    * activities
    * relationships with On-Site Supervisor
    * feelings about future career in field

9. Feelings about CIP
    * relevant
    * helpful to decision making about personal future
    * self-perception of changes in behavior, attitudes, knowledge

CIP Study
Discussion Topic Checklist
Intern - Follow-up

1. Present occupation
    * job (to Part II after Part I)
    * school (to Part III after Part I)
    * other (specify; to Part IV after Part I)

Part I: assessment of CIP and CIP follow-up

2. Recollection of career goals at CIP enrollment
    * career preference and reason
    * impact of CIP program on preference
        - reason for change, if any
        - CIP help in deciding to study with preference or to change
        - career development plan
        - career awareness classes
        - Hands-On

3. Satisfaction with CIP experience
    * reasons for satisfaction or dissatisfaction
    * ways CIP helped
        - classes, people
        - involvement in present occupation regardless of attendance in CIP
        - ability to plan future

4. Follow-Up contact from CIP
    * frequency, last, future
    * nature

Part II: for graduate who is working

5. Nature of present job
    * prepared for in CIP
    * satisfaction
      -preferred alternative, why
      -raises, promotions
    * may we talk to (get ident. data)

6. Length of present employment

7. Job changes or other intervening activities since CIP

8. Goals, plans

Part III: for graduate in school

9. Nature of school program
    * related to career preference in CIP
    * satisfaction
      -reasons why or why not
    * may we talk to (get ident. data)

10. Length of attendance

11. Changes in studies/majors or other intervening activities since CIP

12. Goals, plans

Part IV: for graduate in neither job nor school

13. Reasons for neither job nor school

14. Intervening activities since CIP

15. Goals, plans

CIP Study
Discussion Topic Checklist
Instructor

1. Background
    - Recruitment
    - Selection process
    - Prior experience (esp. with disadvantaged youth)
    - Special qualifications and/or skills
    - Motivation, goals
    - Prior knowledge of OICs, CIP

2. Training
    - Recollection of methods
    - Recollection of content
    - Summary of results
    - Satisfaction with results
    - Suggestions for improvements

3. Instruction
    - Self-assessment of teaching style
    - Characterization of relationships with interns
    - Description of "typical" class period
    - Materials used
    - Methods used
    - Diagnostics and prescription
    - Assessment procedures

4. Non-Instructional Duties
    - Interface with other staff members
    - Interface with parents
    - Extra-curricular internal contact
    - Field trips
    - Disposition conferences

CIP Study
Discussion Topic Checklist
Counselor

1. Background
    * Recruitment
    * Selection process
    * Prior experience (esp. with disadvantaged students)
    * Special qualifications and/or skills
    * Motivation, goals

2. Training
    * Recollection of methods
    * Recollection of content
    * Summary of results
    * Satisfaction with results
    * Suggestions for improvements

3. Counseling
    * Self-assessment of style
    * Characterization of relationship with interns
    * Description of "typical" counseling session
    * Methods, materials used

4. Instructional
    * Role in Career Counseling Seminar
    * Electives

5. Non-Instructional
    * Interface with other staff members
    * Interface with parents
    * Interface with others
    * Extra-curricular intern contact
    * Disposition conferences

CIP Study

Discussion Topic Checklist

Career Developer

1. Background
    * recruitment
    * selection process
    * prior experience
    * special qualifications
    * motivation, goals

2. Orientation and training
    * process
    * satisfaction

3. Role description

4. Relationships in CIP

5. Problems in community support, contacts

6. Problems, issues to date

CIP Study
Discussion Topic Checklist
Associate Professional

1. Background
    - Recruitment
    - Selection process
    - Prior experience
    - Special qualifications and/or skills
    - Motivation, goals

2. Orientation and Training
    - Recollection of methods
    - Recollection of content
    - Summary of results
    - Satisfaction with results
    - Suggestions for improvements

3. Duties and Roles
    - Instructional
    - Non-instrutional
    - Interface with other staff members
    - Interface with interns
    - Interface with others

CIP Study

Discussion Topic Checklist

Parent

1. Awareness of CIP

2. Motivation to have child involved

3. Selection Process

4. Orientation
    - * Process
    - * Content
    - * Satisfaction
    - * Understanding of CIP

5. Contact/involvement during operation
    - * Intern assessment
    - * Other

6. Relationship with CIP staff members
    - * Director
    - * Teachers
    - * Counselors
    - * Other

7. Perceptions of impact on child

8. Feelings about CIP
    - * Thus far
    - * Prospects

CIP Study

Discussion Topic Checklist

Community Leader

1. Individual's role in community

2. Initial contact

3. Motivation for involvement

4. Evolution and extent of involvement

5. Perceptions of CIP
    - * Relevance to needs of community
    - * Realism of CIP approach
    - * Prospects
    - * Suggested modifications
    - * Community support

6. Plans for continuing support/involvement

CIP Study
Discussion Topic Checklist
Social Agency Personnel

1. Agency's role in community

2. Individual's role in agency

3. Initial contact with CIP

4. Motivation for involvement

5. Evolution of involvement

6. Nature and extent of involvement

7. Perceptions of CIP
    * relevance to needs of community
    * realism of CIP approach
    * prospects
    * suggested modifications
    * community support

8. Plans for continuing involvement

CIP Study
Discussion Topic Checklist
Business/Industry Contact/Decision Maker

1. Firm background
    - nature of business
    - number of employees
    - roles for interns
        - Hands-On
        - future employment
    - previous involvement--social concerns programs

2. Individual's role in firm

3. Individual's previous involvement in social concerns programs

4. Initial contact with CIP

5. Motivation for involvement

6. Evolution of involvement

7. Nature and extent of involvement

8. Perceptions of CIP
    - relevance to needs of community
    - relevance to needs of firm
    - realism of CIP approach
    - prospects
    - suggested modifications
    - community/business-industry support

9. Plans for continuing involvement

CIP Study
Discussion Topic Checklist
Hands-On, On-Site Supervisor

1. General background
    - * nature of supervisor's firm's business
    - * genesis and evolution of firm's involvement with CIP

2. Supervisor's background
    - * nature of job
    - * experience in job
    - * initial contact with CIP
    - * motivation for involvement
    - * prior involvement in social concerns programs
    - * expected rewards from involvement

3. Nature of intern position
    - * supervisor's expectations at beginning
    - * job duties

4. Supervisor's relationship with intern

5. Supervisor's satisfaction with intern performance

6. Supervisor's perceptions of intern's experience
    - * intern's satisfaction
    - * intern's future in career field
    - * changes in intern's behavior
    - * changes in intern's attitudes
    - * changes in intern's knowledge

7. Suggestions for modifications to CIP

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Instructions

The classroom observation schedule comprises a classroom summary sheet; a materials, equipment, and physical environment checklist; and an intern and teacher's activities checklist. The schedule is used to record a minimum of *two* observations in each CIP classroom. These observations should be conducted sometime during actual instruction and at mutually agreed-upon times by each observer (through eye contact). Each observation period should last for ten minutes. After each ten-minute focused observation, all judgments about the instruction should be recorded. The comments section on the bottom of the cover sheet should be used to write a one- or two-sentence statement about the type of instruction that occurred. Any unusual circumstance that would invalidate the observation should also be reocrded here, including any statements you have about coding.

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Classroom Summary

Date ____________________

Site ____________________

Observer(s) ____________________

Additional Observer (specify) ____________________
Title

Intern Arrival ____________________
Time

Start of Instruction ____________ Start-Up Technique ____________
Time

Teacher(s) present ____________________
Name

Associate Professional(s) present ____________________
Name

No. of Interns Enrolled ____________________

No. of Interns Present ____________________

Sex No. Females ________ No. Males ________

Subject Matter ____________________

Nature of lesson (e.g., review session, presentation, film, etc.)

____

End of Instruction ____________________
Time

COMMENTS:

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Furniture, Equipment, Classroom Displays and Materials
(1= present, 2= used today)

Furniture

Desks(teachers) ___
Desks (assoc. prof.) ___
Desks(interns) ___
Tables ___
Filing cabinets ___
Bookshelves ___
Bulletin boards ___
Carpet ___
Learning centers ___
Storage cabinets ___
Other(specify) ___

Classroom Displays

Career education ___
Academic ___
Art pictures ___
Ethnic Group ___
Current Event ___
Other (specify) ___

Equipment

Projector ___
Filmstrip viewer ___
TV ___
Radio ___
Record player ___
Earphones ___
Cameras ___
Typewriters ___
Cassette player/ recorder ___
Calculators ___
Videotape equipment ___
Teaching machines ___
Science equipment ___
Other(specify) ___

Materials

Career Materials ___
Textbooks ___
Learning Packets ___
Publishers kits (e.g. reading kits) ___
Reference books (e.g. encyclopedias) ___
Resource library ___
Games, puzzles ___
Programmed materials ___
Skill tapes ___
Other (specify) ___

Physical Environment Features

Classroom Size	___ Adequate	___ Inadequate
Ventilation	___ Adequate	___ Inadequate
Lighting	___ Adequate	___ Inadequate
Noise level	___ Adequate	___ Inadequate

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

START: ___ Time END: ___ Time

Intern and instructor Activity Codes: (3 = freq., 2 = occasionally, 1 = never)

Intern Activities

A Silent reading (books etc.) ___
B Reading aloud ___
C Oral presentations ___
D Role playing, drama ___
E Discussion, academic ___
F Discussion, nonacademic ___
G Providing feedback, reinforcement ___
H Taking notes ___
I Listening, watching ___
J Forms, applications ___
K Writing, composition ___
L Writing, answering questions ___
M Checking work assignments ___
N Tutoring ___
O Recording progress ___
P Assisting with materials/equipment ___
Q Using equipment, typewriters, ___
R Self-instructional materials (learning packets) ___
S Worksheets, workbooks ___
T Games, puzzles (individual) ___
U Games, puzzles (group) ___
V Projects (drawing, constructing) ___
W Flashcards, drill ___
X Publishers Kits ___
Y Reference materials ___
Z Career Materials ___
ZZ Self-test ___
YY Oral quiz ___
XX Written test ___
WW Transitional activities (e.g. getting organized) ___
VV Disruptive behavior ___
SS Idle ___
TT Solving math problems ___

Instructor Activities

AA Testing/diagnosing ___
BB Reviewing/evaluating ___
CC Assigning/prescribing/directions ___
DD Watching/monitoring ___
EE Lecturing ___
FF Demonstrating/explaining/reading aloud ___
GG Drilling ___
HH Tutoring ___
II Assisting with materials ___
JJ Questioning/prompting ___
KK Discussion, academic ___
LL Discussion, nonacademic ___
MM Discussion, discipline ___
NN Discussion with staff ___
OO Providing feedback, reinforcement ___
PP Equipment/machines ___
QQ Classroom management/administrative ___
RR Idle ___

	Individual Interns	Two Interns	Small Group (3-8)	Large Group (9 and over)
Percent Teacher time	___	___	___	___
Percent Intern time	___	___	___	___

SITE VISIT GUIDE

CIP Evaluation

The following is a guide for the first round of site visits. It describes an ethnographic approach for conducting interviews and classroom observations. The guide is divided into two parts. Part 1 includes a number of ideas borrowed from ethnographic techniques that may be useful in structuring interviews with individuals and observing processes of social interaction that will add qualitatively to data collection. These ideas are meant to supplement and induce new ways the interviewer might look at and think about the school, staff, and interns. Part 2 of the guide provides specific guidelines for conducting naturalistic classroom observations.

Part I: Ethnographic Orientation

In addition to the classroom observation instruments that each site visitor will use, ethnographic observations will be done to record social processes as they occur in the school and classroom. Following are a number of conceptual and methodological ideas that can help each of us create new methods of perceiving school interaction and of "what is going on" and "how things are happening." Specific guidelines for classroom interactions and ethnographic observations in the classroom are included in Part 2 of this guide. The ultimate goal is to ask ourselves different questions in order to structure interview questions and data collection for the purpose of retrieving a variety of information. Most of these ideas are merely different ways of asking about the same processes in order to obtain similar but substantiating data.

The School as a Cultural System

The primary assumption of an ethnographic methodology is that all human interaction--social behavior--takes place in a logical systematic way. This logical system is the culture--or cultural system (so often viewed as an overused reference). When we begin viewing human interaction as a systematic pattern, questions about behavior can take on new directions that may not have been perceived, for example, by looking specifically at individual roles. The idea of a system connotes process and interaction, and specific modes of behavior. Individuals are viewed in relation to other members of the system being focused on.

Every cultural system has appropriate behavior that defines membership and participation in the group. There is appropriate behavior for classrooms, bars, schools, research, and whole societies. When we ask "What is appropriate behavior in a specific social setting," we are asking "How does an individual interpret and use knowledge in this group?" What are the rules and regulations that structure behavior and how are people using these rules? This becomes a discovery process. We have all experienced this discovery process in travel or when we find ourselves on "foreign turf." Much of the discomfort we feel comes from not knowing the ground rules (cultural knowledge and its appropriate use). And until we do know the basics, our discomfort continues.

All cultures have rules and regulations--norms and roles that condition and produce members of a culture. It is these people, the members, who know and use the rules to succeed and survive. In our case, these individuals are staff and interns. Each of these individuals have interpreted the knowledge of the school culture--the body of knowledge that enables them to partake in the system as it exists. For the researcher the main questions become questions of discovery: What are the rules and regulations that govern successful behavior? How does one survive in this game of school success? The analogy of a game is a good one for us to think about because it can help produce questions we may not have thought about. It may help get at the questions "What is really happening here?" and "How is it taking place?"

Not only do we want to know the ground rules but we want to know how they are interpreted by individuals at the schools. The variation we expect to find at the local CIPs can be interpreted as a result of local interpretation of the rules (guidelines). Along with local adaptations, each group of individuals (staff, interns, instructors, etc.) will have interpreted the rules for success on the basis of the knowledge being shared within the system. In order to compare and describe CIP implementation we need to know the ground rules and how they are interpreted at the school and individual level. Knowing the ground rules is not enough. A good illustration is traffic signal lights. The written law states that a yellow light means "Caution--slow down." The light will soon change to red, which means "Stop." Actual behavior, however, tells us that most motorists interpret the yellow light as "Step on the gas." Not only are individuals interpreting the ground rules to their advantage, but the interpretation is opposite the designed meaning. Instead of "slowing down" they are "hurrying up."

For this project it is important to understand how it is that interns interpret the knowledge (rules) they are getting from the staff, and what that knowledge is. It is this knowledge that permits or disallows learning and growth to occur.

In summary, the view of the school as a cultural system aids us in observing and identifying the processes that are involved in the operation of the CIP. A focus on interaction rather than on isolated events becomes prominent. Along with looking at specific events, we are observing the interconnections of those events.

CIP--A Cross-Cultural Situation

The situation we are entering is cross cultural in nature. The CIP staff, personnel, and interns have a culture--a body of knowledge and accompanying rules of behavior--that is unique and different from our own. We as evaluation researchers place ourselves in a precariously balanced position. Not only must we be sensitive to CIP people but we need to be aware of our own culture and how this might affect our perceptions and the assumptions we might make about the local CIP. It is almost impossible not to impose our own cultural definitions and categories on behavior that appears to be like behavior we know. But until we have enough knowledge about the CIP and the people there, this can be misleading and inaccurate. If we attempt to maintain an awareness about our own cultural perceptions and assumptions about school and student behavior, while realizing that the CIP is unique, our observations and data collection can be more accurate and we will maintain a more sensitive posture towards the school and interns. The idea in part is that others see things differently and these perceptions are reflected in their behavior. We need to understand and ask "What does the intern see?" and "How?"

Naturalistic but Systematic Observations

Ethnography relies upon observation for the discovery of important areas in which to focus study. Like most researchers, educational ethnographers enter a research situation with specific objectives in mind. A priori instruments or specific interview schedules are, however, not created before research begins, but are constructed from actual observations. Further observations (in addition to instruments) are structured around the knowledge that has been gleaned by "naturalistic and systematic" observations. Since we are limited in time and total naturalistic observations are impossible, we will be using "predefined" categories of behavior to begin structuring our observations. But we should continue to attempt observations of behavior in natural settings in order to be more accurate in later instrument refinement and observations.

Naturalistic observation refers not only to the behavior and environment the researcher is observing. The researcher-observer is also part of this methodology in that his observations should ideally be totally unstructured, and unhampered by a priori assumptions and instruments.

The intent is to liberate the observer and allow the natural highlights of human behavior to stand out. As behavior takes on a recognized pattern, the observer can then focus on those areas most pertinent to his/her research quest. This of course is the ideal, and it takes a significant amount of time. Time that we don't have. But the method is important and can be used in time segments that will fit our research design.

Each of us will probably create new questions based on personal obsevations. Below are some that may help us in observing. Much educational and learning research has focused on the obvious variables that seem to structure learning environments. Ethnographic research helps discover the hidden agendas that aid or impede communication, and influence learning. What are the non-obvious "things" people are doing? How are students controlling or structuring the learning environment? Is the teacher really "in control" or is there an unwritten social contract that he/she is sharing with interns?

The interviewer in the context of specific environment: Most of us have stated "Sometimes the real information comes after work hours or 'in the bar'." Although we realize that on-site visits produce data leading to analysis, there is much validity in the "after hours" type of interview. Anthropologists seek to conduct interviews in settings that allow freedom for the person being interviewed. An "interview" of the director in his office will probably produce different information (or at least a different insight) than one conducted on the street corner, in a restaurant, or in a bar. It is often the environment that structures interviews, regardless of the methods employed by the interviewer. The idea here is that when possible it might be a good idea to get the person being interviewed into an environment that does not predicate acting out of (professional) roles or interview conditioning. Students, for example, react to individuals differently out of classrooms (even within the school environment, because they are no longer in classroom X) a role that comes with being in classroom X.

When changing environments is not feasible, the idea itself helps us think about the framework/environment in which we are doing the interview. This environment includes people, as well as structure for roles.

The same concept applies when observing of an individual in his/her specific role. A good way to see an individual role is to actually place the individual in multiple settings that prescribe role interaction. School and community tours, participation in meetings, and other situations are good contexts for observing specific individuals in their roles. By requesting such tours, etc. we not only set up an interview in a different environment, but we can ask specific questions in less threatening ways because they are based on observation, etc. In short, techniques should be employed to get people into varying environments both to observe them in multiple roles and as a basis to view and ask about the school interns/staff from different perspectives.

Key informants: Anthropologists rely on key individuals for a majority of in-depth information about the culture or about specific problems that are to be studied. Along with observations, interviews, etc., key individuals can become reliable sources for checking, refining, and obtaining data. Each of us will gain rapport and become 'friendly' with specific individuals through the duration of the project. As we honestly share our objectives (to know what is happening) and trust develops, these individuals can become key sources of information.

We should begin nurturing one-to-one relations during this first site visit. If we are fortunate (and careful) enough *to identify* an intern or interns on this first trip who might prove to be key individuals, we will profit in the long run. Since we will be returning to sites, an effort to seek out this individual and talk with him/her would eventually establish rapport and a 'case study' observation. The idea is that continual discussions, interviews, and observations over the project's duration with specific individuals will lead to in-depth information about the school, its staff, and the interns. If the student drops out of the program at a later date and if rapport has been established, we have a basis (and hopefuly an honest desire) to find out what the student is doing, and why he or she dropped out. Similarly, a long-term view of successful graduates can be pursued.

Establishing rapport with key individuals will take some effort on our part, but it can be done in conjunction with the primary interviews and observations we must do. On the first site visit, we should try to identify specific interns (or staff) for this purpose.

Rapport with interns: Most of the local CIP staff know who we are and what we are doing from a variety of sources (OIC/A, RMC). Students (and perhaps others), however, will probably not understand our role and objectives. The situation we are entering is cross-cultural in nature. Most of our backgrounds and cultural understanding are different from that of the average intern we will be observing and interviewing. As in any cross-cultural situation, we should try to be honest and informative about our roles and interest, not only to accomplish our goals but to respect the individuals we are soliciting information from.

The Site Report: A Guide for Field Notes

Along with the general site report that each visitor will make upon returning to RMC, it is important to record site notes intermittently throughout the field site visit. These 'field notes' should ideally be done after each day during the visit, in as much detail as possible. Given the amount of work each of us has to do during the site visit day, this can be difficult and overburdening. However, it is still important to at least jot down a few phrases, ideas, or impressions you have after the day. Simple jotting down may prove to be important cues for recalling important events and/or be used later in discussions, write-ups, or for comparisons as the site visits and general program evolves. The Daily On-Site Field Report Form is included in the Site Visit Guide.

The insider's perspective: An "emic" orientation. One of the most valuable conceptual methodologies used in ethnography is the view of the system (in our case, the school) from the perspective of participants (the intern, instructor, etc.) A true insider's view is difficult (if not impossible) to obtain, but this methodology can help us to structure different questions and new observations of the school and intern. The idea is to place ourselves in the position of the intern (or staff). We should try to be "participant observers" in the sense that we can take the "role," at least mentally, of the individuals we are observing and spending time with.

Teacher effectivness. Teacher effectiveness is often conditioned by the attitudes, beliefs, and cultural background a teacher brings into the classroom. We should keep this in mind and attempt to identify correlates that will aid us in describing and analyzing these attributes as they affect classroom dialogue. This includes locus of control, as well as attitudes and specific beliefs an instructor might have. Relevant questions to ask ourselves include: How is it that the teacher is communicating and how does this affect the climate and interns in the class? How do teachers react to and discuss specific problems? Interviews and careful observations of intern-teacher interactions, and teacher-teacher interactions will help identify these personal attributes and attitudes.

Interview of the tester. The tester at each site will have spent more time on site than any member of the RMC research team. This individual is an important source of information about the school, staff, and interns. Because the tester is an "outside" person, his/her views of the school will be different than actual school staff. Furthermore, this person will return to the school for new cohort testing and in the process get segmented but overtime views of changes in the local CIP. It will be important for us to interview the tester and utilize his/her presence and knowledge about the CIP. General questions regarding staff attitudes, interaction, student reception, etc. should be asked of this person.

Management style. In addition to interviewing about the management of the schools and local program, we should be on the lookout for the characteristics of management "style." Observations should focus on staff interaction and communication in an attempt to answer the basic questions: How does supervision occur and how does it affect communication? How does supervision style affect the quality of interaction and the climate of the local program, and how do these styles compare across sites?

Part 2: Ethnographic Observation of the Classroom

Anthropology is fundamentally "holistic" in its outlook. This holism refers to the entire system of interrelationships in any given situation. Single isolated series of events are better understood and analyzed when placed in larger contexts of meaning. For example, a solitary scene in a play provides the audience with little insight into the meaning or significance of the scene until placed in the context of an appropriate act. Greater meaning is derived when the scene is placed in the context of the entire play from which it was drawn. Similarly, greater meaning and understanding of classroom activities can be obtained when class behavior is placed in progressively larger contexts.

This classroom observation guide is intended to document the larger context of the CIP classes we observe. This includes three stages--which incorporates before-, during-, and after-class sessions.

Pre-classroom observations often provide insights into the moods, attitudes, and motivations that students bring to the classroom each day. Interns enthusiastically discussing details of their classroom projects before class will be geared up for the class session. Other examples include when an intern is emotionally "charged up" because he is going to a concert that evening, or an intern is withdrawn or angry because she was arrested the day before. The following is a specific guideline for the pre-class observations.

1. It is important to observe and record how, when, and what interns do as they enter the classroom. (Recording this can be done by writing down key words or phrases that will help us reconstruct the event later in the day.) Some of these signficant characteristics of pre-classroom activity that should be recorded are:

    - conversations of interns, e.g., about academic or social matters;

- attitudes, e.g., happy, upset, tense, bored, and so on;

- non-verbal communication, e.g., eye contact, hand gestures, posture, and so on--but specify relationship of non-verbal communication to behavioral or verbal activity;

- number of "loners" and cliques or groups and their appearance, dress, and speech (jargon, tone, etc.).

It is important to be specific about appearance and speech. For example: Are most of the interns wearing jeans? Record your assessment of the individual or group's appearance (e.g., neat, clean, dirty, sloppy).

2. Observe and record the time and techniques necessary to begin instruction. For example, does the class begin exactly on time or 15 minutes late? Is it intern initiated (if so how), teacher initiated, and so on.

Instructional period observation is the focus of the ethnographic classroom observation. The roles, the cultural knowledge, and the interaction patterns operating during this period represent one of the most revealing components of an educational program. The aim of classroom ethnography is to elicit, observe, and record the emic or insider's point of view as unobtrusively as possible. Below is a brief list of guidelines for an ethnographic observation of a classroom.

- Mnemonic devices. It is important to record key words, phrases, and quotations of participants and of the classroom activities when possible. These mnemonic devices help reconstruct the situation for write up at the end of the class or at the end of the day.

- It is important to record significant gestures or body language of teachers and interns. Some gestures can serve as manifestations or indications of attitudes, (e.g. an intern that has his head on his desk and is yawning may indicate boredom or exhaustion, an instructor that is asking an intern a question but looking at another intern may indicate that a response is not desired from the queried intern etc., an intern that is responding to a question but staring out the window may indicate boredom or preoccupation).

- It is important to record mannerisms of teacher and intern whether it appears to affect the class or not. A set of gestures or a certain mannerism that may not bother us may contribute to an intern's interest in or repulsion toward classroom instruction. There are various mannerisms that can serve as manifestations or indications of attitudinal orientations--e.g., authoritarian, defensive, bored, comfortable, enthusiastic, etc.

- It is important to record the pace or progression of activities in the classroom to help assess classroom climate, in both the formal instructional and informal portions of the class, e.g., interns joining with each other, teacher attempting to gain or regain control of interns' attention, avoidance behavior, intern or teacher manipulation of classroom behavior, and so on. How does pace and continuity affect classroom behavior and learning?

Post-class observation. Teachers and interns often let down their guard and reveal more realistic attitudes at the end of the class (e.g., running out of the classroom as soon as possible to socialize, remaining after class to discuss classroom projects, and so on). This is a critical period in which to secure the participant's perspective of the specific class in their own words. For example, did the teacher or interns think the class was a typical CIP class? Did the participants perceive the evaluator as significantly altering the classroom climate? Was the class a review session or a session where new material was introduced? The Classroom Observation Form is included in the Site Visit Guide (Appendix D).

Below are a few guidelines to keep in mind while observing post-class activity. Observation and questions should be as unobtrusive as possible.

1. Record the exit pattern of teachers and interns from the classroom, e.g., fast, slow, in pairs, groups, alone, etc.

2. Record and observe the number of interns remaining after class. Why are they remaining? Are interns discussing academic matters, social matters, and so on? Are interns being detained for disciplinary reasons?

3. If appropriate, ask the teacher to evaluate the class in his or her own terms.

4. Ask interns remaining after class and two to three of those who left early what they thought of the class (as well as in comparison to other classes).

Classroom Observation Notes

At the end of the day or as soon as possible, you should review your observations and notes and expand them in a few paragraphs, identifying routinely repeated patterns of behavior.

Date ______________________________

Site ______________________________

Observer ______________________________

Teacher/class ______________________________

name / subject

Pre-classroom description:

Classroom instruction description:

Post-classroom description:

Daily On-Site Field Report Form

1. What are my general impressions?

2. What impressed me most? Event? Person? Why?

3. What are important areas for follow-up?

4. How would I characterize the interaction and dialogue of staff and interns, among staff and interns? How did people interact? Did I see any factioning or friction? What are examples of interaction?

5. Did something I expected to occur/to see not happen? Is it of significance?

Site Visit Procedures Manual
CIP Evaluation

The goals of this site visit is to characterize as thoroughly as possible the adoption/selection and start-up processes in each site. We are also planning to collect some data on the first phase of operations, although it is not essential to go into the details of project operation. Our aim is to collect as complete site-specific information on problems sites are having, discrepancies that exist and program changes that have been made. Review of the models of these stages is imperative. Other materials that will help "get a feel" for the objectives and climate of the CIP are the training and curriculum materials.

We will collect three categories of data to attain our goal. These are interview data, classroom observation data, and project documentation data. Each of these categories of data are described below. The guidelines and/or data collection forms needed for each category of information are included under the appropriate sections. A proposed site visit agenda is included at the end of this manual.

Interview Data. We will conduct in-depth interviews with all key project staff during the first visit. By asking appropriate questions and using the ethnographic guidelines presented (see Site Visit Guidelines), we can learn a great deal about the difficulties the staff have experienced thus far. There are seven major data-gathering issues, or categories of information, for this visit. These are:

I. Staff
- Method of recruitment/selection
- Qualifications/competencies
- Roles/relationships (interface with staff, parents, community, CIP advisory council, etc.)
- Motivation, goals
- Prior knowledge of OICs, CIP
- Job description (instructional procedures, counseling methods, etc.)
- Locus of control

II. Training
- Recollection of methods
- Recollection of content
- Perceived deficiencies (suggestions for improvement)
- Satisfaction with results

III. Intern Recruitment
- Criteria (grades, credits, etc.)
- Interface with feeder schools
- Competing DOL programs
- Intern characteristics
- Intern/community communication

IV. Instruction
- Use of CIP procedures (e.g., methods, materials, diagnostics, and prescription)
- Grouping and structure patterns
- Scheduling, coordination among departments
- Description of "typical" class period
- Self-assessment of style
- Intern perspective

V. Materials/Equipment/Facilities/Furniture
- Acquisitions (procedures, guidelines used)
- Substitutions/deficiencies
- Future plans

VI. Site Selection
- Why applied for CIP
- Relationship with local OIC
- Feasibility (e.g., criteria met, critical people, start-up role, linkage to community, relationship to OIC/A)
- Motivation, goals

VII. Counseling
- Description of "typical" counseling session
- Methods, materials used
- Self-assessment of style
- Intern perspective

We will rely on a tape recorder for the interview procedure to allow us to generate information, probing for clarification. New data categories can be added as you feel are necessary, but relevant to the study.

There are a total of 17 types of individuals to be interviewed. These are:

1. Local CIP Director (1)
2. School Coordinator (1)

3. Instructional Supervisor (1)
4. Career Counseling Supervisor (1)
5. English Instructors (2)
6. Social Studies Instructors (2)
7. Science Instructor (1)
8. Math Instructor (1)
9. Reading Specialist (1)
10. Math Specialist (1)
11. Counselors (3)
12. Career Developers (3)
13. Curriculum Liaison/Resource Center Specialist (1)
14. Associate Professionals (3)
15. Local OIC Director (1)
16. Interns
17. Tester (1)
18. Designee (Person assigned to assist with director tasks [1])

Observation Data. The second category of data collection will involve checklists of classroom activities and ethnographic observations. The observation checklists designate certain elements about the physical environment, materials, grouping patterns, kinds of activities, etc. Instructions and a copy of the checklist are presented in Appendix C. The ethnographic observations include the interaction and naturalistic observations of the classroom. Procedures for conducting the interactions are described below while the guidelines for conducting the overall classroom observations in a naturalistic way are presented in the Site Visit Guide.

In addition to conducting focused interviews using the checklists, we will conduct observations of social interactions of interns and teachers in CIP classrooms. Twelve (12) primary categories of interaction give the observer a matrix of types of interaction. These categories are intended to aid in the identification of social interactions normally encountered in classroom settings. They are not checklists or observation structures in which to classify or code behavior but are intended to be used as suggestive observation indexes. The concept is to allow the observer full freedom to observe the natural classroom processes and record the patterns that surface naturally rather than "structuring observation." After observation, the prominent patterns will be categorized according to the twelve matrix types. The frequency and deviance of these categories will then be compared to other classes and across local CIPs. Below are the categories to keep in mind:

Selectivity
Encouragement of verbalization
Intern interactions
Control systems
Avoidance behavior
Ingratiation
Play
Discipline
Time on task
Motivational techniques
Groupings
Reinforcement

Selectivity. This is the degree to which an instructor selectively focuses behavior, communication, and interactions toward specific individuals or groups of individuals while sanctioning (usually negatively) those not selected.

Verbal encouragement. These are the modes of interaction that impart verbal (and communicative) confidence in interns. These modes of behavior can be verbal and/or non-verbal and can be directed from peers as well as instructor and other adults in the classroom.

Intern interactions. This is behavior of interns that acts upon and/or influences attitude, responsiveness, and class behavior of individuals or groups of individuals. Peer pressure is one example.

Control systems. Refers to the patterns of behavior and interaction that function to regulate or dominantly influence communication, dialogue, and learning in the classroom. The "hidden structures and ethos" of student groups that relegate specific behavioral norms and sanctions of communication are an example.

Avoidance behavior. This is behavior that is directed toward non-learning or avoiding the acquisition of instructional knowledge. For example: doodling, tapping with feet or hands, head on desk, looking away.

Ingratiation. This type of behavior is directed to establishing oneself in the favor of others (with other interns and with the teacher). An example is an intern offering to clean the chalkboard after class for the teacher, or a single intern responding to every question asked by the teacher.

Play. This is intern activity comprising non-academically oriented social behavior in class. It includes joking, participation in games, conducting ritual insults, and so on.

Discipline. This includes teacher or intern reprimands, corrective instruction, and punishment concerning maladaptive or unacceptable CIP behavior. Examples include: interns displaying dissatisfaction with fellow interns when an intern decides not to complete his/her homework, teacher enforcing dress codes, and teacher requests of disposition conferences for a student with a high absentee record.

Time on task. This category refers to intern attitudes and feelings toward the work they are doing. It is displayed by the actual amount of time spent on a task, task persistence, and is often expressed in enthusiasm or resentment towards the task.

Motivational techniques. This refers to specific behavior used by interns and teacher to gain and maintain intern interest. The use of audiovisual equipment, voice inflections, drama and supportive dialogue (verbal and non-verbal) are examples.

Groupings. These are the grouping patterns of interns and teachers that are centered around specific classroom work. Groupings include individual and groups of interns working together and/or with a teacher.

Reinforcement. This refers to intern or teacher behaviors that serve as cues for feedback on academic and non-academic performance. It is characterized by responses such as corrective feedback, no response to questions, praise, acknowledgment, academic explanations, verbal and non-verbal demonstrations.

Project Documentation Data. Finally, we should try to get copies of anything relevant to the project adoption/selection, start-up, or operations. This would include memos, correspondence, carreer development plans, learning packets, forms used for counseling, lesson plans, admission forms, etc. These documents will serve to substantiate interviews, observation checklists, and ethnographic observation data. We can expect considerable cooperation if we continually emphasize that our goal is to study the implementation, not the sites.

Proposed Site Visit Agenda

This agenda is only suggested but may prove useful for planning all the data-gathering activities.

Day 1 -	a.m.	Interview Project Director
	p.m.	Tour facilities
Day 2 -	a.m.	Interview School Coordinator/Counseling Supervisor
	p.m.	Interview Counselors
Day 3 -	a.m.	Interview Career Developers
	p.m.	Interview Specialists, Tester
Day 4 -	a.m.	Interview Instructors
	p.m.	Interview Instructors/classroom observation
Day 5 -		Conduct classroom obervations/interactions/Interview local OIC/A staff
Day 6-10		Will focus on the in-depth participant observation. Ideally we will begin case studies of individuals and attempt to procure information that is not included in the first week of data collection.

DEBRIEFING FORM
CIP Evaluation

Summary of Analysis Section______________ CIP Site__________Date________
Stage

Code No.	Rating (0,1,2)	Justification(s) (Deviations, Replications, Problems etc.)	Basis for Statement

200

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Study of the Career Intern Program

Interim Technical Report—Task B:
Assessment of Intern Outcomes

Prepared for the National Institute of Education

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September 1979

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Because of its demonstrated success in the site where it was developed, a decision was made to try out the Career Intern Program (CIP) in four new sites representing a wide range of geographic and contextual diversity. The program itself is an alternative high school, serving dropouts and potential dropouts, and run by the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, a community-based organization. Its goals are to assist disadvantaged and alienated youth attain high school diplomas and enhanced employability. Funded by the U.S. Department of Labor, the demonstration effort, as well as its evaluation, has been managed by the National Institute of Education.

The evaluation encompasses processes (Tasks A and C), outcomes (Task B), and comparisons with other similarly targeted programs with similar objectives (Task D). This interim Task B report, however, is confined to an examination of the effects the CIP has had on participating students (interns). Furthermore, because the demonstration effort was still relatively new at the time of writing, it considers only the intermediate program objectives of reading and mathematics achievement, career awareness, and affective changes in self-concept and locus of control. A final outcome evaluation (Task B) report will address the objectives of high school graduation and post-high school experiences in addition to longer term achievement, career awareness, and affective benefits.

The evaluation design was modeled after that which had been used at the prototype site to assure comparability. Several methodological innovations were incorporated, however, to overcome problems that had been encountered in the earlier evlauation, to adjust for the extended intake testing period that resulted from recruiting difficulties, and to enhance the interpretability of the findings.

Taken as a whole, the evidence derived from the various analyses that were undertaken provides a quite positive picture of CIP impact. Statistically significant gains were observed in both reading and math (although not at all sites or in all analyses). Career-Planning and Use-of-Resources scales also showed consistent patterns of gains, while some gains on other scales were observed at some sites in some analyses.

With respect to reading and math achievement, the results were generally more favorable for third-cohort interns than for those in the second cohort. This finding was not unanticipated, however, as the interval between the second-cohort pre- and midtest had involved substantial turmoil at all four sites. Three of the sites experienced leadership changes during this period and all four had to undertake massive recruiting efforts that substantially reduced the amount of staff time available for curriculum planning and development, preparation for classroom activities, counseling, and other "normal" school functions. It is interesting to note that the only statistically significant gain in reading (second cohort) was found at the one site that did not experience a leadership change and had minimal turnover of other staff.

It is also of some interest to note that achievement levels in mathematics were lower than those in reading at all four sites. At Site B, the average pretest achievement level of 40 interns was at the tenth percentile of the national distribution while, for reading, it was at the twentieth percentile. Site A had the highest achieving interns, with mean math (pretest) achievement at the eighteenth percentile and mean reading achievement at the forty-second percentile. None of the sites showed significant gains in mathematics for second-cohort interns.

It was noted that the gains observed in reading and math achievement had occurred over a relatively short period of time. If growth continues at the same rate, the gains resulting from an entire year of program exposure will be of considerable educational significance and will place the CIP well up in the hierarchy of effective programs serving disadvantaged youth.

Significant gains were also found on the Planning and Resources scales of the Career Development Inventory. The nature of these scales, however, is such as to engender skepticism regarding the educational significance of the gains. One question, for example, asks whether the respondent has discussed career decisions with an adult who knows him or her. An affirmative answer verifies that such discussions (which are a normal part of the treatment) have indeed taken place. It does not signify that the intern has developed improved career-planning ability.

There was no consistent pattern of gains on the CDI Information scale or on any of the affective measures. The latter negative findings came as somewhat of a surprise since attitude change is central to the CIP, and since on-site observations and ethnographic analyses suggested that such change had occurred (Fetterman, 1979). It appears more likely that the instruments were insensitive to changes that did occur than that there were no changes. This inference led the authors to recommend that more appropriate instruments be sought out or developed for future CIP evaluations.

Methodologically, the results of this study served to verify the utility of the norm-referenced model (Tallmadge & Wood, 1978) for assessments of this type. Information obtained from the simultaneous implementation of this model and the traditional experimental-control design strongly suggested that the norm-referenced design yields more broadly interpretable results.

Lack of control over the control group causes educational research in field settings to differ from laboratory experiments in very important ways. Rather than providing a no-treatment expectation, members of the control group may find their way into atypical educational settings that can seriously bias the findings of treatment-control comparisons. If, for example, applicants to the CIP who were randomly assigned to the control group decided to abandon educational pursuits completely, their posttest performance would tend to make the program appear more effective than it really was. Conversely, if the control students gained admission to another particularly effective program, they would tend to make the CIP appear ineffective. Such biases are eliminated through the use of norm-referenced comparisons.

This demonstration of the soundness and utility of the norm-referenced evaluation model is particularly gratifying in view of other problems that exist with respect to control group designs. Not only is there the moral-ethical issue of withholding services from youth who need them desperately, there is the valid concern that assignment to the control group may constitute a (negative) treatment in itself (see, for example, Tallmadge, 1979).

I. INTRODUCTION

The Career Intern Program (CIP) is an alternative high school serving students (called interns) who have either dropped out of regular high schools or who were considerd to be potential dropouts. The CIP was developed in Philadelphia by Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OIC/A). An independent evaluation was undertaken by a reputable social science research organization, and the results were positive on several criterion variables (Gibboney Associates, 1977). The evidence of success was judged sound by the Joint (U.S. Office of Education and National Institute of Education) Dissemination Review Panel (JDRP), and the program was approved by that group as eligible for federally funded dissemination.

Dissemination of the CIP was funded by the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL). By means of an Interagency Agreement, the National Institute of Education filled the role of monitor for both the dissemination effort itself and for evaluation of the program at the new sites.

OIC/A was the agency responsible for carrying out the dissemination. That organization, through a competitive bidding process, selected four local OICs to attempt CIP replications. Three of the selected sites were urban and one was located in a small-size (30,000) city.

The work statement for the evaluation was prepared by NIE and DOL. To assure comparability with the original CIP evaluation in Philadelphia, it specififed that the evaluation of the replication sites employ the same instruments and experimental design as that study. While some modifications were eventually made to strengthen the evaluation, care was taken to preserve the desired comparability. A complete description of the design and instrumentation is presented later in this report.

Three cohorts of interns entered the CIP at each of the four sites (four cohorts had been anticipated). The first cohort was not included in the study for several reasons:

- the cohort had entered the program at two sites before the evaluation contract was awarded

- it was felt that the replications needed some time to stablize and that data collected from the first cohorts would not provide reliable indices of program effects

- the first cohorts at several of the sites were quite small and it was felt that findings based on such small samples would have been difficult to interpret

This interim report encompasses the assessment of student outcomes after approximately six months of program participation for the second cohort and four months of participation for the third. (The short pretest-to-midtest interval for the third cohort was dictated by the need to collect midtest data before the beginning of summer vacation.) Posttesting of both cohorts will be accomplished after approximately twelve months of CIP exposure, and a final outcome evaluation report will be prepared in early spring, 1980.

Three different evaluation designs were employed in the present study to assess the CIP's impact: (a) a control group design, (b) a comparison group design, and (c) a norm-referenced design. As is usually the case with field research, practical considerations precluded implementing any one of these designs in strict accordance with textbook procedures. Nevertheless, the results are felt to be meaningful and interpretable within the framework of assumptions that underlie the designs and/or derive from the procedural modifications that were (necessarily) made to them. The next chapter of this report provides detailed descriptions of the designs, the modifications made to them, and the analyses that were undertaken.

The most notable finding of the study to date was that interns who participated in the CIP (at least third-cohort participants) made statistically sigificant achievement gains in reading and mathematics. Both second- and third-cohort interns also made gains on the Planning and Resources scales of the Career Development Inventory, but the educational significance of these gains is questionable.

Data on other criteria of success, such as job placements, are not covered in this report but will be included in the final Task B Report.

Several methodological innovations were incorporated in this study and are discussed in the main body of the report.

II. METHODOLOGY

Overview

As mentioned in the Introduction, this study encompassed the simultaneous implementation of a control group experimental design, a comparison group design, and a norm-referenced design. Only the control group design was called for in the request for proposal, but a decision was made by the time of contract award to supplement it with a norm-referenced evaluation since large and (probably) differential attrition of students was expected from the treatment (CIP) and control groups. Such attrition, if it occurred, could create serious doubts regarding the validity of inferences drawn from comparisons between treatment and control groups.

The evaluation was further supplemented by the inclusion of various comparison groups approximately nine months after the study began. This step was taken because the sites were experiencing serious difficulties in recruiting sufficient numbers of students to fill treatment group quotas while also providing adequate numbers for the control groups. It was feared that control groups might have to be abandoned altogether or that they would be too small to provide a stable baseline against which to measure treatment effects.

Constraints were imposed on the evaluation by a number of circumstances associated with CIP operations at the four sites. These constraints typically required that the standard procedures associated with each design be modified. In some cases the modifications were substantial and significantly affect the manner in which the analyses should be interpreted. While the authors believe that the inferences they have made and the conclusions they have drawn are sound and credible, the reader is advised to note carefully all the cautions and caveats contained in the following descriptions of how each design was implemented.

Instrumentation

The study described herein used much the same instrumentation as was used in the evaluation of the original CIP in Philadelphia (Gibboney Associates, 1977). Both evaluations used standardized reading and mathematics achievement tests. The original study used subtests of the Stanford Achievement Test (1973 edition) while the present study used the Metropolitan Achievement Test (1978 edition) because the latter instrument was considered to be substantially better suited for use with the CIP target population than the former. Before the final selection was made, a careful examination of thirteen of the most commonly used achievement tests was undertaken. A summary of this evaluation is included as Appendix A to this report.

Other instruments used in the original study were the Career Development Inventory (Super, 1970), the Self-Esteem Inventory (Coopersmith, 1967), the Internal-External Scale (Rotter, 1966), and the Standard Progressive Matrices (Raven, 1940). These same instruments were used in the present study (except for the Standard Progressive Matrices, copies are included in Appendix B). There was one difference, however; the Standard Progressive Matrices test was used both pre and post in the original study whereas it was used only as a pretest in the present study. This change was made in response to a suggestion made by the NIE Project Officer.

With the exception of several pretest sessions at one site, all testing was accomplished by RMC-employed site assistants with appropriate professional qualifications. The few test sessions not conducted by RMC were run by a senior-level graduate student in psychometrics who was employed as a CIP math teacher at the time. He was trained by the regular RMC tester at that site and was judged to be well qualified.

The Control Group Design

The evaluation of the original CIP in Philadelphia made use of a randomly assigned control group in order to generate a baseline against which the growth of CIP participants could be measured. More candidates were recruited for the program than could be served, and a lottery-like procedure was then used to determine which applicants would be assigned to the control group and which would be admitted to the program. At mid- and posttesting times, members of the control group were paid to complete the instruments.

The evaluators noted several problems with this approach (Gibboney Associates, 1977). First, many of the control group students who returned for mid- and posttesting lacked motivation and were observed to mark their answer sheets at random. While an attempt was made to compensate for this problem through application of a statistical adjustment, the results were unsatisfactory. A second problem was that attrition from both groups was very high (approximately 50%) and there was concern that biases might have resulted. The more able or more highly motivated control group students, for example, might have changed schools or taken jobs and thus not been available for mid- or posttest data-collection sessions. On the other hand, the treatment group students who were not present for these sessions could easily have been those at the other extreme of the distribution who would or could not do the work required to remain in the program. Other hypotheses may be equally plausible, but the fact remains that while random assignment may have assured parity between the original groups, that parity could well have been destroyed by differential attrition.

RMC attempted to deal with each of these problems through design modifications. To control for random responding, students were paid for correct responses on those instruments where responses could be judged either correct or incorrect. The details of this incentive payment strategy are discussed below.

To combat the differential attrition problem, a decision was made to adopt a matching strategy that entailed the formation of dyads or triads of students (depending on treatment and control group quotas) who were as much alike as possible in terms of identifiable, educationally relevant characteristics. One member of each dyad or triad was then selected for the control group while the remaining members were invited to enroll in the CIP. The plan was to limit comparisons between treatment and control groups to those dyads or triads where it was possible to obtain mid- and posttest data on both the control group member and at least one treatment-group member. While this procedure reduced the size of the evaluation sample, it enabled the use of a more powerful statistical test than could have been used without matching and, presumably, eliminated the bias that might otherwise have resulted from differential attrition. The details of the matching procedure are also described below.

Incentive Payment Strategy

Because it seemed likely that students with no stake in the study (control and comparison-group students) would not put forth their best efforts when responding to mid- and posttest questions, a decision was made to provide an incentive, in the form of a cash payment, for correct responses. Thus, in addition to paying students $10.00 for coming to data collection sessions, they were paid $.07 for each item they answered correctly on the reading and math achievement tests, the Standard Progressive Matrices, and the Information section of the Career Development Inventory. (Items comprising the other instruments or scales had no correct answers).

There were a total of 190 correct answers, so students could earn as much as $13.30 for correct responding plus the $10.00 for attending. In fact, typical payments were in the

$18.00-$20.00 range. Tests were scored immediately and students were paid in cash or by check within minutes of completing the last instrument.

While the incentives were considered generous, it became clear that they were not entirely successful in achieving the desired results. In one instance, students who had been scheduled for testing were observed playing basketball on a court outside the school. They could not be lured in for data collection. In at least two other instances, students were observed marking their answer sheets without referring to the test booklet. Despite these occurances, it seemed clear that the incentive strategy was at least moderately successful. The majority of test scores appear to be valid and the anomalies observed in the Philadelphia evaluation data (e.g., mean posttest scores being lower than mean pretest scores) were largely eliminated.

Incentive payments were made to members of the comparison groups at both pre- and midtesting times. There were no such payments to treatment or control group members at pretest times since they were motivated to do well in order to qualify for admission to the CIP. Both treatment and control group members were paid, however, at midtest time. While treatment group members would probably have been adequately motivated without incentive payments, there was evidence that they would have resented not being treated in the same manner as the other groups.

Matching Treatment and Control Students

The variables on which students were matched were primarily pretest reading scores and age. Where a surplus of good matches could be achieved on these two variables, math achievement scores, grade level, and number of academic credits needed to graduate from high school were also considered. This set of criteria was incomplete and would have been expanded to include at least pre-CIP school attendance rates had sufficient time been available to compile this information. Nevertheless, a large proportion of total among-student variance was brought under experimental control by the matching process.

It was not expected that perfect matches could be achieved even under ideal circumstances. As it happened, however, circumstances were far from ideal. Severe problems were encountered in recruiting adequate numbers of students to meet treatment group quotas. For this reason there was no control group for the second cohort and the plan to serve four cohorts during the demonstration had to be abandoned. Only three were served.

Recruitment for the third cohort extended over a very long time period. Many pretesting sessions had to be scheduled with small numbers of candidates tested at each session. Program staff at the CIP sites felt that potential interns were being lost due to lengthy delays between being tested and being informed as to whether or not they would be admitted to the program. As a result, they requested that treatment and control group assignments be made at the end of each week in which testing occurred and that candidates be notified of their status.

The need to assign students to treatment and control groups on a weekly basis interferred substantially with the matching process. Typically, data were available on only a few students, and the formation of well matched dyads or triads was often impossible. Despite this difficulty, the matching procedure was continued (as well as it could be) and selection of students for the control group continued to be random from each dyad or triad. It was felt that, while treatment and control group assignments could not be changed, it would be legitimate to improve the matching of treatment with control group members after all the students had been pretested (Cook & Campbell, 1979, pp. 47, 48). Such post-hoc matching, of course, would have to be done without any knowledge about the status of students after the pretest since such knowledge (e.g., that a student selected for the treatment group had chosen not to enroll) could clearly bias the matching process and, thereby, the results of any subsequent analyses.

The matching (or rematching) process was further complicated by the fact that pretesting spanned a time interval of more than four months. Because reading and math skills develop over time, it seemed unlikely that a student would obtain the same test score if tested in late January that he or she had actually obtained when tested in the middle of the preceding September. It follows that two students who obtained identical scores tested at widely different times would not have obtained identical test scores had they been tested at the same time.

Adjusting test scores for different testing times. Because of the problem just discussed, it was considered necessary to attempt some form of statistical adjustment to obtain estimates of the scores students would have achieved had they all been tested at the same time. This adjustment was accomplished for reading and math achievement test scores through use of normative data. The procedure was as follows.

The assumption was made that students whose scores placed them at a particular percentile rank in the national distribution at time T_1 would tend to score at the same percentile rank at time T_2. (This same equipercentile assumption also underlies the norm-referenced evaluation design described later in this chapter.) Given the equipercentile assumption, a test score, and a test date, it follows that interpolating between adjacent empirical normative data points can yield estimates of the score that would have been obtained on any other particular test date. Unfortunately, the process is not quite so clear-cut as it appears on the surface.

The most salient complication to the interpolation process stemmed from the fact that percentiles do not comprise an equal-interval scale. Thus, if a test score obtained half-way between adjacent empirical normative data points was found to correspond to the 25th percentile in the earlier norms and the 5th percentile in the later norms, it would be incorrect to infer that the interpolated value would be the 15th percentile. (The 12th percentile actually lies midway between the 25th and the 5th.) This particular difficulty was overcome by converting percentiles to Normal Curve Equivalents (NCEs)[1] before interpolating.

The second complication related to the fact that cognitive growth rates are not linear over the twelve months of each calendar year. This complication could not be resolved as satisfactorily as the first because little is known about the exact shape of the growth function. What is known, however, is that growth is slower over the summer than during the school year--particularly for low-achieving students (Tallmadge, 1978; National Institute of Education, 1978; Thomas & Pelavin, 1976; Tallmadge & Horst, 1974). This difference in growth rates can easily be seen in most test publishers' norms tables by comparing the gain in standard score points per month between fall and the following spring with the gain between spring and the following fall. Unfortunately, it seems likely that further non-linearities exist since the spring-to-fall interval usually ranges from sometime in April to sometime in October and thus encompasses several months of the school year as well as the summer vacation.

If one assumes that cognitive growth proceeds at one more-or-less-constant rate while school is in session, and at a slower, but also constant rate over the summer, then it would be appropriate to use the October-to-April growth rate from

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[1] Normal Curve Equivalents are normalized standard scores with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 21.06 (when a nationally representative sample of any age/grade group is tested). They match percentiles at values of 1, 50, and 99 but, under the assumption that the attribute measured is normally distributed in the population, comprise an equal-interval scale.

September to June and, subsequently, to determine a June-to-September growth rate using whatever annual gain remains after the earlier manipulations. Although alternative rationales could have been developed (e.g., it could have been assumed that start-up would be slow and that the school year would end with a tailing off of growth), the approach described was the one adopted.

September 15th and June 15th raw-score-to-NCE norms tables were generated by extrapolating from the October 15th and April 20th Metropolitan Achievement Test normative data points. These extrapolated norms tables were subsequently used to obtain interpolated NCEs for each student as a function of his/her own particular testing date.

Caution. A word of caution should be inserted at this point. The procedure just described must be regarded as a poor substitute for testing all students on the same date. (For norm-referenced evaluations, the testing data should also correspond to one of the test's empirical normative data points.) While the authors believe the approach taken was sound--and that there was no better way to deal with the need for staggered testing--small errors have almost certainly been introduced. It seems unlikely that the magnitude of such errors would be sufficient to obscure any educatonally significant treatment effect, but even that possiblity must be acknowledged.

Selecting appropriate norm groups. An additional problem needs to be mentioned. Most CIP interns ranged in age from 16 to 21 but a few exceptions to this age-range requirement were made for various reasons. Many were dropouts who had been out of school for varying amounts of time. Most of those who had not dropped out were classified as juniors or seniors in their respective high schools even though they lacked too many credits to graduate with their classes. Others had been held back one or more years. For these various reasons, it was often not clear what norms tables were most appropriate for individual students.

Ultimately, a decision was made to categorize students according to their age rather than their grade levels. The age of each student as of 2 October 1978 was determined, and those whose ages were betweeen 14 and 14.95 were treated as ninth graders. Those between 15 and 15.95 were treated as tenth graders. Those above 16 were treated as eleventh graders. Regardless of their ages, no students were treated as twelfth graders at pretest time since twelfth-grade norms (the highest level of norms tables) had to be reserved for use with the posttest scores.

Out-of-level testing. A final but minor problem related to the test-norming issue is that all treatment, control, and comparison group students were tested out of level. That is, although the majority of the students could be considered as tenth, eleventh, or twelfth graders, they were tested with a level of the Metropolitan Achievement Test (Advanced Level 1) intended for seventh-through-ninth graders. This testing approach was adopted deliberately in view of the fact that the students tested were known to be low achievers. Many would find the in-level test too difficult, and their scores, as a result, would be unreliable.

Although the test itself was designed for students in grades seven, eight, and nine, it was possible to gain access to tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-grade norms by means of the (vertical) scale scores. With the Metropolitan Achievement Test (1978 edition) the process is as follows: (a) the out-of-level raw score is converted to a scale score, (b) the scale score is converted to an in-level percentile rank, and (c) the in-level percentile rank is converted to an NCE.

Unadjusted measures. The techniques used to adjust achievement test scores for differences in testing dates could not be applied to the Career Development Inventory, the Internal-External Scale, or the Self-Esteem Inventory because no normative data were available. Since none of these measures was used for matching, however, and since the ratio of treatment to control group students was approximately the same for each testing date, no biases in treatment-control analyses should have resulted from this failure to adjust.

Systematic influences may be present in the treatment-comparison group analyses since most comparison group students were tested later in the year than treatment and control students. On the other hand, the nature of the measures, coupled with the fact that the treatment did not begin until after all students (treatment, control, and comparison) had been pretested suggest to the authors that the differences in testing times would not significantly affect the evaluation findings. Again, however, readers are cautioned that this inference may be questionable.

Analyzing the Data

It was originally intended that all treatment-control comparisons would be based on intact, matched dyads or triads of students. This strategy was employed to counteract the potentially biasing influences of differential attrition. Unfortunately, the rate of attrition was very high and the number of intact groups available for analysis was correspondingly low at all sites. Matched groups analyses were undertaken, but they were supplemented with covariance and standardized gain score analyses in order to capitalize on the larger sample sizes that were available for these analyses.

The matched groups analyses were all performed using t tests for paired observations. This type of analysis is exactly comparable to a single classification analysis of variance. These analyses were done separately for each site and for each criterion variable.

The covariance and standardized gain score analyses also employed t tests since only two groups were involved. These analyses were conducted using three somewhat different approaches. Traditional covariance analysis employs a weighted average of the treatment and control groups' post-on-pretest regression lines. Similarly, the traditional standardized gain score analysis employs a weighted average of the principal axes of the treatment and control groups' bivariate scatter plots. In both cases, the underlying assumption is that these weighted averages provide a better estimate of the population value than either of the individual lines. Because this assumption may often be questionable, RMC elected to conduct three versions of each analysis, one using the control group's regression line/principal axis, one using the treatment group's, and one using the weighted average regression line/principal axis. Interpretations of these analyses are given in the Results section of this report.

The Comparison Group Design

Approximately nine months after this study began, recruiting difficulties experienced at all four sites made it clear that control groups available for the study would be of minimally acceptable size. For this reason DOL/NIE decided to supplement the evaluation through the employment of various comparison groups.

A brief feasibility study led to the conclusion that, in three of the sites, it would be possible to form comparison groups of (a) potential dropouts in feeder schools who had not applied for admission to the CIP (comparison group 1), and (b) participants in other alternative-school programs (comparison group 2). In one of these three sites it appeared that a group of actual dropouts not participating in any academic program could also be assembled (comparison group 3). The future of the fourth site was uncertain at that time; therefore no attempts were made to form comparison groups.

Most members of the various comparison groups were pretested in January, 1979. A few were tested in late December, 1978, and a few in early February, 1979. They were mid-tested in May and June, 1979. Raw scores on the reading and math achievement tests were converted to interpolated NCEs using the same procedures employed with the treatment and control groups. No adjustments were made to scores on the other instruments to compensate for differences in treatment and comparison group testing dates. Unfortunately, these differences are more likely to impact on the comparison group analyses than on the control group analyses. While students were assigned to treatment and control groups shortly after each pretesting session, thereby effecting a proportional balance, this was not the case with the comparison group. All comparison group students were pretested near the end of the four-month interval during which treatment group students were pretested.

All comparison group analyses were done using covariance and standardized gain score procedures. To date, the only covariance analyses that have been completed used pretest scores as the single covariate. Other analyses are being planned and will be reported in the final Task B report.

The Norm-Referenced Design

Norm-referenced evaluations have been popular for many years. It is only recently, however, that a design has been developed that appears adequately rigorous for applications of this type (Tallmadge & Wood, 1976). Work in progress, where the model is being compared with the random-assignment control group design using data compiled from several large-scale studies, has been especially encouraging, showing that results obtained from the two models rarely differ by a statistically significant amount.

The model is based on what has come to be known as the equipercentile assumption that was referred to earlier. This assumption holds that, in the absence of any special educational intervention, students will retain their percentile (or NCE) status with respect to a norm group over time. Pretest status thus becomes predicted posttest status, and gains are measured by subtracting predicted posttest status from actual posttest status (Posttest NCE - Pretest NCE).

There are two recommended procedures for implementing the norm-referenced model that could not be met in the CIP evaluation. First, all testing (pre-, mid-, and post-) should be accomplished within about two weeks of the test's empirical norming date(s). Unfortunately, not only did the cohort intake dates preclude such matching, but recruiting difficulties necessitated extending the pretesting period over four months (in the case of the third cohort). In an attempt to deal as effectively as possible with this problem, the Metropolitan Achievement Test's October 15th and April 20th norms were first extrapolated to September 15th and June 15th. Each student's raw score was then converted to an NCE by interpolating between the extrapolated norms tables according to his or her individual testing date. Some error was certainly introduced by this procedure, but its magnitude cannot be accurately predicted.

The second model-implementation problem concerned the rule that a single set of test scores cannot be used both to select students for participation in a program and as their pretest measure. When this rule is violated, a spurious regression to the mean occurs, and gains are artifactually either inflated or reduced. In the CIP, students were required to read at the fifth-grade level (more accurately, the entry criterion was set at one standard error of measurement below the fifth-grade reading level). Some candidates scored below this level and were denied admission to the program. To the extent that this happened, students were indeed "selected on the pretest," since they were not retested after being accepted into the CIP.

In the authors' opinion, the biasing influence of pretest selection was small because, except in one site, the great majority of students scored well above the cutoff. To the extent that a bias does exist, however, it will cause gain estimates to be too low. The norm-referenced evaluations will thus tend to be conservative. Real gains may be slightly higher than the norm-referenced estimate.

The main advantage that the norm-referenced model has over control and comparison group designs is that each student serves as his/her own control, thus enabling the use of a more powerful statistical test of significance. (The matched control group design has a similar advantage but is much more vulnerable to high attrition rates.) Thus, while the control, comparison, and norm-referenced evaluations should yield gain estimates of roughly comparable size, these estimates are substantially more likely to attain a given level of statistical significance with the norm-referenced model than with the other two.

All norm-referenced evaluations were conducted using the paired-observations $\underline{t}$ test.

III. RESULTS

This chapter is organized by criterion variable with outcomes presented sequentially for reading, math, career planning, career resources, career information, locus of control, self-esteem, and openness. Within each criterion area, results are summarized by cohort and evaluation design.

Reading

Second Cohort

There was no control or comparison group for the second cohort at any of the four sites. The only feasible analysis was, therefore, a norm-referenced evaluation. The results of this analysis are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Summary of Norm-Referenced Evaluation Findings: Reading, Second Cohort

	Pretest NCE Mean	Midtest NCE Mean	NCE Gain	N	t	p
Site A	45.69	46.16	.47	20	.22	
Site B	32.46	36.17	3.71	40	2.56	<.01
Site C	36.23	37.74	1.51	28	.57	
Site D	32.17	37.41	5.24	9	1.22	
Overall	36.25 (25.6 %ile)	38.80 (29.7 %ile)	2.55	97	2.27	<.025

As shown in Table 1, the overall (across site) gain was 2.55 NCEs, with the average second-cohort intern advancing from percentile rank 25.6 to 29.7. This gain was statistically significant at the .025[2] level (one tailed). Only one of the individual-site gains was statistically significant.

It may be noted that the rank ordering of the pretest means is the exact inverse of the rank ordering of gains. This relationship--also exemplified by the close correspondence between the rank orders of gains and midtest means--is no more than a mathematical artifact and should not be interpreted as anything more than that. It does not suggest that the program may be more effective with lower achieving students.

What may be of some significance, however, is the fact that both pre- and posttest scores were substantially higher at Site A than at the other three sites. That finding may reflect other between-site differences such as recruiting strategies.

Third Cohort

The first analysis performed on the reading test scores of third-cohort interns was the matched treatment-control comparison. The results of this analysis are summarized in Table 2. Although only one of the individual site analyses produced statistically significant results (a fact that can be largely attributed to the small sample sizes), when data were pooled across sites, the overall gain was statistically significant. (Note: all p-values are for one-tailed hypotheses, i.e., the treatment group will score higher than the control group).

The second set of analyses performed on third-cohort reading test scores entailed covariance and standardized gain comparisons between treatment and control groups and between treatment and comparison groups. The results of these analyses are summarized in Table 3. As mentioned earlier, three versions of each of these analyses were conducted, one using the treatment group's regression line/principal axis, one using the control group's, and one using pooled values.

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[2] The analyses reported here all employ *t* tests. Because many such tests are reported, their tabled probability levels are too low. While this problem could theoretically have been avoided by employing one overall analysis of variance and various subanalyses within it, the design would have been extremely complex. Furthermore, interpretive explanations of results at the level of fourth-order interactions (where individual site, individual cohort, single criterion, norm-referenced evaluations would fall) are so cumbersome that the distorted probability levels of multiple *t* tests were viewed as the lesser of two evils.

Table 2

Summary of Matched Treatment-Control Evaluation Findings
Reading, Third Cohort

	Mean Midtest NCE, Treatment	Mean Midtest NCE, Control	NCE Gain	N	t	p
Site A	34.61	26.41	8.20	7	1.19	—
Site B	38.49	37.50	.99	20	.26	—
Site C	42.37	36.39	5.98	17	1.98	<.05
Site D	38.10	34.06	4.04	13	1.13	--
Overall	39.08	35.02	4.06	57	2.21	<.025

Table 3

Summary of NCE Gain Estimates from the (Unmatched)
Control and Comparison Group Analyses
Reading, Third Cohort

	Covariance			Standardized Gain		
	Treatment	Control	Pooled	Treatment	Control	Pooled
Site A						
Control	3.58	2.08	3.24	2.78	1.33	2.40
Comp 1	-2.01	-3.26	-2.66	1.12	0.69	0.79
Comp 2	-1.16	-0.04	-0.39	1.81	2.68	2.29
Comp 3	1.36	6.15	3.38	4.76	7.72	5.91
Site B						
Control	0.56	0.08	0.50	-0.53	-1.35	-0.62
Comp 1	0.37	0.58	0.40	-1.46	-1.21	-1.38
Comp 2	-1.21	-0.95	-1.12	-0.46	-0.64	-0.52
Site C						
Control	2.50	2.13	2.31	3.15	3.01	3.07
Comp 1	-3.85	-4.14	-3.87	-2.27	-2.37	-2.32
Comp 2	2.22	-0.32	0.59	5.81	3.45	3.62
Site D						
Control	3.16	3.16	3.16	3.13	3.15	3.13
Overall						
Control	2.09	2.10	2.09	2.12	2.13	2.12

Although none of the gains summarized in Table 3 was statistically significant, it seems appropriate to discuss the rationale underlying the various analyses. Where treatment and control (or comparison) groups can be assumed to be random samples from a single population, it is generally agreed that covariance analysis is the appropriate approach to compensate for any pretest differences that may have existed between groups. The same assumption implies that a weighted average of the treatment and control group regression lines will provide the best estimate of the population value and, hence, the best estimate of the treatment effect. According to this logic, the gain estimate in the "pooled covariance" column of Table 3 should be the most accurate for treatment-control comparisons--_if_ the original randomization was not destroyed by differential attrition from the two groups.

The standardized gain score approach is generally considered to be more appropriate than covariance analysis where the groups being compared are assumed to be samples from different populations. In such cases, however, it is not clear that performing the analysis with a weighted average principal axis is the best approach. (It certainly cannot be thought of as the best estimate of the population value.) An alternative approach is to perform the analysis using either the treatment group's principal axis (yielding an estimate of what the gain would have been had the treatment group's mean pretest score been the same as the control group's) or the control group's principal axis (yielding an estimate of what the gain would have been had the control group's mean pretest score been the same as the treatment group's). These two estimates may then be viewed as boundaries within which the "true" gain is likely to fall.

The standardized gain score analyses presented in Table 3 are probably more appropriate than the covariance analyses for the comparison group evaluations, since non-equivalent groups are being compared. They may also be more appropriate for the control group evaluations as differential attrition could easily have destroyed the initial randomization. The covariance results are included because attrition may not have been differential and, more importantly, because they match the analyses presented in the Gibboney Associates (1977) report.

The final set of analyses performed on third-cohort reading scores entailed norm-referenced evaluations. The results of these analyses are summarized in Table 4. Treatment group gains in three of the four sites were of sufficient magnitude to attain statistical significance, and the overall gain across sites was highly significant. Control group gains were not significant at any individual site or overall. It is interesting to note, however, that the gain made by the Site B control

Table 4

Summary of Norm-Referenced Evaluation Findings
Reading, Third Cohort

	Pretest NCE Mean	Midtest NCE Mean	NCE Gain	N	t	p
Site A						
Treatment	36.15	38.24	2.09	30	.73	—
Control	33.43	32.41	-1.02	15	.26	—
Comparison 1	46.74	49.01	2.27	55	.97	—
Comparison 2	46.19	47.70	1.51	49	.63	—
Comparison 3	47.65	46.39	-1.26	19	.35	—
Site B						
Treatment	38.36	41.43	3.07	88	1.86	<.05
Control	35.15	38.56	3.41	25	1.38	—
Comparison 1	32.96	37.15	4.19	50	2.93	<.01
Comparison 2	40.55	44.22	3.67	53	2.94	<.01
Site C						
Treatment	38.08	41.59	3.51	44	2.26	<.025
Control	41.49	42.15	0.66	30	.26	—
Comparison 1	46.48	52.98	6.50	54	3.35	<.01
Comparison 2	57.13	56.48	-0.65	39	.31	—
Site D						
Treatment	32.49	37.44	4.95	52	2.38	<.025
Control	32.43	34.24	1.81	15	.54	—
Overall						
Treatment	36.57	40.05	3.48	214	3.54	<.001
Control	36.60	37.98	1.38	85	.96	—
Comparison 1	42.32	46.63	4.31	159	3.78	<.001
Comparison 2	47.10	48.82	1.72	141	1.52	—
Comparison 3	47.65	46.39	-1.26	19	.35	—

group was actually larger than that made by the treatment group. It is this fact that accounts for the small Site B gains reported in Tables 2 and 3.

Several comparison group gains were found to be significant. Gains made by Comparison Group 1 (students in CIP feeder schools who did not apply to the CIP) were large and statistically significant in two sites and gains made by Comparison Group 2 (students in other alternative-school programs) were significant at one site. This particular comparison group (at Site B) was comprised of students in a program providing intensive remediation in reading and math. The finding is thus not surprising. The gains made by Comparison Group 1 students at Sites B and C were unexpected, however, and deserve further investigation.

To date, all that was done was to examine which of the two feeder schools Site B control and comparison students attended. For both groups, students attending one of the schools showed near-zero gains while those attending the other made substantial gains. The school at which the large gains occurred recently acquired a new principal who has reputedly "turned the school around."

It is interesting to note that the overall treatment group gain for the norm-referenced evaluation was quite close in size to the estimate obtained from the matched treatment-control evaluation (3.48 vs. 4.06 NCEs respectively). The overall pooled covariance estimate obtained from the unmatched control group evaluation was somewhat smaller (2.09 NCEs) and statistically non-significant. It should be pointed out, however, that the three gain estimates differ from one another by less than a tenth of a national standard deviation.

It can also be seen from Table 4, that the comparison groups in Sites A and C scored substantially higher on both pre- and midtests than either the treatment or control groups at any of the sites. While this fact in no way accounts for the unusually large gains seen in several of the comparison groups at individual sites, the lack of group comparability does cast some doubt on the validity of the corresponding gain estimates presented in Table 3.

Mathematics

Second Cohort

Table 5 summarizes the results of the norm-referenced evaluation performed on second-cohort math scores.

Table 5

Summary of Norm-Referenced Evaluation Findings
Math, Second Cohort

	Pretest NCE Mean	Midtest NCE Mean	NCE Gain	N	t	p
Site A	30.90	33.60	2.70	20	.77	—
Site B	23.43	24.92	1.49	40	1.49	—
Site C	31.60	30.68	−0.92	28	.32	—
Site D	27.94	33.98	6.04	9	1.34	—
Overall	27.75 (14.5 %ile)	29.23 (16.4 %ile)	1.48	97	1.12	—

As shown in Table 5, the overall (across site) gain was 1.48 NCEs and was not statistically significant. The largest gain, 6.04 NCEs, was found at Site D, but even it was not significant because of the small sample size. Unlike the results obtained with the reading scores, Site A did not score markedly higher than the other three sites. Site B, on the other hand, showed a somewhat lower math achievement level than the other three sites.

Third Cohort

The results of the matched treatment-control analysis performed on third-cohort math scores are summarized in Table 6. A statistically significant gain was observed in Site C while the other three sites showed losses. (Again, all p-values are based on a one-tailed hypothesis. Had a two-tailed hypothesis been used, the site B loss would have been statistically significant at the .05 level.)

Table 6
Summary of Matched Treatment-Control Evaluation Findings
Math, Third Cohort

	Mean Midtest NCE, Treatment	Mean Midtest NCE, Control	NCE Gain	N	t	p
Site A	20.06	25.51	- 5.45	7	.80	—
Site B	27.11	35.66	- 8.55	20	2.09	--
Site C	37.16	24.15	13.01	17	2.53	<.025
Site D	28.36	30.21	- 1.85	12	.33	--
Overall	29.55	29.73	- 0.18	56	.06	--

It is important to remember that the matching of treatment and control students was done primarily on reading test scores and age. The result was that students were not well matched on math achievement. In fact, at Site A, the control group scored 19 NCEs (nearly a standard deviation) higher than the treatment group on the pretest. Had there been greater equality among groups (at all sites), a somewhat more positive picture would have emerged. However, it seems unlikely that, overall, a statistically significant gain would have been found.

The results of the covariance and standardized gain score analyses involving treatment and control, and treatment and comparison groups are presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Summary of NCE Gain Estimates from the (Unmatched)
Control and Comparison Group Analyses
Math, Third Cohort

	Covariance			Standardized Gain		
	Treatment	Control	Pooled	Treatment	Control	Pooled
Site A						
Control	9.30	13.15*	9.87	13.37*	14.51**	13.43*
Comp 1	-5.75	-5.78	-5.76	3.06	5.63	3.86
Comp 2	0.06	3.84	2.39	7.71	9.08	7.82
Comp 3	-0.70	2.45	0.94	7.75	4.92	5.33
Site B						
Control	-3.70	-3.76	-3.71	-3.11	-2.76	-3.03
Comp 1	-2.00	1.03	-0.94	1.47	1.86	1.51
Comp 2	-0.20	0.03	-0.09	4.43†	2.76	3.45
Site C						
Control	6.50	7.47*	6.83*	5.68	6.41	5.83
Comp 1	1.56	-0.25	0.18	3.95	2.14	2.42
Comp 2	1.36	-0.85	-0.08	5.13	2.45	2.75
Site D						
Control	-0.12	-2.33	-0.82	0.93	-0.45	0.45
Overall Control	6.52†	2.69	5.36**	3.52	3.62	3.55

* $p < .05$
** $p < .025$
† $p < .01$

Several of the individual-site control group gain estimates were statistically significant as was one estimate derived from the second comparison group at Site B. More importantly, the pooled covariance estimate derived from the combined control groups was also statistically significant. Overall, the picture was slightly more encouraging for math achievement than it was for reading (Table 3). Still, the gains were small and their statistical significance marginal at best.

The results of the norm-referenced evaluations are summarized in Table 8. In these analyses, the gains made by members of the treatment group were statistically significant at all four sites and the overall gain was 4.25 NCEs. None of the control group gains was statistically significant but, as was the case with the reading data, several of the comparison group gains were significant.

It is interesting to note that the sites fall into the same rank order (A, C, D, B) with respect to size of the estimated gain in both Tables 7 (treatment-control analysis) and 8. The absolute sizes of the gains are quite different, however, because the control groups in Sites B and D made gains while those in Sites A and C showed losses (see Table 8).

Career Development Inventory

Second Cohort

Since there were no control or comparison groups for the second cohort, and since the CDI does not have norms that are adequate to employ a norm-referenced evaluation design, the only analysis possible was a simple comparison of pre- and midtest scores. The results of these comparisons are presented in Table 9.

Three of the four sites showed significant score increases on the CDI Planning and Resources scales. Two of the sites also showed small but significant score increases on the CDI Information scale.

While the observed score increases are "good," it is not clear that they can be attributed to the CIP since no data are available as to non-CIP growth rates on these measures. It is of some interest to compare the score increases of the second cohort with the corresponding gains made by the third cohort.

Table 8

Summary of Norm-Referenced Evaluation Findings
Math, Third Cohort

	Pretest NCE Mean	Midtest NCE Mean	NCE Gain	N	t	p
Site A						
Treatment	19.16	28.16	9.00	30	2.71	<.01
Control	29.37	25.41	-3.96	15	1.46	—
Comparison 1	41.29	48.11	6.82	54	2.32	<.025
Comparison 2	38.37	40.43	2.06	49	.78	--
Comparison 3	40.37	42.47	2.10	19	.82	--
Site B						
Treatment	27.45	30.06	2.61	88	1.68	<.05
Control	28.90	34.68	5.78	25	1.60	—
Comparison 1	35.51	37.31	1.80	50	1.88	<.05
Comparison 2	38.21	37.08	-1.13	52	.65	—
Site C						
Treatment	31.33	35.14	3.81	43	2.60	<.01
Control	27.56	24.82	-2.74	29	1.27	—
Comparison 1	42.23	44.63	2.40	54	1.23	--
Comparison 2	48.51	51.19	2.68	39	1.82	<.05
Site D						
Treatment	23.72	26.93	3.21	48	2.36	<.025
Control	29.09	32.43	3.34	14	.70	--
Overall						
Treatment	26.20	30.11	3.91	208	4.25	<.001
Control	28.55	29.18	0.63	83	.37	—
Comparison 1	39.78	43.50	3.72	158	2.99	<.025
Comparison 2	41.14	42.18	1.04	140	1.61	--
Comparison 3	40.37	42.47	2.10	19	.82	--

Table 9

Summary of Pretest-Midtest Comparison
Career Development Inventory, Second Cohort

	Pretest Mean	Midtest Mean	Gain	N	t	p
Site A						
Planning	104	117	13	19	1.44	—
Resources	79	83	4	19	.94	—
Information	12.0	13.4	1.4	19	1.17	—
Site B						
Planning	100	121	21	37	6.01	<.001
Resources	82	88	6	37	1.96	<.05
Information	11.7	14.2	2.5	37	3.06	<.01
Site C						
Planning	101	119	18	27	3.19	<.01
Resources	82	94	12	27	2.35	<.025
Information	12.2	13.7	1.5	27	1.92	<.05
Site D						
Planning	110	131	21	9	5.58	<.001
Resources	88	99	11	9	2.18	<.05
Information	13.4	15.8	2.4	9	1.71	—

For the third cohort, Tables 10, 11, and 12 summarize the findings of the covariance and standardized gain score analyses that were undertaken. As shown in Table 10, many of the individual-site analyses showed statistically significant results for the CDI Planning scale and, across all sites, all of the treatment-control comparisons were significant at the .001 level. This finding is consistent with that reported for the Philadelphia prototype site (Gibboney Associates, 1977) and suggests that the program has a definite impact on career-planning scores.

The CDI Resources scale also showed a substantial number of statistically significant treatment effects. Although the results were not as clear-cut as those found with the Planning scale, there was a strong suggestion that the CIP affected CDI Resources scores. Again, the finding was consistent with the findings of the Philadelphia study.

The third CDI scale, Information, did not show any statistically significant treatment effect.

Results from the Planning and Resources scales were generally consistent from second to third cohorts. The Information scale, on the other hand, showed score increases for the second cohort, but no gains for the third. This difference suggested the possibility that both CIP and non-CIP students made score increases. Under these conditions, no treatment effect would be observed.

This hypothesis was checked by examining pre-to-midtest score increases made by third-cohort CIP participants. Statistically significant increases were observed at Site B ($t = 3.20$, $p < .01$) and at Site D ($t = 2.61$, $p < .01$). This evidence, coupled with the fact that the covariance and standardized gain analyses at these sites showed no gains, was taken as at least partial confirmation of the hypothesis.

Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory

The Self-Esteem scale of the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory showed some evidence of a treatment effect for the second cohort. As shown in Table 13, statistically significant score increases were oberved at Sites B and D. The covariance analyses performed on scores of third-cohort students, on the other hand, produced no statistically significant gains (see Table 14). As was the case with the CDI Information scale, this inconsistency appeared to reflect the difference in analytic technique rather than a difference between cohorts. Both Site B and Site D showed statistically significant pre-to-midtest

Table 10

Summary of Raw Score Gain Estimates from the (Unmatched) Control and Comparison Group Analyses CDI Planning, Third Cohort

	Covariance			Standardized Gain		
	Treatment	Control	Pooled	Treatment	Control	Pooled
Site A						
Control	8.17	14.12	7.67	20.10**	24.87†	18.86**
Comp 1	7.28	8.95	8.44	15.31**	21.78†	19.78†
Comp 2	14.60*	25.70†	21.90†	25.22†	41.74††	36.08††
Comp 3	11.51	13.78	12.46	19.71**	18.92**	19.38**
Site B						
Control	8.12	10.17	9.50	6.51	7.18	6.85
Comp 1	11.62†	11.02†	11.32†	10.36†	10.09†	10.14†
Comp 2	13.84†	13.96†	13.88†	14.41†	14.69†	14.52†
Site C						
Control	3.66	6.07	4.47	9.62	9.72*	9.52
Comp 1	31.42†	4.75	16.73	0.94	3.87	2.55
Comp 2	41.56†	15.73	29.42†	6.90	13.04	9.79
Site D						
Control	8.10	7.66	7.97	8.96	8.62	8.89
Overall						
Control	8.65†	9.24†	8.82†	10.70††	10.88††	10.75††

* $p < .05$
** $p < .025$
† $p < .01$
†† $p < .001$

Table 11

Summary of Raw Score Gain Estimates from the (Unmatched) Control and Comparison Group Analyses CDI Resources, Third Cohort

	Covariance			Standardized Gain		
	Treatment	Control	Pooled	Treatment	Control	Pooled
Site A						
Control	-5.37	1.09	-2.53	5.86	6.71	5.93
Comp 1	1.48	1.70	1.64	1.79	1.86	1.84
Comp 2	-1.03	0.88	0.22	1.89	1.78	1.82
Comp 3	5.52	5.39	5.46	5.10	4.95	5.04
Site B						
Control	-0.54	0.21	-0.38	2.58	2.79	2.59
Comp 1	7.29†	6.37**	6.65**	8.66†	8.75†	8.71†
Comp 2	7.62†	8.44†	7.94†	9.63	9.92†	9.74†
Site C						
Control	5.45	7.33	5.29	14.34†	12.71†	12.91†
Comp 1	0.32	2.30	1.41	8.76**	5.85	7.16*
Comp 2	6.13	10.21**	8.05	15.72†	14.90†	15.34†
Site D						
Control	7.50	9.87*	7.84	9.45*	11.15**	9.86*
Overall Control	2.92	4.81	3.46	8.10††	8.57††	8.24††

* p < .05
** p < .025
† p < .01
†† p < .001

Table 12

Summary of Raw Score Gain Estimates from the (Unmatched) Control and Comparison Group Analyses CDI Information, Third Cohort

	Covariance			Standardized Gain		
	Treatment	Control	Pooled	Treatment	Control	Pooled
Site A						
Control	2.14	2.23	2.16	1.53	1.44	1.45
Comp 1	0.24	0.00	0.06	0.86	0.60	0.68
Comp 2	0.79	0.86	0.84	1.04	0.96	0.99
Comp 3	0.16	0.26	0.20	0.71	0.74	0.72
Site B						
Control	0.10	0.00	0.07	-6.88	-8.81	-7.31
Comp 1	0.32	0.52	0.37	0.92	0.86	0.89
Comp 2	-0.54	-0.68	-0.59	0.25	0.29	0.27
Site C						
Control	0.24	0.18	0.22	0.52	0.52	0.52
Comp 1	-0.53	-1.56	-1.10	0.33	-0.24	0.01
Comp 2	-1.59	-2.22	-1.89	-0.71	-1.59	-1.12
Site D						
Control	0.45	0.50	0.46	0.42	0.41	0.42
Overall						
Control	0.64	0.64	0.64	0.61	0.61	0.61

Table 13

Summary of Pretest-Midtest Comparisons
Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory, Second Cohort

	Pretest Mean	Midtest Mean	Gain	N	t	p
Site A						
Self-Esteem	36.9	38.3	1.4	19	1.48	—
Openness	6.3	5.4	-0.9	19	1.73	<.05
Site B						
Self-Esteem	34.6	37.8	3.2	37	4.00	<.001
Openness	5.3	5.1	-0.2	37	0.55	—
Site C						
Self-Esteem	33.5	35.0	1.5	27	0.94	—
Openness	5.8	5.7	-0.1	27	0.23	--
Site D						
Self-Esteem	38.2	40.9	2.7	9	2.32	<.05
Openness	5.2	3.2	-2.0	9	2.34	<.05

Table 14

Summary of Raw Score Gain Estimates from the (Unmatched) Control and Comparison Group Analyses Self-Esteem, Third Cohort

	Covariance			Standardized Gain		
	Treatment	Control	Pooled	Treatment	Control	Pooled
Site A						
Control	-0.93	-0.72	-0.87	-1.51	-1.62	-1.54
Comp 1	-0.76	-0.77	-0.77	-0.04	0.01	0.00
Comp 2	-0.92	-0.88	-0.89	-1.28	-1.11	-1.17
Comp 3	-1.44	-1.79	-1.58	-0.20	-1.10	-0.57
Site B						
Control	1.34	1.17	1.31	1.00	0.96	0.99
Comp 1	2.82	2.47	2.51	1.51	1.55	1.50
Comp 2	0.71	1.31	0.95	1.46	1.83	1.61
Site C						
Control	0.32	0.64	0.50	1.03	0.89	0.97
Comp 1	0.02	0.07	0.03	0.67	0.57	0.62
Comp 2	0.75	0.77	0.76	0.95	0.84	0.90
Site D						
Control	1.78	2.28	1.83	2.38	2.75	2.43
Overall						
Control	1.07	1.08	1.08	1.19	1.21	1.20

score increases for third-cohort as well as well as for second-cohort interns.

The failure of the covariance/standardized gain analyses to produce any statistically significant gains was consistent with the Philadelphia evaluation. Unlike Philadelphia, however, there were statistically significant pre-to-midtest score losses at two sites on the Coopersmith Openness scale for second-cohort interns (Table 13) and covariance/standardized gain analysis losses for third-cohort interns at Site A (Table 15). (Note: A two-tailed hypothesis was used with this scale as there was no reason to expect that the CIP would raise scores.) Despite the statistical significance of these losses, it is not clear that they have any noteworthy educational significance.

Rotter Internal-External Scale

As shown in Tables 16 and 17, there was no significant tendency for the CIP to affect intern's locus of control. The Philadelphia evaluators hypothesized that the program would produce movement from an external to an internal locus of control, but, as is the case here, found no supporting evidence that such a change did, in fact, occur.

Table 15

Summary of Raw Score Gain Estimates from the (Unmatched) Control and Comparison Group Analyses Coopersmith Openness, Third Cohort

	Covariance			Standardized Gain		
	Treatment	Control	Pooled	Treatment	Control	Pooled
Site A						
Control	-1.12	-0.91	-1.01	-1.40*	-1.21*	-1.33*
Comp 1	-1.12**	-1.12**	-1.12**	-1.03*	-1.04*	-1.04*
Comp 2	-0.06	-0.06	-0.06	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02
Comp 3	-0.11	-0.11	-0.11	-0.16	-0.15	-0.15
Site B						
Control	0.83	0.80	0.80	0.49	0.60	0.51
Comp 1	0.32	0.45	0.35	0.55	0.63	0.57
Comp 2	-0.03	-0.05	-0.04	0.09	0.11	0.10
Site C						
Control	0.30	0.28	0.28	-0.02	0.11	0.04
Comp 1	-0.11	-0.08	-0.09	-0.25	-0.18	-0.21
Comp 2	-0.68	-0.68	-0.68	-0.56	-0.64	-0.60
Site D						
Control	-0.50	-0.65	-0.52	-0.18	-0.03	-0.14
Overall						
Control	0.28	0.22	0.26	0.09	0.07	0.08

* $p < .05$

** $p < .025$

Table 16

Summary of Pretest-Midtest Comparisons
Rotter Internal-External Scale, Second Cohort

	Pretest Mean	Midtest Mean	Gain	N	t	p
Site A	15.9	17.3	1.4	19	1.25	—
Site B	16.2	15.6	-0.6	39	0.65	—
Site C	15.4	14.1	-1.3	26	1.72	—
Site D	14.9	15.3	0.4	9	0.50	—

Table 17

Summary of Raw Score Gain Estimates from the (Unmatched) Control and Comparison Group Analyses
Internal-External, Third Cohort

	Covariance			Standardized Gain		
	Treatment	Control	Pooled	Treatment	Control	Pooled
Site A						
Control	-2.14	-2.62	-2.16	-3.28	-3.26	-3.33
Comp 1	-0.64	-0.69	-0.67	-0.71	-0.74	-0.73
Comp 2	-0.07	-0.55	-0.38	-1.37	-1.93	-1.72
Comp 3	-0.50	-0.47	-0.49	-0.68	-0.85	-0.75
Site B						
Control	0.22	0.15	0.20	0.45	0.48	0.46
Comp 1	0.32	0.31	0.32	0.38	0.37	0.37
Comp 2	-0.58	-0.72	-0.63	-0.01	0.19	0.06
Site C						
Control	-0.32	-0.32	-0.32	-0.32	-0.32	-0.32
Comp 1	0.03	0.01	0.02	-0.10	-0.10	-0.10
Comp 2	0.24	0.37	0.30	0.49	0.48	0.48
Site D						
Control	0.28	0.21	0.25	0.41	0.45	0.43
Overall						
Control	-0.44	-0.42	-0.43	-0.52	-0.52	-0.52

IV. DISCUSSION

Taken as a whole, the evidence presented in the preceding chapter provides a quite positive picture of CIP impact. Statistically significant gains were observed in both reading and math (although not at all sites or in all analyses). Career-Planning and Use-of-Resources scales also showed consistent patterns of gains while some gains on other scales were observed at some sites in some analyses.

Reading and Mathematics Achievement

With respect to reading and math achievement, the results were generally more favorable for third-cohort interns than for those in the second cohort. This finding was not unanticipated, however, as the interval between the second-cohort pre- and midtest and involved substantial turmoil at all four sites. Three of the sites experienced leadership changes during this period and all four had to undertake massive recruiting efforts that substantially reduced the amount of staff time available for curriculum planning and development, preparation for classroom activities, counseling, and other "normal" school functions. It is interesting to note that the only statistically significant gain in reading (second cohort) was found at the one site that did not experience a leadership change and had minimal turnover of other staff.

It is also of some interest to note that achievement levels in mathematics were lower than those in reading at all four sites. At Site B, the average pretest achievement level of 40 interns was at the tenth percentile of the national distribution while, for reading, it was at the twentieth percentile. Site A had the highest achieving interns, with mean math (pretest) achievement at the eighteenth percentile and mean reading achievement at the forty-second percentile. None of the sites showed significant gains in mathematics for second-cohort interns.

The three different third-cohort analyses of reading scores yielded generally consistent and positive results. On the other hand, the matched treatment-control analyses found the reading gain to be statistically significant at only one of the four sites (it was also significant across sites), while the covariance/standardized gain analyses produced no statistically significant results and the norm-referenced analyses found significant gains at three sites. These differences are worthy of comment.

It would normally be expected that the matched treatment-control design would produce the most reliable and credible results. Because losing one member of a dyad or triad would usually eliminate the other one or two members, however, there was a very large loss of sample size. With as few cases as remained, it is somewhat surprising that significance was achieved at even one site. The statistical test use with this design, however, is much more powerful than that used in the covariance and standardized gain analyses.

The most interesting comparison was between the results of the covariance/standardized gain analysis and the norm-referenced analysis. The apparent differences, when examined more closely, prove to be remarkably predictable. At Site B, for example, the standardized gain analysis (with the pooled principal axis) showed a loss of 0.62 NCEs, while the norm-referenced analysis showed a gain of 3.07 NCEs. What makes the two results consistent is the fact that the Site B control group made an even larger (norm-referenced) gain than the CIP group. A comparison between the the two groups, as a consequence, must show a loss for the CIP group.

This illustration is indicative of a fundamental and very important difference between the two evaluation strategies. While both designs are intended to contrast post-treatment performance with an estimate of what that performance would have been without the treatment, they employ different means to generate the no-treatment estimate. The norm-referenced model contrasts the performance of treatment group participants with the performance of students at the same achievement level attending a nationally representative sample of schools. The covariance/standardized gain model contrasts the performance of treatment group participants with the performance of students at similar achievement levels in the same community who do whatever they do after being denied admission to the program.

Members of control or comparison groups may remain in the feeder schools (which may be outstanding, average, or poor) or they may enter some other alternative programs. They may drop out, or take a job, or enter some job training program, or pursue any of a number of other courses of action. In the case of this study, most members of both the control group and comparison group 1 at Site B (at least most of those who could be enticed to participate in midtesting) remained in the feeder schools. One of the two feeder schools appeared to be outstanding. The control group members of that school averaged a 5.5 NCE gain in reading while the comparison group 1 members at that school averaged a 4.9 NCE gain. These gains exceeded those made by the CIP participants and, even though the CIP group made good progress, caused the program to look ineffective.

An analogy can be drawn between the norm-referenced model and a sprinter's time in the 100-yard dash. A time of 9.2 seconds can only be considered outstanding when compared to the "norms." On the other hand, a sprinter can run "a 9.2 hundred" and still lose the race. This is what happened to the Site B CIP. It lost the race to both the control and comparison groups even though its "time" (performance with respect to the norms) was quite respectable.

The pattern of mathematics achievement gains derived from the three analyses resembled that just discussed with respect to reading. Where covariance/standardized gain analyses showed larger treatment effects than the norm-referenced analyses (Sites A and C), the control group had negative (norm-referenced) gains. Where the norm-referenced analyses produced the larger treatment-effect estimates (Sites B and D), the control group made positive (norm-referenced) gains.

Regardless of size, gains derived from the norm-referenced design tended to be statistically significant more often than those derived from the covariance/standardized gain design. As mentioned earlier, this situation arises from the fact that a more powerful statistical test can be used with the norm-referenced model.

The matched treatment-control design produced gain estimates for math that were clearly at odds with those produced by the other two designs. As mentioned in the Results section, however, these differences can be attributed to the fact that the students were matched on reading achievement and age, with math achievement scores considered only when there was a surplus of good matches on the other two variables. As a result, there were substantial differences between treatment and control groups on pretest math achievement levels (at one site the control group scored 19 NCEs higher than the treatment group).

Another indication of the poor matching is the fact that the correlation between treatment group posttest scores and the scores of the matched controls was only .27 for math, whereas it was .65 for reading.

It will be possible to rematch the treatment and control groups using math scores and age (rather than reading scores and age). It was, unfortunately, not possible to undertake this effort in time to include the results in the present report. It is almost certain, however, that when the rematching is done, substantially different results will be obtained. For the present, the results presented in Table 6 should be regarded as highly suspect. The data in Tables 7 and 8 are far more credible.

Career Development Inventory

Tables 9, 10, 11, and 12 summarize the study findings with respect to the three scales of the Career Development Inventory. Care must be taken not to over-interpret the statistically significant gains made by interns on the Planning and Resources scales. The Planning scale in particular does not reflect ability to plan. The scale is made up of such items as, "Talking about my career decisions with an adult who knows something about me." The student response, "I have not given any thought to this" earns one point while the response, "I have done this" earns six points. There are various response options between these two extremes that earn intermediate numbers of points.

It seems to the authors that "gains" on items of this type are more descriptive of the program than of its impact. It is, for example, an integral part of the CIP for interns to discuss career objectives, plans, and decisions with career developers. It would appear then that any intern who failed to respond, "I have done this" must have misunderstood the question. Neither the question nor the response, however, gets at the issue of whether the discussion influenced the intern or was useful in any way.

Since the CDI Planning scale contains a significant number of similar items--items that would be expected to show gains simply as a result of participating in the CIP rather than benefitting from it--it must be concluded that the observed gains do not necessarily reflect benefits accrued by the interns.

The CDI Resources scale is made up of similar items and the same argument advanced with respect to the Planning scale is equally applicable. Gains do not necessarily reflect benefits accrued by the interns.

The items that make up the CDI Information scale are of a more traditional nature. They have correct and incorrect response alternatives and tap career-related knowledge. Gains on this scale would reflect an increase in interns' career awareness. Unfortunately, no gains were observed in the covariance/standardized gain analyses (although both second- and third-cohort students scored higher on the scale at midtest than at pretest.

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The study conducted by Gibboney Associates (1977) produced almost identical findings with respect to the CDI. There were significant gains on the Planning and Resources scales and no gain on the Information scale.[3] The last of these findings was explained in terms of content mismatch between the career-related instruction provided by the CIP and the quesitons contained in the test. That argument appears valid--interns learn about specific careers that are of interest to them, while the CDI Information scale is concerned with more general issues such as relationships between aptitudes and types of careers. The failure of the Information scale to show gains should not be interpreted to mean that interns learned nothing about careers. A more relevant instrument might well have shown significant gains.

Other Non-Cognitive Measures

As was the case with the Gibboney Associates (1977) study, there were no meaningful gains by CIP participants on either of the two Coopersmith scales or on the Internal-External scale. That study concluded, however, that the negative findings with respect to these scales were overshadowed by interview and other ethnographic data indicative of substantial self-concept and attitudinal improvements. While the present authors would feel uncomfortable taking so strong a position, the interview and ethnographic data collected by RMC also suggest that interns have realized significant affective benefits from their participation in the CIP (see Fetterman, 1979). It would be our strong recommendation, however that more suitable instruments be sought out or developed for future CIP evaluations so that the existence of such benefits can be quantitatively verified.

Additional Comments

It was noted in the Gibboney Associates (1977) report that the ten-week interval between pre- and midtesting was insufficient for major changes to occur. In the present study the interval was approximately 16 weeks for third-cohort interns. Despite this longer interval, it was quite surprising to the authors that so many significant gains were found.

RMC has been involved with the evaluation of compensatory education programs for many years. During that time gains as large as one-third of a (national sample) standard deviation (7 NCEs) have been encountered only rarely in programs running over an entire school year. The CIP has apparently produced gains in both reading and math of about half that size in about half that amount of time--and it is not a program that places its primary emphasis on basic-skills instruction. If the trend observed between pre- and midtesting continues between mid- and posttesting, truly impressive results will have been observed.

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[3] There were no gains on the CDI Information scale after interns had been in the CIP for ten weeks. There were small, but statistically significant gains after a year of program exposure.

Producing achievement gains in reading and math is not the major objective of the CIP. On the other hand, no data in this report are especially relevant to the program's major goals of helping participants earn their high school diplomas and enhancing their employability. The program had not been in operation long enough so that success in achieving these objectives could be meaningfully dealt with in this report. Plans are now being implemented, however, to collect appropriate data from interns who have graduated, and findings will be presented in the Final Task B Report.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is substantial evidence that the Career Intern Program had a positive impact on third-cohort interns in that it produced statistically significant achievement gains in reading and mathematics. The data were analyzed in several different ways and the findings of each analysis were not always positive for all sites. Enough of the results were positive, however, so that the authors feel a convincing case has been made for program effectiveness with respect to these two criteria.

It was noted that the gains observed in reading and math achievement had occurred over a relatively short period of time. If growth continues at the same rate, the gains resulting from an entire year of program exposure will be of considerable educational significance and will place the CIP well up in the hierarchy of effective programs serving disadvantaged youth.

Significant gains were also found on the Planning and Resources scales of the Career Development Inventory. The nature of these scales, however, is such as to engender skepticism regarding the educational significance of the gains. The scales appear to be more descriptive of the treatment itself than of its impact. One question, for example, asks whether the respondent has discussed career decisions with an adult who knows him or her. An affirmative answer (which earns a high score) verifies that such discussions, which are a normal part of the treatment, have indeed taken place. It does not signify that the intern has developed improved career-planning ability.

There was no consistent pattern of gains on the CDI Information scale or on any of the affective measures. The latter negative findings came as somewhat of a surprise since attitude change is central to the CIP, and since on-site observations and ethnographic analyses suggested that such change had occurred (Fetterman, 1979). It appears more likely that the instruments were insensitive to changes that did occur than that there were no changes. This inference led the authors to recommend that more appropriate instruments be sought out or developed for future CIP evaluations.

Methodologically, the results of this study served to verify the utility of the norm-referenced model (Tallmadge & Wood, 1978) for assessments of this type. Information obtained from the simultaneous implementation of this model and the traditional experimental-control design strongly suggested that the norm-referenced design yields more broadly interpretable results.

Lack of control over the control group causes educational research in field settings to differ from laboratory experiments in very important ways. Rather than providing a no-treatment expectation, members of the control group may find their way into atypical educational settings that can seriously bias the findings of treatment-control comparisons. If, for example, applicants to the CIP who were randomly assigned to the control group decided to abandon educational pursuits completely, their posttest performance would tend to make the program appear more effective than it really was. Conversely, if the control students gained admission to another particularly effective program, they would tend to make the CIP appear ineffective. Such biases are eliminated through the use of norm-referenced comparisons.

This demonstration of the soundness and utility of the norm-referenced evaluation model is particularly gratifying in view of other problems that exist with respect to control group designs. Not only is there the moral-ethical issue of withholding services from youth who need them desperately, there is the valid concern that assignment to the control group may constitute a (negative) treatment in itself (see, for example, Tallmadge, 1979).

An additional advantage the norm-referenced model has over control group designs is that it enables the use of a more powerful statistical test. This means that, with a given effect size, fewer subjects will be needed to attain statistical significance.

The norm-referenced model, of course, only works with tests that have been adequately standardized. It cannot, therefore, be used with instruments like the CDI, Coopersmith, or Rotter. Where systematic changes are expected to occur as a function of time or maturation (as is the case with most cognitive dimensions such as reading ability and career awareness) there does not seem to be an attractive alternative to control or comparison groups. With affective dimensions such as self-concept and locus of control, systematic change is not expected to occur as a function of time or maturation. For this reason, it appears that impacts in these areas can be reliably measured by simple prepost comparisons. In fact, it is quite difficult to dismiss the statistically significant increases in self-esteem scores that were observed in both second- and third-cohort interns even in the face of the contraindications provided by the covariance/standardized gain analyses.

It will be possible to examine these methodological issues in greater depth when posttest data have been collected. The new findings and their implications will be discussed in the Final Task B Report.

APPENDIX A

SELECTION OF THE ACHIEVEMENT TEST TO BE USED IN THE CIP EVALUATION STUDY

The test used to evaluate the achievement gains produced by the CIP should possess several important characteristics. To conduct a norm-referenced evaluation the test must have empirical normative data at grades nine, ten, eleven, and twelve, based on nationally representative samples of students. To be sensitive to project impact, the content of the tests should not be uninteresting, esoteric, or irrelevant to the students in CIP. It should reflect as closely as possible the emphasis of the CIP instruction. The level of test selected should be appropriate for the functional level of the students. The test should not be so difficult that the average score of the group tested is at chance nor should it be so easy that, on the average, students answer more than 75% of the items correctly. It would also be desirable for the test to have empirical normative data at more than one point during the year. The number of test items and time required to take the test should fall within reasonable limits and the format of the test booklets should be attractive and easy to follow.

In the review process the following tests were examined: California Achievement Test (1970 and 1977), Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills (1968 and 1973), Diagnostic Mathematics Inventory (1975), Gates-MacGinitie Reading Tests (1964), Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (1971), Metropolitan Achievement Tests (1970 and 1978), Prescriptive Reading Inventory (1975), Sequential Test of Educational Progress (1969), SRA Achievement Series (1971), and Stanford Achievement Tests (1973).

Of this group, only five tests were found to have normative data at grades nine, ten, eleven, and twelve. Specifically, the California Achievement Tests (1970 and 1977), Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills (1973), Metropolitan Achievement Tests (1978) and the Sequential Tests of Educational Progress (1969) fulfilled this requirement.

Each of the five tests was examined in detail. The times of the year when the test was normed and the forms that are available were noted. The level of the test intended for high school students and the next lower (or easier) level of the test was determined. For each level, the number of items in each subtest, the time required to take the test, and the length and topic of each passage were listed. A summary of this information is provided for each test (see Figures 1 through 5).

This review revealed some significant differences among the five tests. The passages in the STEP II subtest are longer

Level	Empirical Norming Dates	Forms
4	6.7, 7.4, 7.7, 8.4, 8.7, 9.4, 9.7	A & B
5	9.7, 10.4, 10.7, 11.4, 11.7, 12.4, 12.7	A & B

Level 4

	Reading Vocab.	Comp.	Math Comp.	Concepts & Problems
No. of Items	40	45	48	50
Testing Time (min)	10	40	28	23

Level 5

	Reading Vocab.	Comp.	Math Comp.	Concepts & Problems
No. of Items	40	45	48	50
Testing Time (min)	10	40	33	22

Content of Level 4 - Reading Subtest

Vocab.
2- or 3-word phrases, find synonym for work in boldface

Reading Comp.
Example of Table of Contents
Example of Index
5 paragraphs - composition of planet earth, volcanoes, earthquakes
7 paragraphs - passage about the need to conserve resources
4 paragraphs - the laser—its history and use
2 paragraphs - logic statements--diagram of a "statement of order"

Content of Level 5 - Reading Subtest

Vocab.
2- or 3-word phrases, find synonym for word in boldface

Reading Comp.
Questions about using a book—glossary, appendix, bibliography
5 paragraphs - the scientific method vs. authoritarianism
8 long paragraphs - Bill of Rights
4 paragraphs - studying the ocean floor
4 paragraphs - aptitude measures--kinds, use of results
7 paragraphs - logic statements—i* = i normal; i* = i abnormal then ...

Figure 1. Summary of content and other characteristics of the California Achievement Test (1970)

Level	Empirical Norming Dates	Forms
18	7.7, 8.1, 8.7, 9.1, 9.7, 10.1	C & D
19	9.7, 10.1, 10.7, 11.1, 11.7, 12.1, 12.7	C & D

Level 18

	Reading Vocab.	Comp.	Math Comp.	Concepts & Problems
No. of Items	30	40	40	45
Testing Time (min)	10	35	25	35

Level 19

	Reading Vocab.	Comp.	Math Comp.	Concepts & Problems
No. of Items	30	40	40	45
Testing Time (min)	10	35	25	35

Content of Level 18 - Reading Subtest

Vocabulary

2- or 3-word phrases are presented. Student is to find synonym of underlined word in phrase

Reading Comp.

5 paragraphs - the story of Maria Mitchell, the astronomer (has a picture)
1 paragraph - radio commercial advertising Valley Music Store
2 paragraphs - salesman's speech offering a $3.00 surprise
4 stanzas - poem about storms
4 paragraphs - history of guitar (pic. of instruments preceding the guitar)
3 paragraphs - newspaper article about proposed route for state highway and letters written in response--1 pro, 1 con
4 paragraphs - captain's log describing trip to rescue survivors

Content of Level 19 - Reading Subtest

Vocabulary

Same as Level 18

Reading Comp.

7 paragraphs - report of a dream--dreamed in a sleep and dream lab (has fantasy picture)
3 paragraphs - editorial about importance of eating natural foods
3 paragraphs - speech given by high school student about contributing to student community garage (pic. of student addressing group)
5 paragraphs - description of sun, solar energy, and sun's rays
3 stanzas - about skyscrapers
6 long paragraphs - work and life of Orozco the artist
1 paragraph - radio ad about Tuff Tape

Figure 2. Summary of content and other characteristics of the California Achievement Test (1977)

Level	Empirical Norming Dates	Forms
3	6.7, 7.7, 8.7	S & T
4	8.7, 9.7, 10.7, 11.7, 12.7	S & T

Level 3

	Reading Vocab.	Comp.	Math Comp.	Concepts & Problems
No. of Items	40	45	48	50
Testing Time (min)	12	35	40	35

Level 4

	Reading Vocab.	Comp.	Math Comp.	Concepts & Problems
No. of Items	40	45	48	50
Testing Time (min)	11	35	40	30

Content of Level 3 - Reading Subtest

Vocabulary

Find synonym

Reading Comp.

5 paragraphs - girl willing to keep her promise to babysit even though she would rather go to the rock festival
1 paragraph - very difficult paragraph about ability to tell history of an abandoned farm by studying landscape
2 paragraphs - about the effects of a meteorite crashing to earth in 1947
Swimming pool rules--questions deal with results of breaking rules
5 paragraphs - story about efforts of junior high school students to make community aware of pollution, etc. through "earth day"
5 paragraphs - about change in English language from time of Old English
3 stanzas - a poem about autumn

Content of Level 4 - Reading Subtest

Vocabulary

Select synonyms

Reading Comp.

5 paragraphs - thoughts of swimmer before he swims his race--200 butterfly
3 paragraphs - discusses the idea of "humanness" in animals and objects
5 long paragraphs - Margaret Mead's study of Samoan culture--ways in which individuals learn values from group
6 paragraphs - communes--reason for development and their advantages
Poem - expressing sympathy with caged birds
5 paragraphs - the many choices offered to high school graduates in terms of further education
3 paragraphs - shrews hunting for food

Figure 3. Summary of content and other characteristics of Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills (1973)

Level	Empirical Norming Dates	Forms
Adv. 1	7.1, 7.7, 8.1, 8.7, 9.1, 9.7	JS KS
Adv. 2	10.1, 10.7, 11.1, 11.7, 12.1, 12.7	JS KS

	Level Adv. 1		Level Adv. 2	
	Reading Comp.	Math	Reading Comp.	Math
No. of Items	55	50	50	50
Testing Time (min)	35	40	30	40

Content of Adv. 1 - Reading Subtest

Reading Comp.

1 paragraph - passage about marmalade
2 paragraphs - passage about skin diving
4 paragraphs - passage about using the city streets as a playground and the benefits of sports activities
2 paragraphs - very simple summary of Shakespeare's *Pyramus and Thisbe*
4 paragraphs - formation of Sherlock Holmes clubs
4 paragraphs - girl's reaction to receiving a Christmas gift that is a great disappointment
2 paragraphs - invention of yoyo
1 paragraph - Mary Shelley's writing of *Frankenstein*
3 paragraphs - Leonardo da Vinci—life and work

Content of Adv. 2 - Reading Subtest

Reading Comp.

2 paragraphs - "Babe" Zaharias, the athlete
3 paragraphs - use and history of passwords to identify friends vs. foes—"shibboleth"
3 paragraphs - development of Monopoly game
1 paragraph - discus throwing--includes many numbers about size, distance, etc.
3 paragraphs - "familiar strangers", definition, results of psychological study of commuters
1 paragraph - effects of wind and water on earth and trees
1 paragraph - unpopular boy who is a bookworm
1 paragraph - description of hostels

Figure 4. Summary of content and other characteristics of Metropolitan Achievement Test (1978)

Level	Empirical Norming Dates	Forms
2	9.7, 10.7, 11.7, 12.7	A & B
3	6.7, 7.7, 8.7	

	Level 2		Level 3	
	Vocabulary	Reading Comp	Vocabulary	Reading Comp
No. of Items	30	30	30	30
Testing Time (min)	15	30	15	30

Content of Level 2 - Reading Subtest

Vocab.

Two types of items: Sentences presented and second sentence must be completed using one of four choices. Word used in sentence and find its synonym

Reading Comp.

5 paragraphs - describes life of chickadees
9 paragraphs - from Charles Dickens' Bleak House--has old-fashioned dialogue
8 stanzas - dog and man are friend, have fight, dog bites man, but dog dies
3 long paragraphs - groups in past may be thought more noble than they were viewed by their contemporaries (e.g., "knights")
4 long paragraphs - use of symbols
Dialog from a play - idosyncracies of a will that must be fulfilled in order to inherit the money

Content of Level 3 - Reading Subtest

Vocab.

Same as Level 2

Reading Comp.

3 paragraphs - discovery and use of glass to magnify objects
9 paragraphs - the story of Orpheus from greek mythology--the importance of music
5 paragraphs - the composition of glass, glassblowing
6 paragraphs - history of Vietnamese people
7 stanzas - poem about forgetting
7 paragraphs - about kidnapping of young Gilbert who later becomes composer of Gilbert & Sullivan fame

Figure 5. Summary of content and other characteristics of Sequential Tests of Educational Progress (1969)

than the passages of the others, and the content appears more difficult. The STEP II norms are based on the performance of students who were tested almost ten years ago. Using "old" norms may produce misleading achievement status information in norm-referenced evaluations. In addition, empirical data are provided for only one time of the year. Of the five tests, the STEP II appeared to be the least desirable.

A drawback of the CAT '70 is that reading passages of both levels include questions about using parts of books (table of contents, index, etc.) to find information. These questions would seem to be more appropriate in a subtest covering reference skills rather than reading comprehension. In addition, the reading subtests present diagrams of logical relationships from which the students are asked to draw logical conclusions. This may be a foreign task to many students. Finally, since there is a more recent edition of the CAT it would be preferable to use the 1977 edition instead of the 1970. For these reasons, the CAT 70 was felt not to be the best test to use for the evaluation.

For the CTBS '73, the passages in Level 3 (the level we would most likely use) are ordered so that two of the more difficult ones are presented first. This order of presentation may discourage students so that either they will not respond to the remaining items or they may respond at random. A second drawback of the CTBS '73 is that empirical normative data are available for only one month of the year.

The MAT '78 and CAT '77 are the newest of the achievement tests reviewed. Both tests have empirical normative data for October and April. A cursory examination of the content of the reading tests of both the MAT '78 and the CAT '77 showed that either one would be appropriate to use in the CIP evaluation. The passages in the CAT '77, however, seem to be more relevant and inherently more interesting than those of the MAT '78. For example, the radio advertisement passage, the salesman's speech, and the newspaper editorial all present material that reflects "real world" situations that students are likely to have encountered. Of course, it also has passages that are probably of less interest -- the story of a woman astronomer, the history of the guitar, and a poem about storms. The majority of the passages in the MAT '78 deal with topics that would not be of concern to CIP interns. For example, there are passages about marmalade, skin diving, and Leonardo da Vinci.

At a more detailed level the two tests were studied in terms of the instructional objectives that each test attempts to measure. In each test's manual, the instructional objectives upon which the test was constructed are listed and the test items that measure each objective are identified. These are presented below in Tables 18 and 19. Although the objectives selected by the two publishers do not match perfectly, by collapsing some sub-objectives and relabeling others, it is possible to make comparisons between the tests. (It should be noted that the MAT '78 does not offer a separate vocabulary subtest. Vocabulary items are included in the reading comprehension section.) Direct comparisons can be made between the two tests as to the number of vocabulary items each contains and the number of items asking for literal information. After examining the test items, the MAT inferential category of objectives appears to be equivalent to the CAT interpretive category, and the MAT evaluative category appears to be equivalent to the CAT critical category.

The number and percentage of items under each objective are presented by test in Table 20. The greatest difference in content between the two tests is in the number of items covering literal meaning. The MAT has over three times as many items as the CAT. A second difference between the tests is that the CAT has over twice as many critical thinking items as the MAT. Assuming that CIP reading instruction focuses more on teaching students to grasp the literal meaning rather than the implications of what they read, this analysis indicates that the MAT would be the more appropriate test to give.

A similar type of comparison was made between the Mathematics subtests of the CAT '77 and the MAT '78, as shown in Tables 21 and 22. The CAT offers two separate subtests: Mathematics Computations and Mathematics Concepts and Applications. The MAT has placed both types of items in a single subtest. Concept and applications problems are the first 32 items and computation problems are the remaining 18.

The two tests are similar in all areas except the number of computational problems involving fractions and decimals, geometry and measurement, and numeration. The difference can be attributed to the fact that the CAT has 35 more items than the MAT, and they are distributed over these three objectives. Although the MAT is a shorter test; it is claimed by its publishers to be as reliable as the other major achievement tests.

Conclusions

Either the CAT '77 or the MAT '78 would be suitable for use in the evaluation of the CIP. Only one test can be selected. After detailed review of both tests, the MAT '78 was chosen over the CAT '77. The reasons for this decision are summarized below.

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Table 18

MAT '78 Advanced Level 1, Form JS, Reading Comprehension Test Items Grouped by Instructional Objective and by Passage

		Literal		Inferential		
Passage	Vocab.	Specific	General	Specific	General	Evaluative
1	6	1	5	2,3	4	
2		7,8,10	9	12	11	
3	18	14,15,17		13		16
4		19	21,23	20,22		24
5	30	25,27	26	28,29		
6		32,34	31	33,35	36	
7	41,42		39	38		37,40
8	48	43,44,46		45		47
9		49,50,52		51,55	53,54	

Table 19

CAT '77 Level 18, Form C, Reading Comprehension Test Items Grouped by Instructional Objective and by Passage

	Vocab.	Literal	Interpretive			Critical	
Passage	Syn. Ant. Multi	Recall of facts	Inferred Meaning	Character Analysis	Figurative Language	Author Att.	Per-suasion
1		31,36	34	32,33,35,37			
2							38-40
3							41-433
4					44-50		
5		51,52,54,56	53,55,57				
6						58-63	
7		64	65,67,69	66,68,70			
0	1-20,21-25, 26-30						

Table 20

Number and Percentage of Items Under Each Objective

	MAT '78		CAT '77	
Objective	N	%	N	%
Vocabulary	6	11	30	43
Literal	25	45	7	10
Inferential/Interpretive	19	35	21	30
Evaluative/Critical	5	9	12	17
Total	55	100	70	100

Note: CAT '77 has a total of 70 items, including separate subtests for vocabulary and reading comprehension.
MAT '78 has a total of 55 items, vocabulary and reading comprehension items are together in a single subtest.

Table 21

MAT '78--Advanced Level 1, Form JS, Mathematics Item Number and Number of Items Under Each Objective

Objective	Item Number	Number of Items Measuring Objective
Graphs & Statistics	30,31,32,25,26,27	6
Fractions & Decimals	41-50	10
Laws & Properties	15-18	4
Whole Numbers	33-40	8
Problem Solving	1-6	6
Geometry & Measurement	19-24, 28, 29	8
Numeration	7-14	8

Table 22

CAT '77--Level 18, Form C, Mathematics Computations and Mathematics Concepts and Applications Item Number and Number of Items Under Each Objective

Objective	Item Number	Number of Items Measuring Objective
Graphs & Statistics (Functions & Graphs)	55,59,66,83	4
Fractions & Decimals (Math Computation)	1,2,4,8,9,10,14,15,19,20, 21-24,26,27,29,30,31-40	28
Laws & Properties (Math Computation)	13,18,25,28	4
Whole Numbers (Math Computation)	3,5,6,7,11,12,16,17	8
Problem Solving (Story Problems)	53,65,70,75,76,77,78	7
Geometry & Measurement	45,46,48-50,58,60,72,73, 78-80,82-84	16
Numeration	41-44,47,51,52,56,57,62-64,	18

NOTE: The objectives in parentheses are the labels used by the publisher of CAT '77.

The primary disadvantage of the Metropolitan is that its content appears less interesting than that of the CAT '77 and as a result of this, interns may not be as motivated to take and complete the test. However, the test items of the CAT '77 include a greater number of higher-level thinking questions than the MAT '78. Compared to the MAT, the California has a much larger proportion of test items that require the reader to make an evaluation or critical interpretation of a passage. The Metropolitan Achievement Test, in contrast to the California, has a much larger proportion of test items that require the reader to make a literal interpretation. Whereas the CAT passages may be more entertaining to read than the MAT's, the test questions are more difficult.

A second difference between the two tests is the way in which the test items are ordered. The questions about any one passage of the CAT are likely to come from one category of instructional objective. For example, in the CAT all of the questions about passage 3 concern critical thinking and all those about passage 4 concern figurative language. In the MAT, test questions or a single passage always cover more than one instructional objective. For example, the questions for passage 3 cover vocabulary and literal, inferential, and evaluative thinking. A student taking the CAT who finds it difficult to respond to questions that require critical thinking may miss all the items about one passage and may become discouraged about attempting more items. If the same student were to take the MAT and were to incorrectly answer similar types of items, the errors will be scattered throughout the test. The arrangement of the MAT test items would seem superior to that of the CAT.

An additional advantage of the MAT that has not been emphasized is that it requires less time to administer. The MAT reading subtest takes 35 minutes compared to 45 for the CAT; the MAT mathematics subtest requires 40 minutes versus 60 minutes for the CAT.

The MAT also fulfills the other criteria that were listed at the beginning of the paper. It has empirical norms for October and April for grades 9, 10, 11, and 12. It is constructed so that the level of test that is appropriate to the functional level of the students can be administered and it is still possible to compare their test performance to that of grade-level peers.

APPENDIX B

CAREER DEVELOPMENT INVENTORY

FORM I

RMC Research Corp.
2570 W. El Camino Real
Mountain View, CA 94040
415/941-9550

CAREER DEVELOPMENT INVENTORY

FORM I

DONALD E. SUPER, ET AL.

TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

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* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

INTRODUCTION

The questions you are about to read ask you about school, work, your future career, and some of the plans you may have made. The only right answers are the ones which are right for you. Later, some questions ask about career facts; others ask you to judge students' plans. Give the best answers you can.

Answers to questions like these can help teachers and counselors offer the kind of help which high school students want and need in planning and preparing for a job after graduation, for vocational and technical school training or for going to college.

ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS. If you are not sure about an answer, guess. There is no time limit, but work as rapidly as you can; the first answer that comes to you is often the best one.

NAME________________________GRADE______________DATE______________

YOUR FUTURE OCCUPATION

In your present thoughts and plans, what kind of work would you like to do when you finish all of your education and training? What kind of occupation do you plan to enter? (For example: bookkeeper, machinist, lawyer, registered nurse, small store owner, waitress, engineer, shop foreman, elementary teacher, truckdriver, etc.) Write the name(s) of the occupation(s) you have thought about on the lines below.

1st choice____

2nd choice____

3rd choice____

4th choice____

The questions begin on the next page. Mark them according to the instructions at the top of each section.

I. How much thinking and planning have you done about your educational and occupational future? What kinds of plans do you have? For each of the 14 statements below, choose one of the following 6 answers to show what you have done about what is mentioned in the statements. Place the number of your answer in the space to the left of each statement.

Here are the possible answers:

1 -I have not given any thought to this.

2 -I have given some thought to this, but haven't made any plans to do this.

3 -I have some plans to do this, but am still not sure of them.

4 -I have made definite plans to do this, but don't know how to carry them out.

5 -I have made definite plans to do this, and know what to do to carry them out.

6 -I have done this.

Here are the statements:

____ 1. Finding out about different kinds of educational and occupational possibilities by going to the library, sending away for information concerning the different possibilities, or talking to somebody who knows about the possibilities.

____ 2. Talking about my career decisions with an adult who knows something about me.

____ 3. Taking courses which will help me decide what line of work to go into when I leave school or college.

____ 4. Taking courses which will help me in college, in job training, or on the job.

____ 5. Taking part in school or out-of-school activities which will help me in college, in training, or on the job.

____ 6. Taking part in school or after-school activities (for example: science club, school newspaper, Sunday School teaching, volunteer nurse's aide) which will help me decide what kind of work to go into when I leave school.

____ 7. Getting a part-time or summer job which will help me decide what kind of work I might go into.

____ 8. Getting a part-time summer job which will help me get the kind of job or training I want.

Here are the possible answers:

1-I have not given any thought to this.

2-I have given some thought to this, but haven't made any plans to do this.

3-I have some plans to do this, but am still not sure of them.

4-I have made definite plans to do this, but don't know how to carry them out.

5-I have made definite plans to do this, and know what to do to carry them out.

6-I have done this.

Here are some more statements:

____ 9. Getting money for college or training.

____ 10. Dealing with things which might make it hard for me to get the kind of training or the kind of work I would like.

____ 11. Getting the kind of training, education, or experience which I will need to get into the kind of work I want.

____ 12. Getting a job once I've finished my education and training.

____ 13. Doing the things I need to do to become a valued employee who doesn't have to be afraid of losing his job or being laid off when times are hard.

____ 14. Getting ahead (more money, promotions, etc.) in the kind of work I choose.

15. How would you rate your plans for "after high school"? (Please check (✓) one answer.)

a. _____ Not at all clear or sure

b. _____ Not very clear

c. _____ Some not clear, some clear

d. _____ Fairly clear

e. _____ Very clear, all decided

II. Students differ greatly in the amount of time and thought they give to making choices. Use the five ratings below to compare yourself to the typical students of your sex in your grade in each of the areas of choice listed below. Mark the number of your rating in the space provided in each statement.

Here are the ratings:

1 - much below average, not as good as most

2 - a little below average

3 - average

4 - a little above average

5 - much above average, better than most

Here are the statements:

16. Compared to my classmates I am ____ in the amount of time and thought I give to choosing high school courses.

17. Compared to my classmates I am _____ in the amount of time and thought I give to choosing high school activities.

18. Compared to my classmates I am ____ in the amount of time and thought I give to choosing out-of-school activities.

19. Compared to my classmates I am ____ in the amount of time and thought I give to choosing amoung general alternatives available to me after high school (for example: choosing college or business school or technical school or work or military service or marriage, etc.)

20. Compared to my classmates I am ____ in the amount of time and thought I give to choosing among specific alternatives available to me (for example: type of college, branch of the military service, characteristics of husband or wife, etc.)

21. Compared to my classmates I am ____ in the amount of time and thought I give to choosing an occupation for after high school, college or job training.

22. Compared to my classmates I am ____ in the amount of time and thought I give to choosing a career in general.

III. How much do you know about the occupation you said you would most like to enter on page one of this inventory. Below are five possible answers to use in answering statements 23 though 33. Mark the number of your answer in the space provided in each statement.

Here are the answers:

1 - hardly anything

2 - a little

3 - an average amount

4 - a good deal

5 - a great deal

Here are the statements:

23. I know ____ about what people really do on the job I said I would like to enter.

24. I know ____ about specialities in the occupation I said I would like to enter.

25. I know ____ about different places where people might work in this occupation.

26. I know ____ about the qualifications and skills needed for this occupation.

27. I know ____ about the environmental working conditions in this occupation.

28. I know ____ about the education or training needed to get into this occupation.

29. I know ____ about the courses offered in high school that are the best for this occupation.

30. I know ____ about the need for more people in this occupation

31. I know ____ about different ways of getting into this occupation.

32. I know ____ about the starting pay in this occupation.

33. I know ____ about the chances for getting raises and promotions.

IV. What sources of information would you go to for help in making your job or college plans? Use the five possible answers listed below to show whether or not you would go to the sources of information listed below. Mark the number of your answer in the space provided in each statement.

Here are the answers:

1 - definitely not

2 - probably not

3 - not be sure whether to

4 - probably

5 - definitely

Here are the statements:

34. I would ____ go to my father or male guardian.

35. I would _____ go to my mother or female guardian.

36. I would _____ go to my brothers, sisters, or other relatives.

37. I would _____ go to my friends.

38. I would _____ go to coaches of teams I have been on.

39. I would _____ go to my minister, priest, or rabbi.

40. I would _____ go to teachers

41. I would _____ go to school counselors.

42. I would _____ go to private counselors, outside of school.

43. I would _____ go to books with the information I need.

44. I would _____ go to audio or visual aids like tape recordings, movies or computers.

45. I would _____ go to college catalogues.

46. I would _____ go to persons in the occupation or at the college I am considering.

47. I would _____ go to TV shows, movies, or magazines.

V. Here again are five answers which are to be used with statements 48 through 61. This time use the answers to show which of the sources of information below have already given you information which has been helpful to you in making your job or college plans. Mark the number of your answer in the space provided in each statement.

Here are the answers:

1 - no useful information

2 - very little useful information

3 - some useful information

4 - a good deal of useful information

5 - a great deal of useful information

Here are the statements:

48. I have gotten _____ from my father or male guardian.

49. I have gotten _____ from my mother or female guardian.

50. I have gotten _____ from my brothers, sisters or other relatives.

51. I have gotten _____ from my friends.

52. I have gotten _____ from coaches of teams I have been on.

53. I have gotten _____ from my minister, priest, or rabbi.

54. I have gotten _____ from teachers.

55. I have gotten _____ from school counselors.

56. I have gotten _____ from private counselors, outside of school.

57. I have gotten _____ from books with the information I needed.

58. I have gotten _____ from audio or visual aids like tapes recordings, movies, or computers.

59. I have gotten _____ from college catalogues

60. I have gotten _____ from persons in the occupation or at the college I am considering.

61. I have gotten _____ from TV shows, movies, or magazines.

V. Here again are five answers which are to be used with statements 48 through 61. This time use the answers to show which of the sources of information below have already given you information which has been helpful to you in making your job or college plans. Mark the number of your answer in the space provided in each statement.

Here are the answers:

1 - no useful information

2 - very little useful information

3 - some useful information

4 - a good deal of useful information

5 - a great deal of useful information

Here are the statements:

48. I have gotten _____ from my father or male guardian.

49. I have gotten _____ from my mother or female guardian.

50. I have gotten _____ from my brothers, sisters or other relatives.

51. I have gotten _____ from my friends.

52. I have gotten _____ from coaches of teams I have been on.

53. I have gotten _____ from my minister, priest, or rabbi.

54. I have gotten _____ from teachers.

55. I have gotten _____ from school counselors.

56. I have gotten _____ from private counselors, outside of school.

57. I have gotten _____ from books with the information I needed.

58. I have gotten _____ from audio or visual aids like tapes recordings, movies, or computers.

59. I have gotten _____ from college catalogues

60. I have gotten _____ from persons in the occupation or at the college I am considering.

61. I have gotten _____ from TV shows, movies, or magazines.

VI. Here each question has its own set of possible answers. Check (✓) only one answer for each question.

62. Which one of the following is the best source of information about job duties and opportunities?

____ 1) The Encyclopedia Britannica

____ 2) World Almanac

____ 3) Scholastic Magazine

____ 4) The Occupational Index

____ 5) The Occupational Outlook Handbook

63. Which one of the following would be most useful for detailed information about getting into college?

____ 1) The World Book Encyclopedia

____ 2) Webster's Collegiate Dictionary

____ 3) Lovejoy's College Guide

____ 4) Reader's Digest

____ 5) The Education Index

64. Which one of the following pairs of occupations involves the same level of training and responsibility?

____ 1) Tailor, Sales Clerk

____ 2) Engineer, Banker

____ 3) Tailor, Engineer

____ 4) Banker, Sales Clerk

65. The occupational fields expected to grow most rapidly during the next ten years are:

____ 1) Professional and service

____ 2) Sales and crafts

____ 3) Crafts and clerical

____ 4) Labor and sales

66. Between 1910 and 1970, the industry employing the greatest number of workers changed from:

____ 1) Argriculture to wholesale and retail trade

____ 2) Manufacturing to agriculture

____ 3) Wholesale and retail trade to manufacturing

____ 4) Agriculture to manufacturing.

VII. Occupations differ in the amount and type of education required for employment. Select the type of education required for each of the occupations below and mark the number of your answer in space to the left of each statement.

Type of Education:

1 - High School Graduation

2 - Apprenticeship Training

3 - Technical School or Community College (2 year)

4 - College Degree (4 year)

5 - Professional Degree Beyond College

Occupations:

____ 67. Stenographer

____ 68. Dental Technician

____ 69. Family Doctor (Physician)

____ 70. Mail Carrier

____ 71. Plumber

____ 72. Computer Operator

____ 73. Bank Clerk

____ 74. Social Worker

VIII. Many occupations use special tools. Below is a list of occupations and a list of special tools or equipment. Match the occupation with its equipment by marking the number of the appropriate equipment in the space to the left of the occupation.

Type of Equipment:

1 - Manikin

2 - Ammeter

3 - Centrifuge

4 - Trowel

5 - Ledger

Type of Occupations:

____ 75. Electrician

____ 76. Bookkeeper

____ 77. Bricklayer

____ 78. Dressmaker

____ 79. Medical Technician

IX. Here again, each question has its own set of answers. Check (✓) only one answer for each question.

80. In the 9th and 10th grades, plans about jobs and occupations should:

____ 1) be clear.

____ 2) not rule out any possibilities.

____ 3) keep open the best possibilities.

____ 4) not be something to think about.

81. Decisions about high school courses can have an effect on:

____ 1) the kind of diploma one gets.

____ 2) the kind of training or education one can get after high school

____ 3) later occupation choices.

____ 4) how much one likes school.

____ 5) all of these.

82. Decisions about jobs should take into account:

____ 1) strengths, or what one is good at learning and doing.

____ 2) what one likes to do

____ 3) the kind of person one is.

____ 4) the chances for getting ahead in that kind of job.

____ 5) all of these.

83. One of the things that great artists, musicians, and professional athletes have in common is the desire to:

____ 1) make money.

____ 2) have large audiences.

____ 3) be the best there is at what they do.

____ 4) teach others what they do.

84. Mary thinks she might like to become a computer programmer, but she knows little about computer programming. She is going to the library to find out more about it. The most important thing for Mary is know now is:

____ 1) what the work is, what she would do in it.

____ 2) what the pay is.

____ 3) what the hours of work are.

____ 4) where she can get the right training.

85. Jane likes her high school biology and general science courses best. She likes to do her schoolwork alone so she can concentrate. When she begins to think about her future occupation, she should consider:

____ 1) Nurse.

____ 2) Accountant.

____ 3) Medical Laboratory Technician.

____ 4) Elementary School Teacher.

86. Peter is the best speaker on the school debating team. The school yearbook describes him as "our golden tongued orator--a real nice guy who can listen as well as talk--he could sell refrigerators to the Eskimos." Peter will probably graduate in the bottom half of his class, although his test scores show that he is very bright. His only good grades (mostly B's) are in business subjects. His poorest grades are in English and social studies (mostly C's).

Peter's desire to become a trial lawyer is not very realistic because:

____ 1) with his grades he will have difficulty getting into a four-year liberal arts college.

____ 2) he has poor grades in the subjects that are most important for law.

____ 3) there is much more to being a lawyer than being good at public speaking.

____ 4) all of the above are good reasons for thinking that Peter will have a hard time becoming a trial lawyer.

87. The facts about Peter suggest that he should think about becoming:

____ 1) an accountant.

____ 2) a salesman.

____ 3) an actor.

____ 4) a school counselor.

____ 5) a lawyer.

88. Ernie took some tests which show that he might be good at clerical work. Ernie says, "I just can't see myself sitting behind a desk for the rest of my life. I'm the kind of guy who likes variety. I think being a traveling salesman would suit me fine." He should:

____ 1) disregard the tests and do what he wants to do.

____ 2) do what the tests say since they know better than he does what he would be good at.

____ 3) look for a job which will let him use his clerical abilities but not keep him pinned to a desk.

____ 4) ask to be tested with another test since the results of the the first one are probably wrong.

89. Joe is very good with his hands and there isn't anybody in his class who has more mechanical aptitude. He is also good at art. His best subject at school is math. Joe likes all of these things.

What should Joe do? Should he:

____ 1) look for an occupation in which he can use as many of his interests and abilities as possible?

____ 2) pick an occupation which uses math since there is a better future in that than in art or in working with his hands?

____ 3) decide which of these activities he is best at, or likes the most, and then pick an occupation which uses that kind of activity?

____ 4) put off deciding about his future and wait until he loses interest in some of these activities?

90. Betty gets very good science grades but this isn't her favorite subject. The subject she likes best is art even though her grades in it are only average. Betty is most likely to do well in her future occupation if she:

____ 1) forgets about her interest in art since she is so much better in science.

____ 2) doesn't worry about the fact that she isn't very good at art, because if you like something you can become good at it.

____ 3) looks for an occupation which uses both art and science, but more science than art.

____ 4) looks for an occupation which involves both science and art, but more art than science.

91. Bob says he really doesn't care what kind of work he gets into once he leaves school as long as it is working with people. If this is all Bob cares about he is likely to make a bad choice because:

___ 1) this kind of work usually requires a college degree.

___ 2) employers usually hire girls for such work.

___ 3) people look down on men who work with people because such work is usually done by girls.

___ 4) occupations in which one works with people can be very different from each other in the abilities and interests which are needed.

COOPERSMITH

SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY

RMC Research Corp.
2570 W. El Camino Real
Mountain View, CA 94040
415/941-9550

PRACTICE ITEMS

A. I like to watch TV. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________

B. I'm a good worker. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________

---

1. I spend a lot of time daydreaming. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (33)
2. I'm pretty sure of myself. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (34)
3. I often wish I were someone else. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (35)
4. I'm easy to like. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (36)
5. My parents and I have a lot of fun together. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (37)
6. I never worry about anything. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (38)
7. I find it very hard to talk in front of the class. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (39)
8. I wish I were younger. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (40)
9. There are lots of things about myself I'd change if I could. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (41)
10. I can make up my mind without too much trouble. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (42)
11. I'm a lot of fun to be with. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (43)
12. I get upset easily at home. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (44)
13. I always do the right thing. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (45)
14. I'm proud of my school work. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (46)
15. Someone always has to tell me what to do. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (47)
16. It takes me a long time to get used to anything new. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (48)

17. I'm often sorry for the things I do. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (49)

18. I'm popular with kids my own age. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (50)

19. My parents usually consider my feelings. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (51)

20. I'm never unhappy. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (52)

21. I'm doing the best work that I can. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (53)

22. I give in very easily. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (54)

23. I can usually take care of myself. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (55)

24. I'm pretty happy. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (56)

25. I would rather play with children younger than me. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (57)

26. My parents expect too much of me. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (58)

27. I like everyone I know. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (59)

28. I like to be called on in class. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (60)

29. I understand myself. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (61)

30. It's pretty tough to be me. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (62)

31. Things are all mixed up in my life. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (63)

32. Kids usually follow my ideas. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (64)

33. No one pays much attention to me at home. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (65)

34. I never get scolded. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (66)

35. I'm not doing as well in school as I'd like to. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (67)

36. I can make up my mind and stick to it. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (68)

37. I really don't like being a boy – girl. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (69)

17. I'm often sorry for the things I do. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (49)

18. I'm popular with kids my own age. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (50)

19. My parents usually consider my feelings. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (51)

20. I'm never unhappy. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (52)

21. I'm doing the best work that I can. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (53)

22. I give in very easily. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (54)

23. I can usually take care of myself. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (55)

24. I'm pretty happy. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (56)

25. I would rather play with children younger than me. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (57)

26. My parents expect too much of me. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (58)

27. I like everyone I know. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (59)

28. I like to be called on in class. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (60)

29. I understand myself. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (61)

30. It's pretty tough to be me. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (62)

31. Things are all mixed up in my life. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (63)

32. Kids usually follow my ideas. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (64)

33. No one pays much attention to me at home. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (65)

34. I never get scolded. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (66)

35. I'm not doing as well in school as I'd like to. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (67)

36. I can make up my mind and stick to it. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (68)

37. I really don't like being a boy – girl. LIKE ME ________ NOT LIKE ME ________ (69)

38. I have a low opinion of myself. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (33)

39. I don't like to be with other people. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (34)

40. There are many times when I'd like to leave home. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (35)

41. I'm never shy. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (36)

42. I often feel upset in school. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (37)

43. I often feel ashamed of myself. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (38)

44. I'm not as nice looking as most people. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (39)

45. If I have something to say, I usually say it. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (40)

46. Kids pick on me very often. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (41)

47. My parents understand me. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (42)

48. I always tell the truth. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (43)

49. My teacher makes me feel that I'm not good enough. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (44)

50. I don't care what happens to me. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (45)

51. I'm a failure. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (46)

52. I get upset easily when I'm scolded. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (47)

53. Most people are better liked than I am. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (48)

54. I usually feel as if my parents are pushing me. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (49)

55. I always know what to say to people. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (50)

56. I often get discouraged in school. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (51)

57. Things usually don't bother me. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (52)

58. I can't be depended on. LIKE ME ______ NOT LIKE ME ______ (53)

This booklet was prepared by RMC Research Corporation, Mountain View, California
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Study of the CAREER INTERN PROGRAM

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL SCALE

RMC Research Corp.
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Mountain View, CA 94040
415/941-9550

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL SCALE

NAME ______________________________ DATE ____________

DIRECTIONS:

The purpose of this short task is to determine how you feel about certain things.

Read each of the following paired statements. Which of the two statements do you agree with more? Circle that letter. Choose only one. (However, be sure to choose one of the paired statements for each item).

Example: 1.a. Most children should be punished by their mothers.
b. A child knows when he does something wrong.

1.a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

2.a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

3.a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

4.a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

5.a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

6.a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

7.a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

8.a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.
b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.

9.a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

10.a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.

11.a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

12.a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

13.a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

14.a. There are certain people who are just no good.
b. There is some good in everybody.

15.a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

16.a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

17.a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.
b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

18.a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
b. There really is no such thing as "luck."

19.a. One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

20.a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
b. How many friends you have depends on how nice a person you are.

21.a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

22.a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

23.a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

24.a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.

25.a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

26.a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.

27.a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.
b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

28.a. What happens to me is my own doing.
b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

29.a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

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Study of the Career Intern Program

Interim Technical Report—Task C:

Functional Interrelationships Among
Program Components and Intern Outcomes

Prepared for the National Institute of Education

RMC Research Corporation Mountain View, California

David M. Fetterman

September 1979

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Career Intern Program (CIP) is an alternative high school serving students (called interns) who have either dropped out of regular high schools or who were considered to be potential dropouts. The CIP was developed in Phildelphia by Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc. (OIC/A). An independent evaluation was undertaken by a reputable social science organization, and the results were positive on several criterion variables (Gibboney Associates, 1977). The evidence of success was judged sound by the Joint (U.S. Office of Education and National Institute of Education) Dissemination Review Panel (JDRP), and the program was approved by that group as eligible for federally funded dissemination.

Dissemination of the CIP was funded by the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL). By means of an Interagency Agreement, the National Institute of Education (NIE) filled the role of monitor for both the dissemination effort itself and for evaluation of the program at the new sites.

OIC/A was the agency responsible for carrying out the dissemination. That organization, through a competitive bidding process, selected four local OICs to attempt CIP replication. Three of the selected sites were urban and one was located in a small-size (30,000) city.

This report describes the activities and outcomes of the third of a four-task study of the CIP as it was replicated in the four new sites.

The purpose of Task C is to identify causal linkages and basic interrelationships among various components of the Career Intern Program and observed intern outcomes. Subtasks include: (a) refining hypotheses and the conceptual framework; (b) developing data-collection instruments, methods, and procedures; and (c) collecting and analyzing data. These subtasks and their outcomes are described below.

Refining Hypotheses and the Conceptual Framework

The Career Intern Program is conceptualized as a sociocultural system composed of numerous subsystems, traits, and components. The author has identified three primary subsystems (and the basic interrelationships among them) that are crucial to program operation. These subsystems were abstracted from observations of program operations and examination of evaluation materials and written records related to the prototype program in Philadephia.

The core subsystem includes the integrated pattern of activities specifically designed to assist in the transmission of knowledge, skills, behavioral patterns, and cultural values. This subsystem consists of five CIP components: instruction, counseling, Hands-On, Intern Formalized Assessment, and program climate.

The support subsystem represents the infrastructure of the program. It is designed to enable core components of the program to operate. The CIP support system includes: program maintenance (a system of rules and regulations), personnel qualifications, personnel roles, curriculum, recruitment, facilities, funds, materials and supplies, relations with the LEA, relations with teachers' associations, relations with the community, relations with the local OIC, and the role of OIC/A.

The ideological subsystem of the program includes the shared explicit and implicit cultural knowledge used to justify the social structure and organization of the system. The ideology or philosophy informs program practice in the same manner that theory informs methodology in the social sciences. Fundamental elements of the CIP philosophy include: caring about interns, providing a supportive context for them, providing a realistic perspective for interns to operate in, "dealing with the whole intern," maintaining high personal and academic expectations of interns, treating interns as (young) adults, and treating interns as individuals.

The CIP philosophy as mentioned above informs program practice. It is a product or extension of the parent organization, OIC/A, philosophy/ideology. OIC/A's philosophy/ideology is a fusion between a humanistic "serving the whole person" concept and a work-ethic ideology. This ideological orientation is congruent with the underlying ideological orientation supporting the American economic system. This match of ideological persuasions serves to help those presently disenfranchised or alienated from the system "get their fair share"--whether in the OIC manpower programs or in the CIP.

The CIP serves both manifest and latent functions. Manifest functions include enabling students to complete high school and receive a high school diploma (rather than a GED), improving reading and math skills, and enhancing career planning and occupational knowledge. The single most significant latent function of the program is contributing to the social mobility of various lower socioeconomic groups that are disproportionately represented in the dropout and unemployment statistics. The transmission of middle-class values is the process by which the program contributes to their objective. Creating a quasi-total institution effect--offering CIP as a basis for social identity--is the transmission mechanism.

Data-Collection Instruments, Methods, and Procedures

Task C has employed primarily ethnographic data-collection instruments, methods, procedures, and perspectives. The task also relied heavily on information gathered through nomothetic methods and perspectives. Traditional techniques such as participant-observation, non-participant observation, use of key informants, triangulation, structured, semi-structured, and informal interviews, and so on were used to elicit data from the emic or "insider's" perspective. The study attempted to use a non-judgmental, holistic, and contextual perspective to properly inform the use of these methods. A tape recorder and camera proved invaluable in collecting and documenting the data elicited from the sites (particularly given the time constraints imposed on the effort).

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected on site during a series of three, five-to-ten-day visits to each site. The visits were made by two-person teams. Team members (a) conducted structured and unstructured interviews with interns, CIP staff, OIC staff, and relevant community leaders; (b) observed CIP classroom and non-classroom activities; and (c) reviewed documentation pertaining to the Philadelphia prototype and the observations and inferences of other parties concerned with the replication effort.

Extensive notes, tape recordings, and photographic records were compiled. The observations of different team members were compared and discussed at length after each visit. Lengthy telephone conversations were held with interns and staff at each site to keep abreast of new developments and to clarify situations where conflicting evidence had been assembled. Meetings and frequent telephone conversations were also held with OIC/A staff and others associated with the Philadelphia prototype.

Relevant literature was reviewed in depth in order to identify and assimilate relevant sociological and anthropological concepts.

Findings

The study highlights the various levels of treatment and outcome that characterize the Career Intern Program in order to provide a more fully understandable analysis and synthesis of the relationships between CIP components and intern outcomes. The interrelationships themselves have been classified as either adaptive or maladaptive, and as either intrinsic or extrnisic to program operations. All four of these categories of interrelationships must be examined in order to acquire a balanced understanding of the dynamics of program operation at each site.

A partial list of the most significant adaptive relationships intrinsic to program operation and maladaptive relationships intrinsic to program operation is provided below:

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

- The relationship between interns and instructors is considered a primary factor motivating interns to maintain their participation in the program.
- The use of packets contributed to a better understanding of homework.
- Dedication to the whole-person concept in intensive counseling (including getting involved with intern's personal life when it affects his/her participation in the program) contributes to better attendance, enhancement of coping strategies (e.g., better control of temper), intern perception of the program as "a lot better" than their former school, and better intern understanding of their problems and the steps necessary to remedy them.
- Strong management capable of acting decisively and of gathering resources when needed to maintain program operation, is required to implement core program components.
- Increased accountability has contributed to the "rekindling of staff spirit" (where applicable).
- Greater local OIC support contributed to staff re-direction and planning (where applicable).
- Enforcement of maintenance system, e.g., school rules and regulations regarding promptness, appropriate apparel, etc., contributes to interns internalizing "world-of-work" norms and provides them with desired attention (which in turn "keeps them coming"). Enforcement of the program's maintenance component is also directly responsible for the absence of profanity, smoking in class or in the hallways, graffiti, and loitering.
- The use of contracts and various teaching devices contributes to a greater understanding and sense of responsibility on the part of the intern.

- Maintaining high expectations of interns--personally and academically--contributes to a high attendance pattern, higher grades, and increased self-esteem for many interns.

- Providing a supportive context for interns contributes directly to increased attendance, higher grades, selection of a career, and graduation according to many interns and staff members.

- The fact that all staff members including the janitor understand the philosophy and function of the program and serve as role models, contributes to increased intern motivation to attend regularly and pursue studies.

- The small size of the program produces a community-like atmosphere that "forces" many interns to exercise common courtesy not required at their former high school.

- Providing auxiliary services for interns, e.g., day care facilities, enables them to attend on a regular basis.

- Experience with interns leads staff to recognize that many of them (dropouts and "potential" dropouts) were just bored or didn't want to get involved with the "wrong crowd" contrary to initial expectations (on the part of some staff members) that they had learning disabilities.

- Experience in the community contributes to staff awareness of the problem that exists in American democracy with respect to stop-gap measures, demonstration projects that come and go, the systematic ignoring of problems, and the preference of many for the way things are now. (This type of awareness leads to increased dedication for some and departure from the program for others.)

- The program has generated a "loyalty" among old interns such that they defend it from new interns' verbal assaults.

- The existence of the program has prevented a number of interns from "just hanging out" and "getting back into my old ways"; it has also enabled many interns to select a career, graduate, and enter employment, job training, or postsecondary education.

Maladaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

- Inadequate administrative support served to "bottleneck" necessary requests (e.g., for materials) (where applicable).

- An austerity budget that made no provisions for cost of living, loyalty, or merit raises encouraged "resume passing" among staff members (where applicable).

- "Weak" management contributed to staff absences, which in turn led to intern absences. Staff were frustrated (some were job hunting on office time) and maintained irregular attendance patterns. Interns who came to see specific personalities lost interest in attending if their "teacher" was not present. (where applicable)

- Insufficient administrative autonomy to hire and fire staff contributed to staff indifference to administrative demands and factionalism between nonsupporters and "loyalists" (where applicable).

- Factionalism, "power trips," and the use of racial issues were used to obfuscate real professional inadequacies among staff members (where applicable).

- Staff frustration and tension coupled with a lack of administrative autonomy contributed to neglect in establishing course schedules that reflected interns' requirements for graduation--this in turn contributed to high rates of intern absenteeism (where applicable).

- Past staff dissatisfaction and factionalism had carry-over effects on staff and intern morale and intern attendance patterns (where applicable).

- Strong management procedures perceived as dictatorial contributed to friction between the director and some staff members (where applicable).

- The lack of a consistently enforced maintenance system, e.g., school rules and regulations, directly contributed to intern "bullcracking in class," high absenteeism, periodic altercations, graffiti on the bathroom walls, and smoking and loitering in the hallways (where applicable).

- Sudden imposition of a dress code and rules of attendance that were perceived as arbitrary after a long period of laxity led to decreased intern attendance (where applicable).

The study described in this report is considered to be of considerable significance not only because of the potential social impact it holds with respect to future programs serving disaffectd and disenfranchisted youth. It is also significant methodologically. The application of ethnographic techniques to educational evaluation remains a new endeavor. Many challenges are posed in attempting to adapt traditional anthropological techniques to intensive, short-term studies. Each successful application thus constitutes a significant contribution to the development and refinement of this new methodological frontier.

I. HISTORY: THE REFORMERS, FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT, THE CIP

The history of racial and religious discrimination dates back to the origins of American history. The effects of this legacy and many of the practices linger in the present. During the late 1950s and early 1960s community action groups, "outraged at the failure of gradualism," reacted non-violently to racial discrimination practices in employment opportunities. Black clergymen led boycotts of businesses that practiced racial discrimination. Philadelphia was one of the first major cities where community action groups organized such boycotts. One of the more famous boycotts--the Selective Patronage Program--proved successful in reversing local discriminatory practices. This effort set an example for the local business community and significantly contributed to removal of such local practices.

The Reverend Dr. Leon Sullivan, pastor of Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia, was one of the leaders of this community action group--composed of over 400 black clergy. He was also one of the first to recognize that the accomplishments of the boycotts were only the beginning; a second step was needed immediately.

> Once black workers were allowed to seek employment opportunities, however, most were placed in unskilled jobs because of their lack of training and education. Thus, providing education and training for blacks and other minorities became the motivation for establishing the first Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) in an old jailhouse in Philadelphia (Gibboney Associates, 1977, p. 6).

Today, a network of over 100 OIC job-training centers extends from the east to the west coast. The Wall Street Journal has reported that "labor experts praise the OIC as one of the most successful and efficient manpower programs going" (Bray, 1974). The initial focus, however, was almost exclusively on preparing and training individuals for blue collar good jobs. Later, it was again Sullivan who stood in the vanguard, concerned with improving the occupational outlook of adults through improved education.

Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OIC/A) was aware of its long list of assets, e.g., experience training low-income adults, community-based support, links to business and industry, and socio-religious commitment to the needs of inner-city youth; however, financial support was needed as was a design for a program appropriate to assist inner-city high school dropouts and students at high risk of dropping out. Dr. Sidney

Marland, then U.S. Commissioner of Education, stepped in to supply these missing links for OIC/A. He was in a position to offer support and was interested in career education. Career education offered OIC/A a specific program design appropriate to the population in need of service.

> Career education is a systematic way to acquaint students with the world of work in the elementary and junior high years to prepare them in high school and college to enter and advance in a career field carefully chosen from among many (Marland, 1972).

Dr. Marland, representing the Office of Education (OE), met with the Reverend Dr. Sullivan in 1970 at the Seventh Annual OIC/A Convocation and offered his commitment to this new venture. The Office of Education officially awarded OIC/A a grant two years later to operate the Urban Career Education Center composed of the Career Intern Program (CIP), the Community Career Program (CCP), and the Career Orientation Program (COP). (Technically OIC/A subcontracted to Philadelphia to operate the program.)

In 1973, OE and the newly formed National Institute of Education (NIE) agreed to support specific elements of the Urban Career Education Center: OE supported the CCP and the COP, while NIE assumed responsibility for the CIP (February, 1973). NIE made awards to OIC/A in December, 1973, and June, 1975, to complete the development of the CIP and to conduct an evaluation of the program. The Gibboney Associates Final Report summarizes the evaluation of the last 18 months of development when, "the challenges, the disappointments, and the painfully achieved progress of the early months, will, it is hoped, have had their greatest payoff" (p. 8).

Evaluation of the CIP in Philadelphia found it had significant positive impacts on young peoples' academic achievment and post-secondary experience. Consequently, four additional CIPs have been implemented to see if the CIP is "replicable" in new sites at reasonable cost within a pre-specified period of time, and whether the same success achieved in Philadelphia can be realized in the new sites.

The CIPs are being implemented as part of a demonstration project under the Department of Labor's (DOL) authority through the Youth Employment Demonstration Project Act of 1977 (YEDPA, P.L. 95-93). The National Institute of Education is managing the demonstration under an interagency agreement with DOL. Since December 1977 four local affiliates of OIC/A have been implementing the CIP. RMC Research Corporation (RMC) was retained by NIE to study and evaluate the sites' dissemination, implementation, and operation.

II. METHODOLOGY: ETHNOGRAPHIC TECHNIQUES APPLIED TO EDUCATIONAL EVALUATION

The study of the Career Intern Program comprises four major tasks. This report deals with Task C which has the analysis of functional relationships among program components of intern outcomes as its objective. The methodology used in accomplishing this task was primarily ethnographic. The study has posed many methodological challenges, however, since time and other constraints have necessitated innovative approaches.

This study represents one of the earliest substantive attempts to apply ethnographic techniques and anthropological insights to a large-scale project within a time frame established to accommodate a more traditional educational evaluation. Ideally, much more time and additional ethnographers would have been available for a study of this type. While it must be acknowledged that there are many drawbacks in reducing time normally required to conduct extensive fieldwork, this study suggests what can be done ethnographically within an extremely limited period of time imposed by the contract. The data used in this report were drawn largely from OIC documents and communications, evaluation research conducted for the Task A study of implementation, site visits, and NIE monthly reports. Data were collected for Task C during the Task A site visits that were conducted by two evaluators or one evaluator and one ethnographer. Each site was observed at three different points in its development.

The evaluator stayed at the site for five days and the ethnographer remained for ten days during each site visit (to gather additional data, to interact with informants casually over the weekend, and to observe alterations in the behavior of participants after the impact of the evaluation site visit diminished. The RMC site visits in the context of CIP operations were as follows.

(1) Site A took in its first cohort on March 20, 1978, just twelve weeks after its director was hired. The site took in the second cohort 18 weeks later (July 24). The first official data-collection visit was conducted on August 7-15. The third cohort of interns entered the program in February, 1979. The second site visit closely followed that intake (February 26-March 2). The third site visit was conducted shortly after

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*The proposal plan and budget had been written and provisionally accepted before the ethnographer was hired.

the second following a major change in the CIP leadership (April 23-May 2).

(2) Site B was organized 15 weeks before it took in its first cohort on April 17, 1978. The site took in the second cohort 26 weeks later (October 16). The first site visit was conducted from October 23 to November 2. The third cohort of interns entered the program February 1. The second site visit closely followed this intake (February 12-16). Another (brief) visit was made by the author (March 8) to show interns the pictures he had taken during the previous visit, to observe changes, and to speak informally with the director. The final site visit was conducted shortly after the second (April 23-27).

(3) Site C operated for eight weeks before taking in its first cohort on February 23, 1978. The site took in its second cohort 33 weeks later (October 11). The first site visit was conducted from October 30 to November 3. The third cohort of interns entered the program on February 5, 1979. The second site visit closely followed that intake (February 26-March 7). This site visit followed a major alteration in CIP leadership. The third site visit was conducted shortly after the second (May 7-11).

(4) Site D had 22 weeks before taking in its first cohort on June 5, 1978. The site took in its second cohort 19 weeks later (October 16). The first site visit was conducted from November 12 to 23. The third cohort of interns entered the program February 5. The second site visit closely followed the intake (February 8-17). This site visit followed a major change in CIP leadership. The third site visit was conducted shortly after the second (May 7-14).

Site visits were not made during the early months of the first cohort due to start-up problems for the sites, difficulties recruiting interns (for treatment and control groups), and the fact that the evaluation staff was not fully assembled until May. In retrospect, site visits during these difficult periods would have been extremely useful. The first site visits were conducted shortly after intake of the second cohort to observe the program participants during orientation and the beginning of the term. The second site visit was also conducted almost immediately after the initiation of a cohort--in this case to observe the effects of the intensive recruitment that had been required to meet enrollment quotas and to observe the major leadership changes in two of the programs. Contractual deadlines required that the third site visit be conducted very shortly after the second.

The following ethnographic techniques were used during site visits: participant and non-participant observaton, key informant interviewing, informal and structured interviews, collection of case study materials, triangulating information, and unobtrusive measures. Questionnaires were also disseminated; however they were formally part of the Task A implementation analysis and were not generated from the field situation. The author wrote up his field notes each day and requested other site visitors to fill out a Daily On-Site Field Report form. Classroom observation notes were also used. A tape recorder and camera were used to record data. Slides of the participants and the environment were later used as projective techniques.

The anthropological posture responsible for the adoption of these techniques can be summarized as a holistic, non-judgmental, contextualized orientation. In addition, the philosophical base of phenomenology (Deutcher, 1975; Weber, 1975), rather than logical positivism [which is more characteristic of traditional inquiry in educational evaluation (Guba, 1978)] underlies the ethnographic method. The aim is to gather data from the emic or "insider's" perspective to understand "how the system works," relying on verbatim quotations obtained in informal interviews or elicited from expressive autobiographical interviews (Spindler & Spindler, 1979). The role was more like that of a student interested in learning about how the pieces of a puzzle fit together than a traditional evaluator who enters the picture with explicit a priori assumptions about what the system is and how it works.

The same questions were asked of informants more than once in different forms to check for consistency over time and to provide the informant with opportunities to reply to the question from different angles. The environment was also taken into consideration. When informants provided cues suggesting that they wanted to speak but couldn't speak openly, the discussion was moved to a local coffee shop, a basement room, or a bar. Informal interviews with staff members were conducted outside the school building as often as possible because conversations were noticably affected by the role playing. When interviewed in their offices, staff members tended to play out whatever roles they held thus inhibiting the flow of useful communication.

The theoretical orientation used to formulate the specific methodology and the analysis included: structural functionalism (Radcliffe & Brown, 1965); network theory (Bott, 1971); symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1962; Ogden and Richards, 1945); symbolism

(Van Gennep, 1960; Schwartz & Merton, 1968; Whitehead, 1928; Turner, 1964, 1969), and organizational theory (Allison, 1971; Easton, 1965; Kirst, 1970; March 1965, 1976).

Structural functionalism guided the data-collection process and analysis of the data to determine the demonstration structure and the program structure and function--as well as the interrelationships among their parts. Network theory guided the interviews regarding intern interrelationships at home, in the community, and in the program. Symbolic interaction theory was used to instruct observation of program participants, and demonstration officials and official parties at conferences. Finally, organizational theory informed the data collection and analysis of the larger sociopolitical perspectives of the demonstration project.

The Role

One of the most difficult problems faced in gathering data is that of being viewed as an evaluator (Everhart, 1975). The stereotypic concept of an evaluator as someone looking for problems or deficiencies effectively blocks many communication channels. Since the ethnographer is interested in finding out how the system works from the inside perspective, such barriers to communication must be broken down. The extent to which this type of problem exists was illustrated dramatically when personnel at one site wouldn't even talk to the site visitors because they were perceived as spies for a short time.*

Participant Observation

Ethnographers attempt to immerse themselves in an environment to understand the situation or the system--allowing impressions and patterns to emerge from participation with, and observation of participants. Ethnographic field work is guided by grounded theory (see Glasser, 1967). This involves developing testing hypotheses and theories by interacting directly with the empirical reality observed. Field work of this type, according to Malinowski (1961), can only be done through long months of residence at the local scene. Of necessity, the field work conducted for this study was done on a very different schedule. It was admittedly too brief, but the amount and quality of data that were collected suggest that Malinowski's position may be overstated for studies of American subcultures (if site visits are spread out over a period of time).

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*See Colfer (1976) and Clinton (1976) regarding similar experiences in the Experimental Schools Program Study.

As Pelto (1970) writes:

> Every individual is a participant observer--if not of other cultures, then at least of his own. But the typical nonanthropological resident in a foreign community returns to his native haunts with a very unsystematic and incomplete picture of the scene he has observed. Field work requires much more than simply "being there" and passively watching what people are about. Often the fieldworker, in observing a particular pattern of behavior or an event, needs to find out a great deal more about that event than he is able to observe firsthand. His personal theoretical frame of reference suggests to him sets of questions to ask; relationships of this event to other types of data must be explored, and a host of other materials must be considered in order to make individual observations useful. In cases where the fieldworker feels that a significant block of information is available to him simply through his observation of a particular type of event, he may nonetheless need to devise ways of ensuring the representativeness and objectivity of his observations in a series of repetitions of the given event. By structuring observations and systematically exploring relationships among different events--through interviewing, watching, and perhaps administering "tests"--participant observation can be converted to scientific use. (p. 92)

Over time, repeated patterns of behavior emerge and are identifiable, even if observation is non-continuous.

Participant observation was conducted at the sites as described earlier. Specific activities included informally interacting with interns and staff at their homes; meeting and speaking with interns' parents; "hanging out" in the hallways or the side of the building with interns and staff; going out with intern friends to their "hang outs" in the street, attending Pentacostal church services with interns; being invited to wrestling matches; dancing at a CIP disco; participating in a spelling bee in class; doing assignments; and teaching a class* at one of the programs.

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*The author is a certified secondary school teacher with experience in individualized instruction.

Nonparticipant observation was characterized by simply observing interns and staff interacting in the classrooms, hallways, the cafeteria, and outside the building.

Key Informant Interviewing

"Working with informants is the hallmark of ethnographic field work," according to Spradley and McCurdy (1972). The difference between a respondent and an informant is that a respondent will respond to specific question (usually honestly) whereas an informant answers specific question and then supplies additional, unsolicited information (both related and unrelated to the question), giving the researcher a broader view of the situation. Spradley and McCurdy (1972) explain the process and difficulties in selecting informants:

> The ethnographic field worker must locate helpful people, win their cooperation, and establish a close, personal relationsip with them. This task is not simple, because it involves a basic conflict. On the one hand, the ethnographer establishes a relationship of trust with his informants. It is desirable that this be productive and beneficial to both parties. Often it is marked by friendship. On the other hand, the ethnographer seeks to know things that informants may be reluctant to reveal. Indeed, they may perceive that the researcher is asking them to tell secrets about other people to whom they are loyal. At the very least, they will be asked to talk about what they know in a manner that is new to them. Some of the ethnographer's questions may be embarrassing; others are outright stupid.

This basic conflict is exacerbated when one is perceived in an evaluator's role as discussed earlier. Generally, working alone rather than in teams creates a less threatening atmosphere more conducive to gathering data. Some informants are better than others, some individuals have had a great deal of experience in their current social situation and know their culture or sociocultural system well, e.g., the school. Another important characteristic of a good informant is his/her willingness and ability to talk or communicate. Many interns share selections of their poetry, assignments, or segments of their diary as a way of communicating (in a nonanalytic manner).

In this study, the author made use of a minimum of three to five key informants per site in order to increase the reliability of the obtained data. Four procedural stages were employed to maximize the utility of the data collected from them. Developing a good rapport was the first step. It was undertaken in order to decrease fabrications. Asking what the informers believe and what they think others in their group believe rather than only asking about their personal opinions was a second step. Asking the same question during successive interviews to check for consistency was a third step, and triangulation, which is discussed later, was a fourth step taken in this study to increase the reliability and validity of the information. Key informants who cooperated in the study included directors, counselors, instructors (e.g., staff members), intern leaders, popular interns, secretaries, janitors, and community members (e.g., clergy and merchants).

Informal and Structured Interviews

Informal interviews. Many of the data were collected during informal interviews with interns and staff members, at lunch, or after school. The purpose of using informal interviews was to collect data in normal, "natural" settings. Information collected in the natural setting is more likely to reflect real conditions and constraints operating on the individual. This approach avoids many of the problems associated with role playing as discussed earlier. In addition, this approach mitigates many of the problems that exist in the laboratory setting where artificial stimuli (stimuli isolated from the context in which an individual would actually be operating) produces an artificial response (a response that reflects the artificialness of the laboratory). Informal interviews were conducted at staff members' houses, an American Indian graveyard, a bar, in the author's car, a coffee shop, hotel rooms, "fronts," classes after school, staff offices, in the streets, and in interns' homes, among other places.

The telephone is one of the most important tools for gathering data informally although it is not discussed in the "contract ethnography" literature. A network of communication can be established on an ongoing basis. This is a particularly important device when extensive daily on site participation and observation is not feasible or simply prohibitively expensive. The phone has been used in this study extensively to maintain contacts with interns, directors, staff personnel (including secretaries), the disseminator, and other parties. Many two and three hour calls were made to obtain current information about changes in the sites, to discuss situational problems (personal and professional as well as program-related) and to discuss political events related to the research.

Structured interviews. Structured interviews were conducted with each staff member. The author also conducted structured interviews with approximately 25 interns per site.

Each staff member was asked the following set of questions:

(1) How did you hear about the job (this position)?
(2) Had you heard about OIC before this?
(3) Where do you live? Where are you from originally?
(4) What were you doing before you got this position?
(5) Where did you go to school? What degrees do you have?
(6) Have you had any experience working with this population?
(7) What do you do in your role?
(8) What do you think about the lines of communication among staff and between staff and interns?
(9) Are there any problems you encounter in the program?
(10) What type of thing would you like to be doing several years from now?

Most of what was learned from these structured interview schedules is described in the Task A report (Treadway, Foat, Fetterman, Stromquist, & Tallmadge, 1979). However, an interesting finding that was not reported is that a large percentage of the professional staff members had been unemployed for long periods of time prior to their CIP jobs. This suggests that the program has a secondary (latent) function of providing qualified personnel with employment.

Interns were also asked to participate in a stuctured interview. Interns were asked the following set of questions.

(1) What do you think of CIP?
(2) What do you like about the program?
(3) What do you dislike about the program?
(4) What do you think of the staff?
(5) What do you think of the other interns?
(6) Where did you go to school before?
(7) What did you think about it? Why did you leave?
(8) How did you find out about the program?
(9) (If dropout) What were you doing before you came here?
(10) How many people are in your family?
(11) How do you get along with your family?
(12) What do your parents think about the program?

These questions are primarily open-ended to encourage respondents to answer in as full a manner as possible. Responses have been used to draw inferences about specific sites and across sites.

Case studies and/or expressive-autobiographic interviews.

> Key-informant interviewing frequently becomes so important in anthropological field work

> the anthropologist has especially good rapport. The anthropologist is attracted to collecting extensive materials from persons who are unusually eloquent and sensitive in their presentation of personal and cultural data. Thus, in most cases, life histories represent the exceptional rather than the representative or average persons in the community. In spite of this fact, the richness and personalized nature of life histories afford a vividness and integration of cultural information that are of great value for understanding particular life ways. (Pelto 1970, p. 98-99)

Case studies of individual intern's background and progress through the program continue to be compiled to document the types of interns in the program and their development while in the program. Expressive autobiographic interviews have been used thus far to develop the case studies. The expressive autobiographic interview according to Louise Spindler is:

> a cross between a structured interview and a chronological autobiography. The respondent is asked to tell the story of his or her life but intervention by the anthropologist at critical points...relevant to (specific topical points of interest)...turns the autobiography to relevant considerations and permits an economy of time that is not possible with the full autobiography. (Spindler & Spindler, 1970, p. 293)

Two interns per cohort per site have been tracked (with two alternates per cohort per site in case of unforeseen problems). The data collected about these individuals have been integrated into the study rather than portraying their lives and progress in the more common narrative format. The type of information gathered regarding the case studies has been outlined and is presented below.

Outline of CIP Case Study

I. Quotations - Verbatim

Quotations from participants are more useful than judgments (without direct evidence from participants)

II. Topic Areas Necessary for CIP Case Studies

A. Name, age, cohort, dropout or potential dropout

B. Environment: city, school, home

C. History/biography
   1. Home
   2.
      Former school experience, e.g., school hopping, counselors, teachers, peers, drugs, history of failure, etc., crime, few credits--blame self or others
   3. Experience as dropout or potential dropout
   4. How student became aware of CIP
   5. Why came to CIP/tests, etc.
   6. What intern wants to be (what did they want to be a year ago?)--ask new interns' career aspirations so we can ask them later in year
   7. Present activities: work, looking for a job, volunteer work, basketball, etc.
   8. Role in schools past and present--popular, marginal, pariah, etc. (from their peer perspective and from school role perspective)

D. Attitude towards CIP
   1. Atmosphere--supportive/oppressive--rules, attendance
   2. Teachers, counselors, staff, director (attitude and relationship with, how often do they see them)
   3. Individualized nature, classes, CCS, etc.
   4. Intern percepton of communication in CIP--between interns, interns -> staff, between staff
   5. Who does intern attribute success of program to?

E. Involvement in CIP
   1. Attendance (and attitude towards)
   2. Class performance--appointments/assignments/test taking/seriousness
   3. Dope
   4. Gym
   5. Disco
   6. Student council
   7. Hands-on experience

F. World View
   1. Attitude towards getting ahead, e.g., education as a vehicle (diploma), barriers--race, traditional education, teachers, etc.
   2. Attitudes towards former peers, gangs, former teachers, CIP teachers, old school
   3. Attitude towards parents, guardians, etc.

Triangulation

Triangulation is a basic tool used in the ethnography approach--testing one source of information against another from various perspectives to arrive at a balanced interpretation of reality. Webb, Campbell, Swartz and Sechrest (1966) point out that

> The notion of a single "critical experiment" is erroneous. There must be a series of linked critical experiments, each testing a different outcropping of the hypotheses. It is through triangulation of data procured from different measurement classes that the investigator can most effectively strip of plausibility rival explanations for his comparison. (p. 174)

Hypotheses regarding the interrelationship among program components and "treatments" and "outcomes" on various levels were tested using various sources, e.g., staff perceptions, as checked by intern perceptions, as checked by program monitor observations, as checked by the authors participation and observation. Additional sources were also used to triangulate the data, e.g., written documents, attendance patterns, "hidden agendas" described in confidence, and so on.

Unobtrusive Measures

The ethnographer tries to remain unobtrusive throughout the research. This does not mean he or she does not take part in the groups' activities; on the contrary, participation is considered fundamental to understanding the experience, the situation, or the system. The ethnographer tries not to alter the existing situation markedly by his or her presence. The observation of a school basketball game or a dance, for example, represents an unobtrusive measure of staff/intern and intern/intern interaction.

Two unobtrusive measures extensively used in this study are described by Webb et al. (1966) and by Pelto (1970): physical traces--erosion and accretion--and archives and other written records.

Physical traces. Unobtrusive measures, both obvious and subtle, can be used to draw social inferences from physical evidence. The different states of disrepair of buildings, for example, provided preliminary indices of relative affluence or poverty. Intern and staff apparel represented projections of their personality. Wearing a nose ring or wearing one's hair in corn rows, for example, was an expression of ethnicity. Wearing a Borsolini indicated possible gang affiliation or identification. Rabbit fur coats and layers of jewelry suggested possible identification with pimps or prostitition. Each of these measures served as cues to probe further. The director at one site, for example, confided that the woman (who wore apparel corresponding with the apparel of street walkers of her age) was in fact still involved periodically in that lucrative profession. The change in specific interns' wardrobes between their initiation into the program and several months later was used as an index of personality changes--or at least changes in self-presentation skills.

The amount of graffiti on bathroom walls served as an index of intern care or respect for "their" building. The reactions of staff and interns when graffiti was found provided further indications of attitudes toward and involvement in the CIP. Interns at two sites commented that "this was not right...to do this to our building...I like coming to a clean place; this is not no dump and we won't let it, either."

Wearing sneakers at one site is evidence of rebellion or in some cases (where their shoes are downstairs in their lockers) it evidences a call for attention. These unobtrusive measures generally serve as cues requiring further corroboration and documentation. Still, they are informative by themselves.

Archives and other written records. Extensive written records have been available to the researchers in this study (particularly for use in this task). OIC/A has supplied extensive notes and documents ranging from training materials for the dissemination of the CIP to sample learning packets used at the sites, to critiques of drafts of evaluation reports and much more. The evaluation of the prototype site provided much useful information regarding the intended nature of the sites (Gibboney Associates, 1977). The evaluation reports themselves represent one of the most significant data sources in this task. In addition, NIE monthly progress reports have proved invaluable for obtaining an understanding of the monitor's perspective of the project development. The actual learning packets, textbooks, supplementary reading materials, and assignments used in the sites contributed to an understanding of the system and have been used to document the practice of individualized instruction and many other program patterns and practices. Interns' books with worn pages, underlining, and several book markers serve to indicate that the intern is using and studying the textbook, his or her grades on tests of that information are also used as further evidence that the intern has studied. Intern poetry, CIP-is-HIP award posters, election posters, the lack of graffiti, and so on have all been used as evidence of attitudes or patterns of behavior in the program.

Folktales and proxemics. Listening to community folktales about dropouts, for example, provides evidence as to how community members perceive dropouts. Intern folktales about gangs also serve to indicate how they feel about gang activities and the degree of their involvement or non-involvement.

Observations of the proxemics, "the hidden dimension of spacing and position among human beings," also serve to support various hypotheses. Instructors remaining distant from interns rather than entering their "personal body space" to help them on an assignment is indicative of the tenuous relationship between the two. Talking with interns while both the intern and the interviewer are lying in the grass with their feet crossed, eating lunch, is also indicative of the type of relationship that exists between the two parties. One of the most interesting examples of proxemics occured during a meeting of the study Advisory Panel. Individuals controlling the schedule (or attempting to) were observed sitting at one end of the conference room table while those who were antagonistic established their own territory near the other end. Coalitions were also evidenced by seating arrangements as were relative levels of power.

Questionnaires

Several variations of a Program Climate questionnaire were distributed to both staff and interns during site visits. These questionnaires were not developed out of the field experience; however, they served as useful indices of specific attitudes toward program personnel. In fact, preliminary statistical analyses reveal high correlations between on-site observations and the rating scales.

Field Notes

Extensive field notes were compiled using a "thick" descriptive technique (Geertz, 1973) to record most observations. Notes were taken during all formal and semi-formal interviews. Informal interviews were written up as soon as possible after they were completed using Powdermaker's (1966) technique of reconstructing the conversation with various mnemonic devices. Field notes were divided into three categories: actual observations, speculations and cues, and personal diary. Field notes were further subdivided by site and agency files, e.g., RMC, OIC, OIC/A, NIE, and DOL. Site visit notes were writen up each night. Agency files were maintained daily at first and then only as new material or observations were made.

Daily On-Site Field Report

The author designed a daily on-site field report for each evaluator to report his or her daily observations. The purpose of the report was to accumulate information from as many sources as possible. The recorded data were reviewed during and after each site visit to check for leads, discrepancies, and corroborating evidence. The responses indicate as much about the observations as it does about the observer. Following is a copy of the ten questions on the Daily On-Site Field Report. The back of the page was used for additional comments or observations.

Classroom Observation Notes

The form entitled Classroom Observation Notes was also designed by the author for recording observations of classroom behavior. The form is organized into three parts: pre-classroom description, classroom instruction description, and post-classroom description.

Equipment: Tape Recorder and Camera

Tape recorder. It would have been impossible to record long verbatim quotations by hand. Life histories and interviews--formal or informal--were therefore recorded on audio tape. The tape recorder, however, had to be used judiciously and always with consent.

Tape recorders can inhibit individuals from speaking freely during interviews. A Watergate-like attitude remains regarding tape recorders and can place the interviewer in a poor light--significantly affecting the nature of the data that are recorded. In addition, taping everything is an ill-advised proposition. Transcribing tapes is an extremely tedious task as the author learned and as Pelto pointed out several years ago (1970). Transcriptions can be extremely useful, however, if there are sufficient funds to hire professional transcribers. In this study, budgetary considerations precluded the routine transcription of all tapes in their entirety. Certain segments of tapes were selected for transcription after they were reviewed.

The use of the tape recorder was also invaluable as a mechanism for getting acquainted with individuals and building rapport quickly. Once the center of activity was located, e.g., the school cafeteria or the ma-and-pa grocery store across the street, the ethnographer was able to enter the group as an enjoyable novelty. Playing the tapes back for individuals to hear themselves during a serious conversation provided comic relief--

DAILY ON-SITE FIELD REPORT FORM Date ________________

1. List and describe briefly your schedule of activities during the day (on back of sheet).

2. Briefly describe the neighborhood, e.g., clean or refuse on street, torn-down buildings, graffiti, individuals "hanging out" on the street, painted or well kept-up houses, gardens, etc.

3. Chart formal and informal social networks and/or hierarchy operating in the program (on back of sheet).

4. What are my general impresssions, e.g., atmosphere, general values and beliefs of participants, etc.?

5. What were my specific impressions about the program, e.g., specific behaviors and attitudes, etc.?

6. How is the evaluator perceived, e.g., your role, the control group, etc.? How do you interact with participants, e.g., at ease, uncomfortable with certain individuals, etc.? How are you perceived, e.g., evaluator, "buddy," trusted, not trusted, etc.?

7. How would I characterize the interaction and dialogue of staff, staff and interns, and among interns? Were individuals cooperative or factionalized? Were individuals open or not? Why? Specify any events you observed that you consider exceptions to the rule in the program.

8. Did something I expect to occur/to see not happen?

9. How is the program different from the other sites I have seen?

10. What are important areas for follow-up?

Classroom Observation Notes

At the end of the day or as soon as possible, you should review your observations and notes and expand them in a few paragraphs, identifying routinely repeated patterns of behavior.

Date ____________________________

Site ____________________________

Observer ____________________________

Teacher/class ____________________________
name / subject

Pre-classroom description:

Classroom instruction description:

Post-classroom description:

something to laugh about and enjoy. Other interns soon request an opportunity to be interviewed or to sing or recite poetry. The tape recorder hanging from his shoulder soon became an integral part of the ethnographer. After a few days, staff and intern alike only noticed when it was missing (the tape recorder).

A tape recorder can also be used to dramatize the confidential nature of some of the information exchanged between the informant and ethnographer. The informant may want to share a confidential insight with the ethnographer but not want it be recorded. The simple act of turning the machine off serves to amplify the promise "I won't tell anybody who gave me this information" under these circumstances. This quickly intensifies a good working rapport. Similarly, if the ethnographer has some valuable piece of (personal) information to convey to the informant turning the recorder off once again serves to amplify the trusting nature of the relationship.

Cameras. Collier (1967) describes some of the camera's special assets in ethnographic research.

> The camera is an automative tool, but one that is highly sensitive to the attitudes of its operator. Like the tape recorder it documents mechanically, but does not by its mechanics necessarily limit the sensitivity of the human observer--it is a tool of extreme selectivity.
>
> The camera's machinery allows us to see without fatigue; the last exposure is just as detailed as the first. The memory of film replaces the notebook and insures complete notation under the most trying circumstance. The reliably repetitive operation of the camera allows for comparable observations of an event as many times as the needs of research demand. This mechanical support of field observation extends the possibilities of critical analysis, for the camera record contributes a control factor to visual observation. Not only is it a check on eye memory, but further, it allows for an absolute check of position and identification in a congested and changing cultural event.
>
> Photography is a legitimate abstracting process in observation. It is one of the first steps in evidence refinement that turns raw circumstances into data that is manageable in research analysis. Photographs are

> precise records of material reality. They are also documents that can be filed and cross-filed as can verbal statements. Photographic evidence can be endlessly duplicated, enlarged or reduced in visual dimension, and fitted into many schemes of diagrams, and by scientific reading, into many statistical designs.

In this regard, the camera proved to be a reliable means of documenting ethnographic observation in this study. Individualized instruction, intern apparel and interaction, staff hierarchies (formal and informal), and numerous other events were documented on film.

The 35mm SLR camera also proved invaluable in the field in much the same way that the tape recorder served the ethnographer. Collier speaks of the "can opener" effect of the camera as a tool to provide rapid entry into community and immediate familiarity and cooperation. The camera was used in this study in precisely this fashion. One intern would ask about the camera, which led into another conversation, which led into a photograph. Other interns began crowding around wanting their portraits captured on film. In addition, interns and staff would request that the author bring the pictures back to the site when he returned, thus maintaining continuity and an open-door policy. In fact, one unscheduled visit was made to site B to show interns photographs promised to them. This tool was critical for rapid entry into a community given the severe limitations of time in contract ethnography (Everhart 1975). It was also a vehicle for maintaining some level of reciprocity with informants.

The author discovered in the process of using the camera as an "ice breaker" that it produced a second level can-opener effect not discussed in the literature. Informants were much more relaxed and open with the author after being photographed in careful portrait fashion than under normal circumstances. After realizing this fact, he began each interview with a brief introduction, a little casual conversation, and a photograph. The photograph appeared to convey a compliment to the informant thus creating an initial willingness to talk--it made even the most simple-minded questions tolerable. Secondly, the actual photographing process served as a kind of projective technique. Informants struck poses characteristic of the images they have of themselves--often in an exaggerated, charicature-like form. These poses provided cues or hints about why interns interacted with staff or interns in specific manners and how individuals perceived themselves over time.

Photographs can as easily "turn people off" as they can "turn people on." They must be used judiciously and with consent, as with the tape recorder. Following Collier's suggestions, only shots of positive events were taken at first so as not to produce a "negative" halo effect (Asche, 1946). Later, as trust was earned and informants understood the purpose of the shots in greater detail, the negative aspects could be photographed without upsetting anyone.

The camera was used to document kinesics (Birdwhistell, 1952) or culturally patterned postures and gestures (body language) of participant interactions. The camera also captured proxemic patterns (Hall, 1966) in the sites (the spacing between people and body orientation). This information was used to support specific hypotheses regarding intern/staff interaction patterns and old versus new intern interaction patterns. The camera was also extremely useful in documenting the behavior referred to earlier where individuals and factions displayed various postures and sat in specific places at the conference table while attending an Advisory Panel meeting.

The site photographs (slides) were also shown to other members of the project staff to cross check perspecitives with the perceptions of other on-site visitors'. The slides were also used as mnemonic devices to facilitate recall.

Slides taken on the previous site visit were shown each time the author returned to a site. The entire school usually gathered in the cafeteria to view the slides and the reactions of the viewers were often highly informative. Pictures of certain staff, for example, received cheers, others hisses. Specific comments regarding individuals in the pictures also proved highly illuminating. Intern comments regarding other interns were the most useful. Comic laughter at one intern's photograph was explained as "they're just laughin' at how much of a big man he thought he was then; see his chin and his eyes?" Groans of disgust elicited from another slide of an intern was interpreted as "the pest...she thinks she's so high and mighty." Friendly humming intonation by the interns regarding another slide was interpreted as "she's the sexpot."

The intern's interpretations were checked on the spot by other interns sitting in the immediate vicinity who openly made corrections or additions to the first intern's interpretation. These observations were also cross checked by additional informal interviewing. This particular "ethnographic technique" proved so useful that it can be recommended for future use in other studies.

III. THE PROBLEM: IT DEPENDS ON YOUR PERSPECTIVE

Policy makers have identified high rates of dropping out of school and youth unemployment, especially severe among poor and minority youth, as the problem. The Request for Proposal states this problem succinctly:

> In 1973, over 10% of youth aged 14 to 24 left high school before receiving a high school diploma. The percentage of those [who] left school was higher for blacks than for whites: among 18 and 19 year-olds, 27.7% of the black females had dropped out in 1973, in contrast to 14.1% for white males and 15.2% for white females. Dropping out meant bad economic news. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, 20% of high school dropouts between the ages of 16 and 24 were unemployed in 1974, compared with 10% of all high school graduates. When dropout unemployment rates are compared by race, youth from black and minority groups are doubly disadvantaged: about 16% of white youth without high school diplomas aged 16 to 24 were unemployed in 1974; 32% of dropout youth from black and other minority groups wanted jobs and could not find them (NIE, 1978).

Policy makers have supported the development of programs designed to enable young people to graduate from secondary school and increase their career awareness and career planning skills. The ultimate objective of these programs is to increase the employability of young people and thereby improve their prospects for (conventionally perceived) productive and satisfying lives.

The author recognizes the stark reality of the statistics cited above and the human suffering they represent. However, he identifies them as symptoms of a larger systemic disorder. The root cause of the disorder lies in the inequities of the entire sociocultural system. Public education, a part of that system, can and has served as a mechanism to perpetuate such social and economic inequities (Warner, 1944; Rist, 1970, 1973; Wilcox, 1978; Ogbu, 1978). Urban school staff particularly serve to disadvantage minority groups (Spindler, 1974) with low expectations and self-fulfilling prophesies (Rist, 1970; Rosenfeld, 1971). In addition, urban schools often mis-educate students and then blame the students for their own mis-education (Ryan, 1971).

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Ogbu (1978) suggests a useful way of looking at the relationship between education and social structure in this regard, following a long line of scholars in the field of socialization (Aberle & Naegele, 1952; Aberle, 1961; Y. A. Cohen, 1971; Inkeles, 1955, 1968(b); Kohn, 1968; LeVine, 1967; LeVine et al., 1967; Miller & Swanson, 1958). Ogbu speaks of:

> the notion that socialization or child training is the preparation of the child for adult life as his or her society or segment of society conceives it. That is, socialization is the process by which individuals acquire the skills (cognitive, manual, etc.), motives, knowledge, and attitudes which enable them to perform typical social and economic roles available to adult members of their society and be fully integrated into the society [p. 16].

This perspective replaces the antiquated and ethnocentric cultural-deprivation and genetic-difference theories used to explain "the problem." (The major deficiencies of cultural deprivation theory are discussed in detail later in this report.)

Schools are successfully serving society if the goal is to perpetuate the existing social stratification. They are failing to serve students if the goal is to pursue the democratic ideal of equality of opportunity. The content of the curriculum employed in schooling usually serves as a vehicle for transmitting values. For example, a teacher announces that a paper on the geography of the city is to be submitted this Friday with a penalty of one-half a grade lower for each day the paper is late. This assignment serves as a vehicle for emphasizing and transmitting such cultural values as punctuality and obedience. The segment of the city chosen by the student and the teacher's response to the paper, as well as the student-teacher relationship itself all represent the medium for the communication or mis-communication of values.

Schools, through their teachers, counselors, and curricula, attempt to transmit the "appropriate" set of values to a given socioeconomic class to prepare them for their specific role in the labor market. Social scientists and educators alike have long been concerned about the contradiction posed by (a) the role of schooling as a mechanism for socializing individuals into specific segments of the labor force and (b) democratic ideals of equality of opportunity.

> Schooling has basically served to instill the values of an expanding industrial society and to fit the aspirations and motivations of

> individuals to the labor market at approximately the same level as that of their parents. Thus it is that some children find themselves slotted toward becoming workers and others toward becoming the managers of those workers (Rist, 1973, p. 2).

American public education reinforces the inequity present in American society--creating winners and losers. Katz (1971) suggests that the process by which this occurs is not new or fortuitous.

> There is a functional relationship between the way in which schools are organized and what they are supposed to do. That relation was there a century ago and it exists today [p. xviii].

Warner (1944) demonstrated the process whereby schools socialized students to enter their (or their parents') appropriate social class. Similarly, Thernstron (1964) demonstrated how the Boston schools of the 19th century were used to maintain the existing class system in the United States. Schools were agents of social control by which the dominant sector of society created a "disciplined, punctual, obedient, skilled and willing" labor force to fill the rapidly expanding factories (Thernstron, 1964). Wilcox (1978) presents a contemporary picture of how blue collar schools produce blue collar adults, for example, by employing a curriculum that emphasizes externally imposed methods of motivating students "to behave in ways the teacher or school considers appropriate." In contrast, she talks of middle class schools producing middle class adults by employing a curriculum that involves teaching students to internalize and identify with the norms and requirements of the school "so as to be self-directing within that context." Rist (1973) has contributed to the perspective through his discussion of the myth of equality in education regarding the "twin notions of enhanced individual social and economic mobility and the further strengthening of the democratic process through the creation of an enlightened citizenry." He suggests

> School establishments perpetuate the myth of opportunity by a distortion of reality: schools cannot fail, only children fail. Teachers, trapped between the community and the brokers of power within the schools, have sided with the establishment and have come to accept the definition that the onus of failure should be placed squarely on the backs of those who fail. Ironically, what the teachers

> create through their expectations for children is precisely what the schools were designed to make real--class inequality disguised as individual differences [p. 20].

This perspective on the myth of equality in society and in the classroom is echoed by Thomas (1973) when he discusses American education in the context of our political democracy, our economic system, "our socially stratified society, and our heterogeneous background of cultures, races, and natural individual differences."

Katz (1971) suggests vocational schools were used to accommodate the influx of working-class students into the high schools at the turn of the century--without threatening the pre-existing class-stratified society.

> It [vocational school] was also a solution fit for poor children; it would permit them to attend secondary school without exhibiting aspirations beyond their class. It would continue to instill in them the attitudes and skills appropriate to manual working class status. Regardless of the rhetoric of its sponsors, vocational education has proved to be an ingenious way of providing universal secondary schooling without disturbing the shape of the social structure and without permitting excessive amounts of social mobility [p. 121].

Schools have been and continue to be used to prepare students for the division of labor that is a by-product of the economic system. The high rates of dropping out and unemployability are not the problem per se, rather they suggest that schools are not adequately preparing students for "productive" available roles in society and in fact may be alienating them from the conventional "world of work." Society, however is not in a state of equilibrium--it is changing constantly. Schools as a formal social institution have predominantly served to maintain the status quo--in this case a highly stratified class system. They have also been used, however, and can be used to alter a group's position in the larger socioeconomic system.

Revolutionaries aim at destroying or fundamentally changing the structure of the system. They seek to raise "class consciousness" among exploited groups to make individuals aware of their role (in terms of classes) in the economic system regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, sex, and so on. The purpose of this consciousness-raising is to make individuals aware of how their role is a function of the larger economic system that generates inequities--winners and losers. School, from this perspective, parallels the typical social scientific view of school, a formal institutional extension of the larger socioeconomic system intended to perpetuate a highly stratified class society. Revolutionaries are generally at war with reformers who tend to inhibit significant social structural change because "they are on the other side of the fence."

Reformers in contrast are a part of "the system." They generally attempt to alter a specific group's position in the larger socioeconomic system without affecting the fundamental structure of society. They attempt to generate "change" through the mechanics of the system, e.g., hard work, delayed gratification, organized interest groups, political power, and so on. Reformers view school as a mechanism to secure (upward) social mobility for a specific, e.g., ethnic or religious, group or set of groups.

OIC/A is a reformer dedicated to the existing economic system. One of their primary goals is to change the social and economic status of minorities in the United States. They are fully aware of the facts that Gibbony Associates presented in their final report

> Dropping out is culturally selective. It hits hardest at families of lower socioeconomic status. For both whites and non-whites, the higher the educational level of the parents, for example the lower the chances of a male youth from that family dropping out. Moreover, more non-white youth come from poorer homes, so dropouts come disproportionately from minority youth. In 1973, for example, there were almost twice as many black men and women dropouts among 19 to 24 year olds (18% and 19% respectively) as white men and women (10% and 11% respectively) (Gibboney Associates, 1977, p. 5).

OIC/A as a reformer views education as a vehicle to alter "the problem." The problem as OIC/A sees it is that a disproportionate number of black men and women are dropping out or are at high risk of dropping out of high school. OIC/A, in response, conceived, developed, and tested the Career Intern Program in the early and middle 1970s. The CIP is an alternative high school for dropouts and students at high risk of dropping out of high school. The basic manifest function of the school is to assist students to earn high school diplomas; the fundamental latent aim is to produce upward social mobility primarily for lower socioeconomic class blacks and other minorities. Dr. Marland recognized the purpose at the first school's inception in 1972:

> I cannot emphasize strongly enough that this is not simply more vocational education for blacks, something that has properly been attacked in the past as tending to segregate blacks into semi-skilled occupations, reserving college for the white middle class (Marland, 1972).

In sum, two different groups--one representing the dominant group, one representing the "oppressed," work together within the system to attempt to solve what each perceive as "the problem." Federal agencies have an interest in remedying a "faulty" transition from school to work, to maintain the labor force required of the larger socioeconomic system. Reformers are dedicated to serving those individuals who continue to find the transition from school to work filled with obstacles. The reformer's ultimate objective is to promote the social mobility of the "disadvantaged" or "disenfranchised" group. Both parties are focused on the dropouts or those in high risk of dropping out of high school. The objectives may differ, but, in the definition of the population to be served and the perceived (educational) solution, the parties converge. The parties join forces to treat the symptoms. While the root of the illness is not directly addresed by the CIP or by OIC, the symptoms of the disease are no less real. Dropping out "hurts" emotionally and financially as hundreds of thousands of individuals testify each year. The CIP, in this regard, represents one of the successful attempts to attack "the problem."

IV. THE ENVIRONMENT

The four CIP "replications" are adapting to four different environments that produce varying influences and constraints on program operation. One site is located in a multi-racial, multi-ethnic city and the program competes with numerous alternative programs. In addition, according to staff members, the "deceptively subtle" nature of poverty and, to a lesser extent, discrimination in this city produces "a sort of complacency" among interns. Another site is located in a "cosmopolitan" city plagued with the social ills characteristic of many inner cities throughout the United States--drugs, prostitution, arson, property decay, and so on. A third site is located in a community characterized by a "provincial conservatism," according to staff members. The fourth site is located in a "blue collar" industrial city where "gang influences" were extremely powerful in the sixties. The gang influence, however, has been significantly reduced in the city.

A brief examination of the environments in which these sites operate place the program operation in context.

Site Descriptions

Site A

The city where Site A is located has approximately 500,000 residents and is ethnically diverse. Its minority population (17%) includes balanced proportions of blacks, Asians, Spanish Americans, and native Americans. The city has a diversified economy and, as one instructor commented: "The economy is now in an upswing. There are lots of jobs with _____ now. There is unemployment but [it] is very low." (The unemployment rate for its 16- to 21-year-old youth is approximately 16%.)

Urban decay is not as prevalent as in some major cities, though there are areas of poverty and substandard housing. One instructor described the city comparatively:

> I lived in _____ and _____, but [this city] is really like a small town to me. There is poverty, there is prostitution, drugs, but on another scale. The houses where the low-income people live are nice looking, have their yards, are well kept--but they are still nothing compared to the ghettos of _____ and _____.

One of the staff members, a former real estate salesman, gives a brief abstract of the city--pointing out the location and composition of the local Chinatown, the affluent and economically depressed, the liberal and the conservative areas of the city. Regarding discrimination and housing he reported:

> The dollar is still pretty much predominant... (I live in the west section.) That's where I grew up. And there are, there are a lot of liberal people living over there. Right in the middle of this conservatism. In fact, the founders and the key movers in _____ [a local community group] are centered in the west area. They are the ones opposing integration, opposing busing.
>
> Yeah, surprisingly enough a lot of the people that are really involved in this (anti-integration group) are very affluent people from (all) sides of the city. They see cultural pluralism as an economic thing. Well they still believe in the myth that if you have the wrong people living next door. I sold Real Estate in _______ about three years ago. In this city we have equal housing laws that carry some very stiff fines and penalties so any realtor in the city who is going to interview anyone who wants to live in a house. But I was very specifically told by the manager in the Real Estate firm I worked for, when I asked how come we don't have more Black Business? He ...said "We don't need any and it was said show them houses but don't show them any good ones, because some of them have money." Isn't that awful.
>
> That's amazing.
>
> Then of course you have the Black capitalists. They are more red lining in the _____ section than in any other section of the city. Beautiful, beautiful homes.... so the people who have money buy the red line homes and go in and they have these mahogany interiors. Well they're marvelous, they're absolutely marvelous. They rewire them and they put in new glass and they have homes that are the envy of the entire city. But the people who need to buy these houses who want to live, the poor, the Blacks and etc., can't buy them. That's the red lining.

Concerning city youth and gang influences, the same instructor commented: "Youths don't hang around on corners here. I haven't heard about gangs. That's why it is so hard to find dropouts here. They are not as visible as in other cities."

The city is also characterized by a "complacency"--the result of a deceptively subtle form of poverty where "there is just enough to get by" according to a former staff member. This individual comments on the aspects of the environment.

> There are jobs out there, short term and the like, but they don't go anywhere. They (interns) don't realize that.... Poverty in this city is deceptively subtle, don't let it fool you. You won't see the torn down crumbling buildings like _____[another major city] but you go on _____ and _____ the houses don't look too bad but its worse in a way. They (interns) are satisfied with their position in life. Their part-time jobs. A dollar's worth of gas is enough for most of them that have cars. They'll just cruise on it until they're empty. Then they'll just wait until they earn another couple of dollars.... It's not like poverty like you see in other cities, its deceiving.

The site itself is housed in half of a former religious school. A low-income apartment complex faces the CIP directly across the street. A few deteriorated houses can be found down the block. The site is located near a local "main drag," only a mile from one of its feeder high schools. Many of the public schools in the city have programs for teaching English as a second language and offer approximately 23 different language programs for the city's diverse population.

At Site A, unlike the three other sites, the CIP was assigned the status of an alternative high school by the local school district. The LEA has a history of allowing alternative programs, and its policy is to have these operate as part of the LEA. As a result, the LEA has established a special administrative unit to guide and monitor the CIP on site. Therefore, this site represents a test case regarding CIP institutionalization in the public school system. Successful assimilation of the CIP would suggest that the public school system represents a viable avenue for program proliferation. The attitudes, structure, and policies of the conventional system accompanying incorporation or assimilation may, on the other hand, produce counteracting effects.

Site B

The CIP in Site B is located in an inner-city area of a major metropolitan center. The local population is ethnically mixed: black, Puerto Rican, Castillian Spanish, Italian, and Jewish. The youth unemployment rate is 57%. The immediate neighborhood of the CIP facility is moderately deteriorated. While there are burned-out buildings and litter strewn about the streets in the neighborhood, there are also many well maintained homes with neat stoops and yards. The area from which interns are drawn includes large tracts of severely depressed neighborhoods.

The area is plagued with the social ills characteristic of many inner cities throughout the United States--drugs, prostitution, arson, property decay, and so on. A local merchant pointed out that the area was

> ...a wealthy community, what--seven or eight years ago. The mayor used to bring his big-wig guests here with the ticker tape and everything. But now look at it. It's the same as everywhere, I guess. The white flight, they call it--they moved out and the blacks and the Puerto Ricans, they moved in. You know it's not so different, though I was brought up in _____. That's when it was only Yehudim [Jews] you know, and you knew. Let's be honest--we had some of the same kinds of problems, but we always cared; it's different now, you know. Today nobody cares, nobody cares....

Especially noticeable in the surrounding blocks are many boarded-up or burnt-out buildings left partially standing. The shopkeepers, parents, CIP staff, and interns all give the same explanation: arson. A local minister, who is on many city council committees, offered the same opinion heard from various sources:

> ...they sold us out, the city fathers. They don't give a damn. The shopkeepers around here, I've known them all for years. They're running scared. They hire out to burn down their buildings. It's for the insurance. And the crime of it is HUD won't put any money into a block that has two or more houses burnt down in it. They figure it's not worth it--the rest of the block will go before long. It used to be there was a building

> burning down three to four a day. Now it is at a standstill; maybe it's time for a turnaround.

Interns point out the "beautiful nonsense" of the streets--old men with the DTs urinating on buildings, pimps wearing platform shoes and rabbit fur coats, open prostitution and dope transactions, gambling, "boosting," young men pitching pennies "just passing time." An informant introduced one of the evaluators to Colombia [pseudonym], "the main man." Colombia was the ultimate street entrepreneur. Typically, he was garbed in flashy and expensive apparel. He always wore his wide-brim tan hat and was bedecked with layers of glittering jewelry--golden chains and ruby rings. Colombia said he liked "to dress the part." It was his way of "promoting the pro-fes-sion." He sold men and women--no children--and boasted of his ability to secure any type of accessory required to perform any crime. The same informant who introduced the evaluator to Colombia mentioned "he's pickin' 'em now" (looking for recruits or apprentices).

Other features of the community that are noticeable are the fronts and the police. Knowing all the places in town to "cop dope" is a valuable part of street knowledge for many youths. The front is one of the more interesting places to "cop dope." A front might be, for example, a record shop or a health food store that sells legitimate products as a cover for its major business, selling narcotics. In the first front observed, two police officers clearly recognized and then calmly walked by an open drug transaction in the store. When asked why no action had been taken, the key informant replied:

> They don't need the money. They'll only bust you if they need the money you know. They get paid off regular. You take some of them, though, they'll just reach right into the register and pull the money out and leave you the nickel [bag of marijuana] that they came in to bust you for in the first place, you know what I mean, and then they let you go free, you know, as if nothin' ever happened.

This is the community atmosphere--a climate conducive to crime, dropping out, or just hanging out. The role models of "successful" adults, both male and female, are often associated with criminal activities. Though many interns come from "good homes" with responsible and respectable adult models, the street culture--a very powerful environmental force affecting interns--cannot be ignored. The program is faced with the task of altering strongly reinforced street culture behaviors and values that are antithetical to the CIP world of work values and rules of behavior.

Site C

Site C is a city of approximately 32,000 residents in a semi-rural area. Its main street divides the city economically. Upper-middle class citizens live primarily on the south side and lower socio-economic class citizens on the north side of the town. Many middle-income individuals have been economically "forced" to live in the suburbs.

Since the early sixties there has been rapid growth of suburbanization and shopping centers. Manufacturing and retail trade provide the most common forms of employment in the community. The poorer section of the city has well maintained single dwellings with some substandard housing and a very few houses that are boarded up. The lower socioeconomic class in the community includes both black and white families. Youth unemployment is approximately 80%.

The majority of CIP staff members and ex-staff members commented on the "conservative" nature of the community. One staff member said, "Both the black and white communities are provincial in their attitudes."

Two of the white staff members from the south side perceived no real provincialism in the community; however, they also said they spent very little time in the north end of the city. The majority of the black staff members described the community as "up south,"--that is, the city is physically located in the north but the community climate is often like that in "the deep rural south." One individual said: "When you call to help set up a Hands-On for the intern and the voice on the other end says something like 'those people,' you know who you're dealin' with." Ex-career developers have commented on the reluctance of community members to assist dropouts in general and minorities in particular in "anti-poverty" programs.

Most of the interns complained about the pressures they experienced at their former high school: administrators were "lookin' to throw me out all the time," instructors "just not carin' about nobody," and fellow students who would lure them away from the classroom to "get high and just hang out."

Many young men in the CIP have police records. They characterized the police as unfair and often corrupt. One intern complained about being arrested for trespassing on private property--describing it as a form of harrassment. Another intern described his treatment by the local police after being arrested for participating in a minor riot after a basketball game.

> When they got me to the police station they didn't waste no time. Boy, first thing they

> did, put me up there to the desk, took my handcuffs off. Why did you take the handcuffs off? I'm watchin' three cops over there right in front of me takin' off their rings, their watches, their belt, their raincoat. (They beat you up?) They tried. (For real they tried to beat you up down at the station? Well what stopped them?) They were swingin' a couple of times but I got all in the corner and got behind the chair couldn't get to me good. And my mother came down there to the station about 15 minutes after I was there and wild. And, you know, like she wanted to see me right, and I heard the sergeant say, "You ain't seein' nobody no time tonight." All of a sudden she starts cryin' and there they is. I hear her out their cryin' right. They're in the back tryin' to beat me up and I, heck with this, I'm going' out there. (You swing back?) Yeah, I swung back. I opened up the door and I said "Maaa."

Though most CIP interns in Site C had never been arrested, the perception of police harrassment was common. So were feelings that the social system is geared to keep minority citizens out of the mainstream of economic life.

Site D

Site D is in a large urban center with 1,500,000 residents. The majority of the city's population is black, representing every socioeconomic level. The city's economy is heavily dependent on manufacturing. Unemployment is high among the 16-22 year old group, averaging 26% for the entire city and rising to 56% in the inner city.

The CIP is in an inner city neighborhood characterized by high population density, poverty, and an array of social problems. Housing conditions range from standard to substandard. There are several boarded-up homes throughout the neighborhood.

The area was one of the "toughest" parts of the city--often referred to as the "DMZ" (for demilitarized zone), however, staff members pointed out that it was much worse on the "west side." Gang wars and struggles for power between pimps and drug dealers erupted in bursts of urban terrorism during the sixties. Today much of the overt and arbitrary violence has diminished, but illicit activites remain firmly rooted in the area and periodically produce waves of violence. Many young people know or associate with gang members, if they are not actually in the gangs. Youths spend much of their leisure time swapping stories about "gang happenings" such as shoot-outs, brawls, looting, and so on. The recent cancellation of a contemporary film that popularizes gang activity is indicative of the city's fear of any large-scale revival of gang activities, according to a high-ranking city official.

The police do not patrol the area regularly in the winter, but in the summer "they're all over the place." Many of the males in the area have police records. Bitter complaints about how young people are treated by the police are common. "You gotta watch out for them, they'll pull you right off the street and slap you across the head for looking sideways around here, 'cause they're as scared as we are."

The public schools are typical of inner-city high schools. Observed in one school were students lined up along the corridor walls, staring into space, completely "burnt out." This school in particular, only a few blocks from the CIP, has a reputation for violence. Fights break out every day in the school building. Once a month some student is arrested for assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill, and occasionally there are killings on the school grounds. Such a school environment is clearly not conducive to learning. It is not surprising that much peer pressure among youth works against staying in school. As one youth reported:

> Friends would come by just before class and say, "Hey." What are ya gonna say? So you cut your classes and the next thing you know you ain't goin' to school no more. We'd meet at the building, me and my friends, you know, every morning and we'd just hang out and get high, you know.

However, other factors contribute to the incidence of dropping out. For instance, family pressures may not encourage youths to continue school. Although many interns come from conventionally stable family backgrounds, there are almost as many that do not. A CIP staff member painted this bleak picture of many young peoples' homes:

> Most of these families are poor and the parents really can't offer them much.... A lot of them say "ain't in a good mood" when they come home 'cause they're doing somethin' they don't enjoy and all they know is get out of here and go to school.... Sometimes the parent tells them, "I don't care where you

> go as long as you leave here"...sometimes that hurts a lot more than it helps. Instead of actually sitting down and telling 'em "Hey, this is what education can do for you; if you want nice things you have to work for them...." It takes place in the home...instilling in them to go to school.

In many cases, the lack of an adult role model in the home leaves young men in search of an identity.

> There are so many families here with no father you know. They have no one to look up to. The male plays a big role in how a child develops. They see a guy that...he's tough and everything, I want to get on his bandwagon. I'll follow him, see what he's about and that's how most of them go astray. That's one of the reasons CIP is here, because of those things...no father in the home, that's the beginning of dropouts.

The dynamics of late adolescence and young adulthood exacerbate the many external factors working on young people:

> They never really owned anything. Most of them come from big families and they have to share everything, and they want to get off to themselves and do somethin' on their own--you're accomplishin' somethin'. They want to buy new things, clothes for school, and do extra things. They want to start out on their own. Like I said, they're 20-21, you know, and most people here in _____ get out when they're 18 and 19 because they can't really deal with the family structure. If you sit back everytime and you're at home you have to ask, sometimes beg or whatever, to get some of the things you know you'd enjoy if you're working. They don't feel independent and sometimes some of them are forced to leave because of their attitudes and some just want peace of mind.

In an environment such as this, young people have few alternatives offering realistic hope for a way out. The CIP therefore would seem to be exactly the sort of program needed to help youths escape.

V. THE DEMONSTRATION AND THE PROGRAM: BASIC STRUCTURE, FUNCTION, AND INTERRELATIONSHIPS

A brief recapitulation of the demonstration structure, function, and interrelationships is provided here to portray the complex context in which the Career Intern Program operates. This recapitulation will be followed by a more detailed examination of the structure, function, and interrelationships of the program itself. Diagramatic representations of the interrelationships are presented to familiarize individuals new to the study with the basic CIP structure and to set the framework for the discussion of interrelationships. It is also provided to assist future adoptors of the program.

The Demonstration: Hierarchical Networks

The Department of Labor, as authorized by YEDPA legislation, has given the National Institute of Education funds to disseminate and evaluate an exemplary program--the Career Intern Program. NIE contracted with OIC/A, the developers of the prototype, to disseminate and implement the program. In addition, NIE awarded RMC Research Corporation a contract to conduct the evaluation.

OIC/A allocates funds to the CIPs through the local OICs. The local OICs are the CIP sponsors and administer the CIP budgets. Therefore, while the OIC serves as an intermediary between OIC/A and the CIP, it also plays an influential role in the CIP's daily operations.

As NIE has contracted with OIC/A to conduct the dissemination of the CIP, so OIC/A uses the local OICs to facilitate the early stages of implementation, e.g., conducting a feasibility study, selecting a building, making initial contacts with LEAs, and so on. OIC/A, however, also assists the CIPs directly in the start-up as well as in operation, e.g., conducts LEA-union negotiations, conducts workshops, and has a subcontract clause that allows direct intervention and assistance as needs are perceived. (See Figure 1 for a summary of the hierarchical relationships among funding and dissemination/implementation roles.)

NIE awarded RMC the evaluation contract to study the Career Intern Program. The contractually specified work statement encompasses studying funding and initial decision-making parties, monitoring evaluation effects and analyzing, dissemination strategies, communication networks, and specific interactions at the site level. Thus the study involves looking at all participants, not just the CIP sites.

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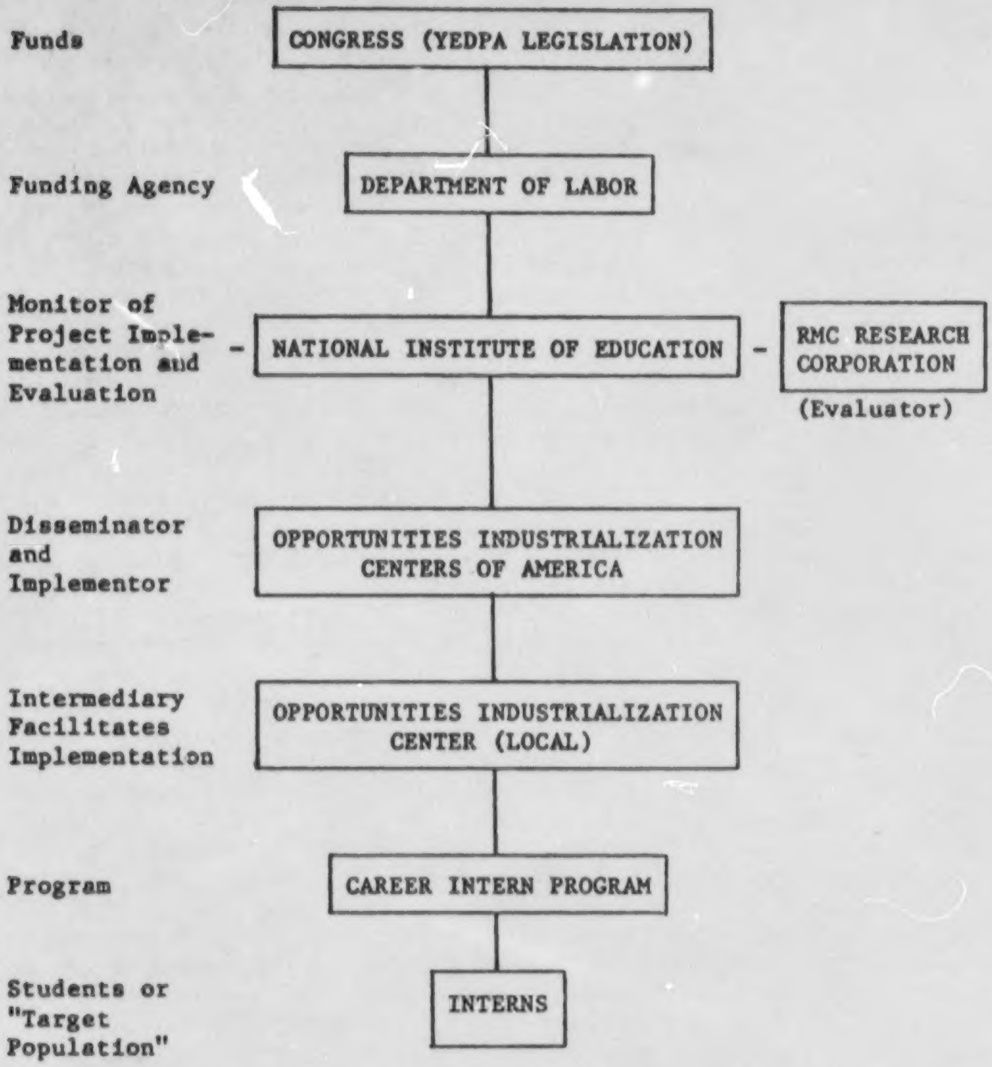
Funds
CONGRESS (YEDPA LEGISLATION)
Funding Agency
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Monitor of Project Implementation and Evaluation
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
RMC RESEARCH CORPORATION
(Evaluator)
Disseminator and Implementor
OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS OF AMERICA
Intermediary Facilitates Implementation
OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTER (LOCAL)
Program
CAREER INTERN PROGRAM
Students or "Target Population"
INTERNS

Figure 1. Funding, dissemination, and implementation roles

evaluation, however, is conducted from a monitor's or project officer's perspective--to make sure contractual obligations are fulfilled in the most appropriate and efficient manner. NIE's role as responsible for both the implementation and the evaluation is potentially problematic because evaluation information can cross over and affect the implementation procedures. For example, evaluation information may be used to take action concerning the extention or termination of a specific site. In general, alterations of the implementation based on evaluation data during the study introduce "noise" into the system.

OIC/A conducts an internal evaluation of the sites' progress and of the role of the local OIC in implementing the program. This evaluation is conducted from a monitor's perspective as well as a technical assistance one. The information is gathered to make sure contractual obligations and model specifications are met; however, the information is also potentially usable as corrective feedback. The feedback is used to design, for example, workshops to improve managerial skills or implement disposition conferences. The dual role can be problematic--the sites are less likely to reveal their ignorance or non-compliance to a monitor even though corrective feedback is both needed and desired by the sites.

Finally, the "acid test" of the program rests upon the interns', the parents', and the local communities' evaluation of the program. All three demonstrated a reluctance about the program in the early stages of operation. Potential interns were unsure about what the program was and whether it represented an improvement over other available options. Parents also demonstrated reluctance to involve their children in a new alternative program. In addition, in some communities there was distrust of "another federal program" or demonstration project. Such projects were described by some community members as "getting our hopes up and then pulling out without any explanation," "using us like guinea pigs"--"a real rip off." In general, however, the communities appear to welcome the program as of this writing. (See Figure 2 for a summary of the hierarchical relationship of the formal and informal NIE and OIC/A evaluation roles.)

The Program: Hierarchical Roles and Interaction Networks

The director is the managing head of the program. The instructional supervisor, career counseling supervisor, and the school liaison are considered part of the administration and make up middle management. They are responsible to the director and serve as the formal link between the director and the staff. The instructional supervisor leads and supports the instructional staff--and represents the vehicle for transmitting policy decisions from the director to the instructors. The career counseling

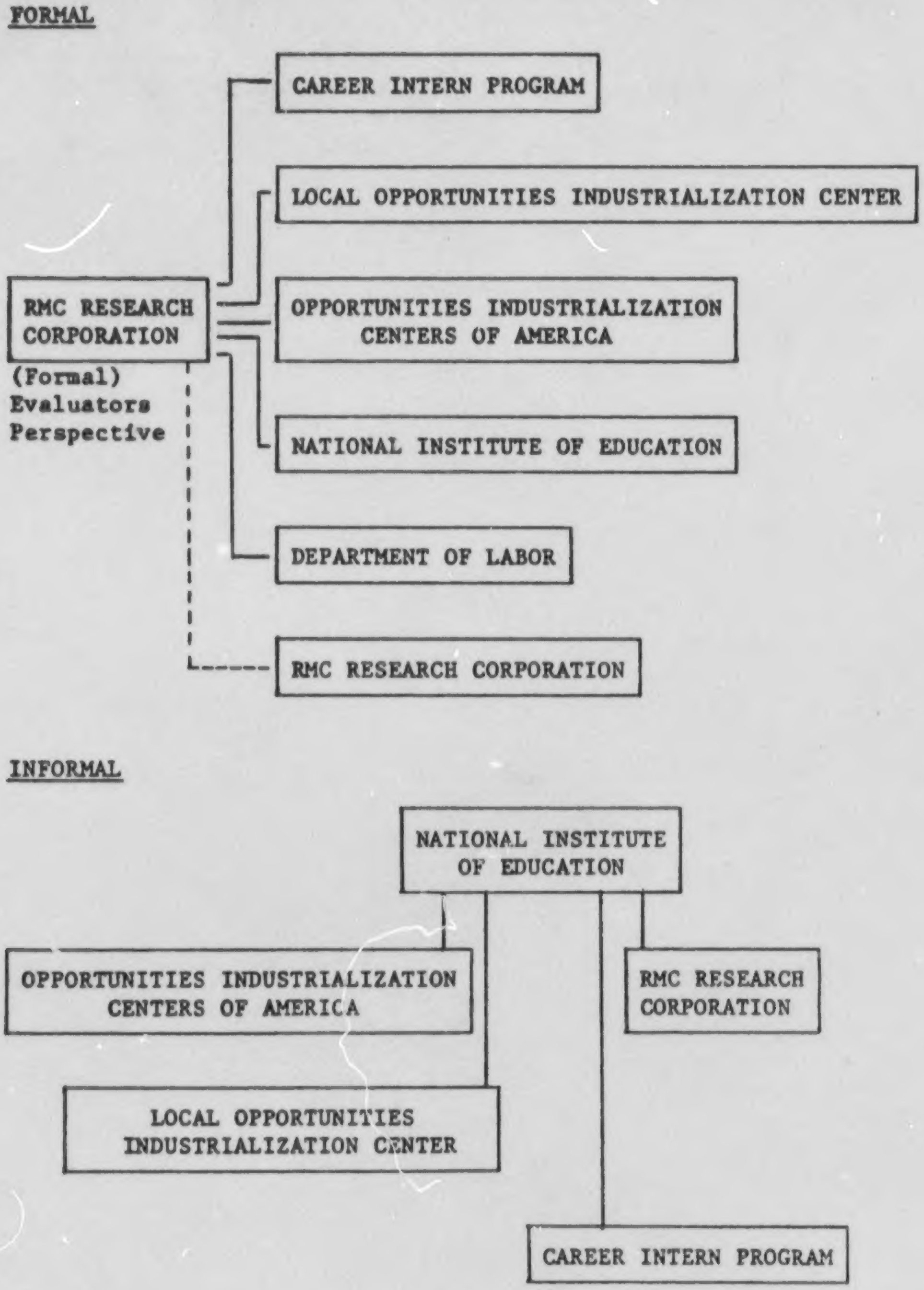
FORMAL
CAREER INTERN PROGRAM
LOCAL OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTER
RMC RESEARCH CORPORATION
(Formal) Evaluators Perspective
OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS OF AMERICA
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
RMC RESEARCH CORPORATION
INFORMAL
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS OF AMERICA
RMC RESEARCH CORPORATION
LOCAL OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTER
CAREER INTERN PROGRAM

Figure 2. Evaluation roles: formal and informal

INFORMAL (Internal OIC/A Evaluation)

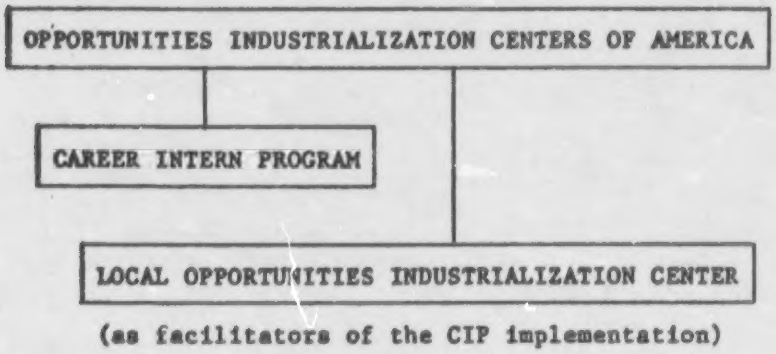
OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS OF AMERICA
CAREER INTERN PROGRAM
LOCAL OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTER
(as facilitators of the CIP implementation)

Figure 2 (continued)

supervisor serves the same function between the director and the counselors and career developers.

Initial contact between the CIP and the LEAs is made by the OIC. The CIP director cements the relationship and then the school coordinator becomes the routinized link between the CIP and the feeder school. The school coordinator secures lists of dropouts and potential dropouts to recruit* interns into the CIP. In addition, this individual secures transcripts to help plan the interns' individual programs.

Career developers are responsible for establishing contacts with the business community to provide interns with Hands-on experiences. (Hands-on involves two one-week experiences observing a form of employment that parallels each intern's career interests.)

Instructors and counselors are responsible to their respective supervisors for performing their duties in the classroom or in the counseling sessions. There is some overlap in the roles: instructors and counselors teach such courses as the Career Counseling Seminar (CCS) together, instructors listen to intern problems, and counselors advise interns about their academic progress and plans.

The associate professional is used to fill a variety of duties as needed, ranging from handyman to receptionist and "gofer" to substitute teacher. An informal function served by the associate professional is to act as a "lay counselor"--providing an open ear to interns and giving counsel as deemed appropriate. The secretaries and security/janitor also fulfill the role of "lay counselor." (See Figure 3 for hierarchical structure of program.)

Formal staff-intern interaction is between instructor, counselor, career developer, school coordinator, and intern. Informal staff-intern interaction varies; however, a basic pattern exists ranging from more frequent to less frequent and involves secretaries, security/janitor, instructors, counselors, associate professionals, instructional supervisor, career counseling supervisor, program coordinator, director, and intern.

Staff-intern interaction is dependent primarily on the personalities of the staff and the intern. The degree to which they "fit" or mesh determines the frequency and quality of interaction. The overall climate produced by staff interactions seeks to be supportive and motivating. This atmosphere necessitates open communications, e.g., instructors and counselors sharing

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*Recuitment has been conducted by the entire staff and many of the interns (to meet quotas).

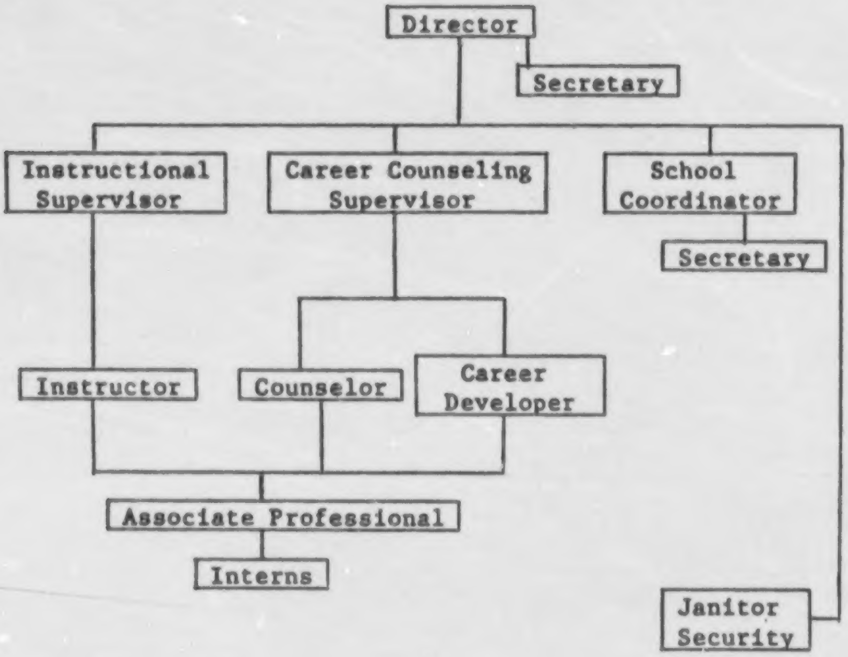
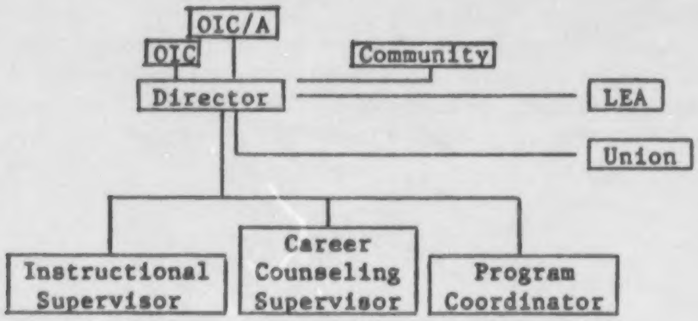

Director
Secretary
Instructional Supervisor
Career Counseling Supervisor
School Coordinator
Secretary
Instructor
Counselor
Career Developer
Associate Professional
Interns
Janitor Security

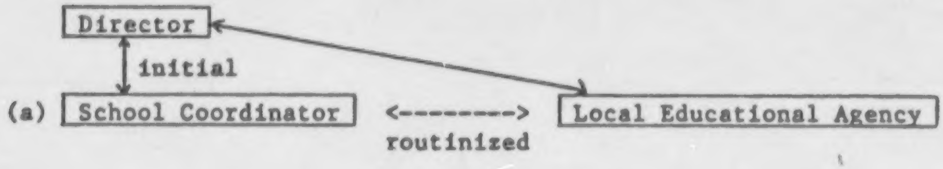
Figure 3. Hierarchical structure

their views of interns' problems, achievements, and overall progress, as well as instructors and counselors constructively interacting with their supervisors or discussing policy issues with the director. The specific role relationships discussed above are schematically presented in Figure 4 (a through d) under the following headings: management, recruitment, formal staff-intern interaction and informal staff-intern interaction.

(a) Management


OIC/A
OIC
Community
Director
LEA
Union
Instructional Supervisor
Career Counseling Supervisor
Program Coordinator

(b) Recruitment


Director
initial
(a)
School Coordinator
<--------->
routinized
Local Educational Agency

(c) Formal Staff--Intern Interaction

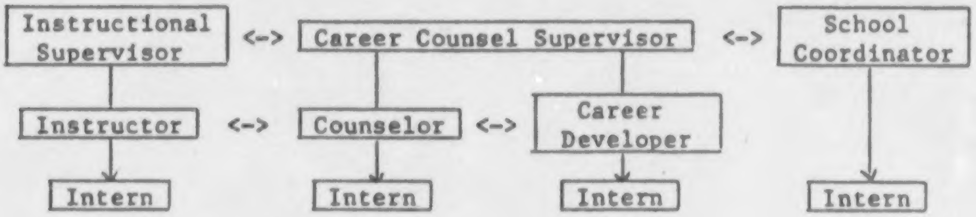

Instructional Supervisor
<->
Career Counsel Supervisor
<->
School Coordinator
Instructor
<->
Counselor
<->
Career Developer
Intern
Intern
Intern
Intern

Figure 4. Program-specific interrelationships

(d) Informal Staff--Intern Interaction (Basic Pattern of Interaction)

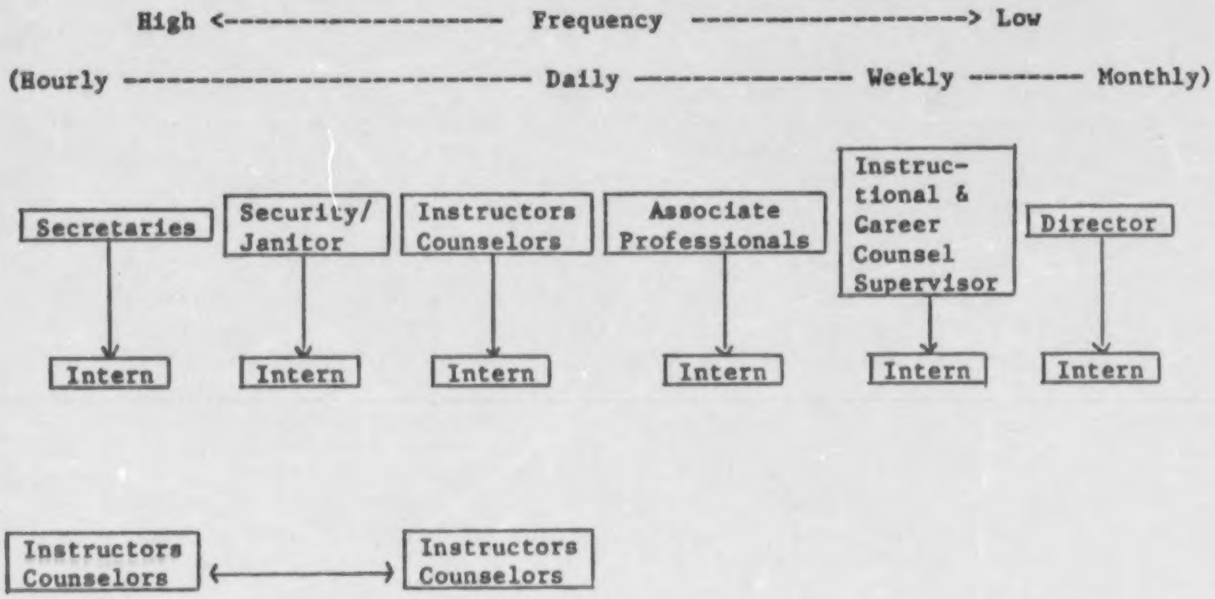

High <------------------ Frequency ------------------> Low
(Hourly -------------------------- Daily -------------- Weekly -------- Monthly)
Secretaries
Security/ Janitor
Instructors Counselors
Associate Professionals
Instructional & Career Counsel Supervisor
Director
Intern
Intern
Intern
Intern
Intern
Intern
Instructors Counselors
Instructors Counselors

Figure 4. (continued)

VI. A SLICE OF LIFE: A DIRECTOR, AN INSTRUCTIONAL SUPERVISOR, A JANITOR, AND A FEW INTERNS

A few brief exchanges with participants of the program add insights into their lives and brings many of these roles, relationships and personalities to life and into perspective. This section begins with a conversation with a CIP director regarding his schedule. A fragment of the scope of activities and demands of his position are conveyed in this conversation--its a job that "doesn't end."

The second conversation with an instructional supervisor portrays her insights into the dynamics of the program. She demonstrates a keen awareness of the relationship among various program features, e.g., role of intern input, teacher strictness, and caring.

The conversation with a janitor at one of the sites also provides useful insights into the strengths and weaknesses of a developing program. Much of his role as a "guardian" patrolling the halls on his own initiative to get interns back in class is not brought out in conversation; however, his insights and attitude towards the program that contribute to the daily functions of the program are evidenced.

Finally, a few interns share some of their experiences and background to provide a brief picture of the range of interns in the program. Some of the conversations reveal their reasons for entering the CIP, others serve to offer a picture of the family background. The last interview/conversation is with J. B. He has become a prominent member of one of the CIPs. J. B. is deeply involved in student government. He enthusiastically promotes the CIP and tries to develop the program spirit. His grades are good and his attendance is excellent. J. B. is one of many of the interns that came to the CIP ready for a change in his life. Some interns were leaders within gangs, others were leaders of small social clicks, most however, were simply not satisfied with the direction their lives had already taken. J. B.'s experiences represent the "far end of the continuum" of intern experience; however, a glimpse at his life offers an insight into the full-range of individuals the CIP serves.

A Conversation with a CIP Director

What is your schedule like each day?

> I will come here in the morning between about 8:30 to 9:00 o'clock...usually say, check on

my schedules and so forth, now, but by 9:00 I receive information pertaining to staff attendance, intern attendance, and ...any calls from parents pertaining to who is sick and...what is being done. Then I...go through the building between 10:00-10:30 to see if everyone is in place and check with teachers to see if there is anything they need, and then I see the counselors... and then I come back to the office and take care of desk work. Then by 12:00 I go downstairs to check if the interns are in and check (to see) who is teaching and if there are any problems pertaining to (teaching). Then I come upstairs and take care of desk work, then I leisurely, depending upon the day, meet with the staff, immediately after 3:00. Fridays, every Friday. Every Monday is instruction, every Wednesday is with...some counselors and at least by 10:00 in the morning and every Friday at 10:00 we supervise the two supervisors and we sit down and go over the agenda for our meetings at 8:00.

Oh, I see. What types of things do you do regarding the desk work? Budgets and things like that?

OK. Budgets, reports, checking on schedules, cross lists,...(Also on an) ongoing basis the files of interns (are reviewed) which I then give to the counselors to review.... I average about oh, six a day. Depending on whether its a career development file or whether its a confidential file, or ongoing file. Then, of course, meetings. Propositions. Check on our intern increase. Check on our utility bills. Develop memos...either (to) Central or to staff, consulting with parents who have been invited or who come in for various reasons, or who are passing through for information pertaining to the program. Of course, representing the organization of CIP to various committees, organizations.

What types of things have you gone to (to represent the CIP)?

Oh...the _th and __th (district) has a committee relations commission, and I serve on their board. The _____ Center, which I serve on the

> youth board. ...the Salvation Army. It's an ongoing sort of thing, but there is also the __________ Parent Association which I also work with. ...then comes dinner before business. Cases which have been referred by the counselors to the counselors and who in turn feel that there should be some sort of policy, resolution, or talk to their interns.

I talked to _________ (an intern), yesterday. He invited me over to his house and we talked a little. (He told me about the problems with the gangs that you were discussing yesterday.)

> We have also intervened. Some of my work is to intervene with various gangs around here. _____ percenters, you've surely seen on our street, constantly smoke pot. They look at who belongs to which kind of gang and who's on who's turf and so we have been able to get (a)hold of at least three different gangs around this area and talking to them about facts that we have to consider...we are not here to look for trouble they (interns) are here for school...

Who contacted them, the members, or were they just hanging around here?

> Yeah, they hang around here....

> For instance, we had a situation where one of the interns here accosted one of the ____ percenters....

> Oh yes. They call themselves the _____percenters. And they were ready to beat him up (in retaliation). They hung around here for awhile. For about two weeks. We were helping this guy go through all kinds of places...

> Passing through the church door, to the other side of the street. Until we were able to mediate. ...we also have a _____ Lords. They also complain that some of our kids go across that street.

So the kids...

> Yeah, they go across that street. They go across that street, they don't know that, so they want to know who they are.

I see.

We sat down, we recognized them, we talked with them. We also have the Mighty _____.

Mighty _____?

Yes, Mighty _____, we have street guards, the street guards have to bring these kids to the corner and they have to cross quickly in order to come to this side. The Mighty _____ live on _____ and _____ (its) their territory and in order for anybody to come here on the _____ bus, they get off on _____ and _____, they have to cross _____ (their turf).

So that's crossing the turf, yes?

Yes, that's crossing the turf.

Do they come in here, or just talk through the people that keep them contacted?

Oh they come in...They come in and they want to talk to the boss.

So, you've had them in?

Oh, yes. Give them coffee and ask them if they want to smoke. I usually keep a pack of cigarettes in case anyone of them smokes. I don't smoke. Then they say they are here to talk and then we talk.

And things have settled pretty easy?

Oh yes, as long as, as long as, those people don't give them any flack. They are asked where they are coming from whether they are coming from here and each one of them has an ID card we don't have new ones for the new kids, but if it comes to the real thing they want to know their ID, show something. So you see, the thing is the gangs around here have alliances and somebody may call them lookouts. They (are) sent by a gang first as a lookout. And he's an innocent person. So these people not only watch, but watch very closely. Not only that, the gangs have various hostiles. All over the place. Got these hostiles, so if you are actually innocent and walk in by one of the hostiles the whole feeling is that you are there to observe what they are doing, to steal, to study the layout. So they watch these things.

That's interesting. (What other types of activities do you encounter)?

> Then of course, going to various, ...meetings constantly with _____ and _____ High which is on the other side. But it's a whole full day. Not only that, going to various director meetings and management meetings at _____ (the local OIC), participating in various conferences and symposia on behalf of OIC/A ____; developing Inservice Training with my staff here....

What kind of conferences at OIC?

> Well, there are several conferences, one which also pertains to the generation, the lost generation, and the whole idea of OIC, ...has alliances and relationships with all kinds of groups and they provide leadership, support. So their leadership, support depending upon which response it has to deal with anything pertaining to youth. I have to represent the OIC. If it has something to do with conferences of management. It is part of my plan.

Oh, that's excellent. Then you're very involved in the training program as well?

> Oh yes.

Then how does your day end?

> It doesn't end.

It doesn't end, I guess that's the ultimate.

> It doesn't end. Then at the end of the day whatever should be done during the day we take with us, then I do it. My day actually starts from 8:30 and ends around 7:30. It's an average 12 hours that I work a day.

Mrs. _____ (mv wife) is always complaining about that. This morning she was saying I left here at 10:00 o'clock last night.... I was taking my shower and I remembered that I had used (the wrong figure).... It was a little number, and how I used it I don't know. So I remembered and I came back and changed the whole thing.

That's amazing. Yeah, I've seen you here late.

Yeah. The thing that takes a lot of my time really, are unscheduled conferences. They come in here constantly with all kinds of conflicts. They are based on complaints of instructors or counselors, or a certain meeting can't be fulfilled, then we arrange or people just pop in and look around and that takes time.

Yeah, you have to show them around, that's true.

Takes time, and by the time you show them around, they sit down and talk.

That's right. What types of things, by the way, do the interns come in and complain about?

Uh, some have complained about the distance that they have to come. Some have complained about the fact that they belong to a gang, and they need someone to talk to somebody. They have come in to talk about their relationships with their parents because their parents toss them out because they are 18. As...an emancipated man, so he can (get a social welfare stipend and food stamps) take some and give them away. Sort of reducing the population in the house and also bringing in some sort of income. So, parents, a lot of parents, somehow force their kids to do that and they don't really know what the (their parents are doing), so when this thing comes up they come in asking parents are throwing them out because they say they should work and they don't want to go. Then we have to sit down and talk about it, and they come to stay at my house.... Some come in with questions pertaining to their difference. Some are parents, they come in to discuss health problems, or simply problems with babysitting or problems with child care.

Yeah, I've noticed a number of women here have kids.

We have also instances where parents will come in and discuss a certain complaint about coming home early, about hanging out with the wrong group. And ask us to talk to them.

That's an interesting twist.

Yes. We have other situations where probation officers are dealing with us from the local precinct pertaining to certain information. They consulted us about their attendance, where they hang out, and things like that. We also tell these interns, their probation officers tell them they must keep in touch with us, so we talk to them occassionally and want to know what is happening and so forth. If they are meeting their probation officer...(they) Let me know when they have to see "The Man."

I see, I see, that's interesting, that's what we were discussing yesterday.

We have people who are here who are in serious crime. I mean real serious crime. In the book, we have it here, minutes from the book.

That much of a range?

A whole range. Uh, we have people who are active in a committee. And who are caught seen in and out to see what is going on, but in fact he is monitoring us. Yesterday they heard about this disco, and they actually popped in to see what effect does disco as if something is going on that is not supervised. (This committee thinks the) Kids are smoking pot, and all that.

I was wondering about that, I noticed that it was too coincidental that it happened to be right around the disco.

It's a whole full days workout.

Hm. Well, then you have to close up the building?

Yes.

(I begin to pick up my note pad and tape recorder.)

All right.

That's good. I appreciate it.

OK.

Very nice, I'll let you get back to work now.

Yes.

Thanks.

A Conversation with an Instructional Supervisor

(This conversation begins as my last conversation with an intern ends. I commented "She's really trying."

> ...Yes, they're trying so hard to become adults, they're searching for their identity, and jobs seem to be the reason or it is the reason that really identifies them as being adults.

Uh-huh.

> ...and to rely on parents a lot of times, to them, they don't want us to call the parents in but yet when we do we get more response from them as far as intern participation.

Is it really that they don't want you to...because they want to feel more independent or...

> Yes, they want to feel more independent. They want to do things on their own but yet we have to check back with them and they're really trying to get out from under their parents' thumb.

I see.

> So they can make more of their own money. And there are programs at CIP that offer money....

And summer jobs, even though at minimum wages. Better than not having any money.

(Many interns choose work over school, but...)

...The interns who are here feel very close to the program. They have given their inputs. Another thing...the biggest thing about this program...we have changed policies as a result of intern feedback.

...For instance, the attendance policy (during the day). They suggested, one intern particularly suggested a sign-in sheet which we have when we come, when we go, then every intern will not be punished. Then we call the parents and let them know who did not return, things like that. Now that was their idea.

(In addition) interns are having problems with studying and a couple of them said they need more help in knowing how to study, they didn't even know how. And so this semester we're instituting a study plan.

That sounds great.

So, that's as a direct result of intern feedback. ...we don't have any sports here but through ______ (the director) and requested by the interns we have more physical/ kinds of activity...we have arranged with _____ (the local university) to take the kids during the summer school year's swim and gym program.

They will receive academic credit for health education, they'll get to take swimming, you know...two other sports, possibly tennis or baseball...and along with swimming. So it's going to be nice.

Very good.

Interns have (also) indicated they want a deeper math program...so the science instructor has agreed to teach algebra this year and so...that's a lot of work. So that's in the program...but we do need suggestions. We've adopted a philosophy for CIP and part of

> our philosophy states that interns should have a part in planning...not just for this whole program but in each classroom, they are allowed to make new suggestions and...they are considered and we do use them.

What do you think of some of the interns that think (some of the instructors) are somewhat strict?

> Well, instructors are strict, but I know two in particular, but when I check on the attendance at the end of the month the strictest one has 79 percent attendance. In fact, some of his classes got to be 89 percent, you know.

Really?

> Yeah. And _____, the strictest teacher has the most attendance. They complain but they go to their class. And to me, aside from what they think, I go by what I see on the paper. So...you know, if the instructor was too strict and they did not attend his class then I would check to see what is he doing that's wrong to cause them to stay out of class.
>
> The most lax teacher, the nicest teacher, is the one who had the least amount of people who attended his class. And so we're working with them to get them to...we have rules and regulations, we have standards. ...And then there's a happy mix. One of our English instructors...she is one of our newer instructors that we have and she's been with us but as far as being in the field of teaching she has been able to maintain a high degree of attendance in her class. She is not viewed by the interns as being...see how can I put it...too strict. But she is exact and she has limits for her classes and they know from the beginning what they are out to do and she is able to maintain a high attendance. And so we're using the ideas, you know, we have weekly meetings and I read the attendance report and I tell them who has the most attendance and what methods that person is using to keep the attendance high and we talk it over and some of them have started being more strict forcing rules and so forth. And

if we could do that all programs, you know, just tighten up everything...I say our program is too lax...

You know...I read (in the first evaluation report) about their dress code and a lot of things...and school is strict but I think strictness is viewed as caring. If you let people do anything they want to do they really think you don't care.

I feel...this semester we're going to initiate peer evaluation. One of our instructors has been permitted to do that. I feel it will be more beneficial for the instructors to evaluate themselves, you know, in a way than have me do it because they look upon (it as if it were punishment, a) bad evaluation at the end, or something like that. So if they coordinate, they could take ideas from one another and try to implement them in their...and so they are doing that. And I think it is going to have favorable results.

Excellent.

They get a chance to share ideas and critique one another.

What about planning for...

...we have worked on planning for the summer and, as I said, swimming and gym program. We're going to take more field trips. Then we'll be trying to take one field trip a month. But I'm going to try to get more. We want to go to the nature center, thirty mile and _____. It's not in _____ but it's the outside kind of a trip where they could learn a lot....We're going to have CIP IS HIP day next week. Now that has been the single overriding innovation of interns, they seem to like that activity better than any other.

Really?

CIP IS HIP. ...We give recognition to interns who are just about any category. And they really like that and the last one, the last one that we had, the second cohort came in,

> and the attendance was better than the first cohort. You know, they came in while we're having CIP IS HIP day and that spread the publicity about the program...and the enthusiasm that things were going on...So we're going to have more next month and we must instead of letting so many go by. But they really liked that a lot. We have a basketball game before, and we do want to have more things like that than generate atmosphere that don't support the program.

Though there was something wrong at the last ball game at the end.

> Oh yes, at the end (they had a fight), but the two students now...who had problems...ate at lunch together. There, they seem to be friends. _____ and _____

Really.

> Oh, they have been enemies since they first met.

I didn't know they were enemies.

> Oh yes. They are now talking to one another and exchanging ideas. That's gratifying to see that they can be, you know, mature.

Yeah, that's good to see. Do you still remember _____?

> Yes. A big difference. And another of our interns, the young lady that was here a few minutes ago, she has...received a lot of A's, you know, and she made the Director's list. The first time she arrived she had this scowl on her face, wouldn't speak to anybody, sat by herself in the classroom...

That's true _____, you mean...that's right, I remember...

> Well, she wouldn't speak to anyone, and...a couple of interns were playing scrabble and she was sitting by herself and I walked up to them and asked them "Why don't you ask _____ to join in?" They said "Oh, she's too mean." I said "Well, look, she won't be that way if she has somebody to talk to. Just invite her to come to the game, and even if she

> doesn't at least you could try." And so they did, and she joined in, and she's been friendlier, you know. She's really trying in her classes and she's getting positive feedback... And interns supporting one another had been of great deal to her...

From her peers...from the other interns.

> Yes, other interns.

And you notice sometimes, in the case of _____ and some others.... They're going to be the protectors.

> Yeah. That's really good. They inspire a lot of interns...they need encouragement..."She got all A's" I said. (We all tell her) You're smart, you can do this, you know."

> And...so she really likes the program now she's gotten all A's and she really worked in the class...

I know, I know.

> You know, she's allowed to, you know, have her personal freedom in that...we don't try to stifle. They're aggressive to a point and then they become complacent, you know, we want them to show some vim and vigor and express their opinions, you know, and we can change things. But a lot of times they have better ideas than we do, and we don't want to mirror them all the time, you know, we try to humor them and they think that we're doing it. So I think that (listening to interns) has helped the program.

A Conversation with a Janitor

This janitor is deeply committed to the CIP. He monitors the halls periodically on his own initiative to get interns back into class. A conversation with him provides a number of insights into the program -- its strengths and its weaknesses.

> They love to come to certain classes because they feel they're getting something out of it. A guy like that the teachers have to put

> more into it. I really stress instructors, they are the important ones.
>
> It would be good if it was tightened up overall. I mean like the rules, like getting here on time.
>
> They're supposed to be here at 8:45 and they come at 9 or 9:30 and no one cares. But I think the overall program has been a success. I find it very beneficial to the young people of _____. There are still a lot of people who don't know that this program exists. Then when you have people walking around saying she ain't teaching this and she ain't teaching that, this program ain't this and that then this is a defeatist attitude.

I can definitely see where that could be a problem.

> But, I look at it overall. It's gonna be a successful program. We constantly have visitors which gives the interns a chance to see who sponsors this program. I think its good for them to see how its improving. We're affiliated with the _____ Board of Educators. The regular high schools have one thousand students, we have one hundred but we're running well.

What do you think the rate of attendance is?

> On the average about 50-60 students on a weekly basis. Except the beginning of the week, Monday, and the end of the week, Friday, attendance is pretty good.

Conversations with a Few Interns

These vignettes are excerpts of longer conversations--interviews with interns. The first conversation is with Madelyn (pseudonym). She is one of the more active interns coordinating bake sales, and organizing the graduation and financial committee. Madelyn also is quick to defend the CIP from the verbal assault of new interns. This conversation primarily provides a view of her family background.

Madelyn

How many are in your family?

> I have seven sisters and no brothers and I live with my mother and father and so my sister got married and they live with us sometime.

Do you all get along alright?

> We get along real well. We don't have any choice.

And what about your parents, how do they feel about their jobs?

> My father likes his job, my father works very hard. He's a very good father. He works two jobs now, he was working three. My sister was working.

What were the different kinds of jobs?

> He was Sargeant on a Security job, and he used to work at _____ but they moved so he started working, they transferred him to _____ but recently he got hurt out there so they transferred him to _____ so he work at _____ now. My mother doesn't work anymore. She used to work at _____ Schools. She decided not to work. I don't work anymore because I got laid off my job. I quit because I couldn't work and go to school at the same time. So I made the choice to quit and go to school. My sister the fourth one works. She worked as an actress. But she quit. She used to be a beautician but she quit because she decided she wanted to be a model.

Oh, I see.

> My sister, _____, I don't know what she wants to do. She dreams about singing. But they go to school.

How are they in school?

> They do fine. I'm the only one who doesn't do anything.

Not yet anyway.

But when I get ready, I will.

That's right. Give it time. Any big problems?

In the family? No, everything's fine. My mother and father go to church every Sunday.

(A second intern looks interested in the interview, so I ask her...) What church do they (the first intern's family) go to? Do you know?

Yeah, I go to the same church.

What one do you go to?

_____, other side of the Bay. My father is the deacon of the church, my mother is a Sunday School teacher, and I'm secretary of the church.

I like going to church, and I try to encourage this girl (another intern) over here to go to church. But she doesn't like to go to church, so what can I say.

(I come back to Madelyn). So how are things going in general?

I think everything is OK. Even though I don't have everything I want to have because I'm not working, because ain't nobody really working in my family but my father and he can't do everything.

(Intern's comment on her fast speech--giggling). She's talking fast but I'm getting it.

When I was in Jr. High, my mother made me go to a speech therapist for talking fast.

I used to talk very fast myself, so I understand it.

It wasn't that I couldn't pronounce my words properly, it was just that I would say them so fast people wouldn't understand me.

Did you get in some arguments about that?

Yeah, she said I be trying to outtalk her, but I wasn't. But our family get along very well.

Cheryl

Cheryl was considered very aloof by other interns when she first entered the program. She would not associate with anyone. Over a period of time she has made a number of friends and interns comment on her "change in attitude." She interacts with many interns on a casual basis now. This excerpt of a conversation lightly touches on her family life and her sentiments about attending school.

How many kids in the family?

> It's five of us. I have three brothers and one sister.

And your parents?

> Both of them, all of us live in the same house and my uncle stay there with us. My father works.

What does he do?

> He's a foreman at _____ (local factory). My mother doesn't work.

How do you get along with your brothers and sisters?

> We get along pretty good, except sometime we have arguments.

Anything major? What are the major things that come up.

> Well the dishes. Washing the dishes, they don't want to wash them.

Do you get in any trouble or anything like that?

> No. School, yeah, but police and all that major stuff, no.

What school did you get in trouble in?

> _____ school. Skipping class.

How did your parents feel about it?

> They couldn't understand why.

What did you tell them?

I didn't want to go.

Were they upset? What did they do?

Sometime they wouldn't speak to me.

Mary

Mary has a good sense of humor and is an extremely dedicated intern. She is good friends with Madelyn. They both set up bake sales and take an active role in the financial committee and various other programs. She is also a very mature and sophisticated young adult. Once again the conversation begins with a semi-structured interview regarding her family background and then proceeds into a discussion regarding her sentiments concerning school attendance.

I come from a very large family. One brother and no sisters. My brother is 22 and I'm 20.

When is your birthday?

The 29th of April.

Parents?

My father is retired. I really don't know what he does. He lives somewhere on the West side. My parents are divorced. My mother designs plans for houses. She still trying to figure me out.

Do you see your father very much?

I saw him in 19??. Last I saw him I was seven. Then I saw him about four weeks ago.

Do you get along with him?

No, not at all.

You fight?

We just don't speak.

Are you two different?

> I'm more like him. That's why we don't get along.

So it doesn't bother you too much that they were divorced.

> No, not at all. I'd rather see them apart than destroying each other. Because I was there when they were fighting.

(Another intern interrupted and commented on her problems with her old high school and Mary responded "yeah me too trouble."

What kind of trouble? School trouble?

> I don't have too much school trouble. I didn't get kicked out that much. I just didn't go to class. I knew the right places to hang out so I never got caught. Till one day the truant officers come to my house and blew everything. They had the nerve to come to my house. They came to my house last September. Last year, I couldn't believe that. My mother should have been gone, she was late for work. My mother came upstairs snatched the cover off my bed, What's Your Problem!!?? Mary, how come you not in school? I was half sleep. I was working then so I really didn't care about going to school. I'm getting ready to graduate from CIP. I plan to go back to school in September _____ (a local community college), matter of fact. I'm going to try to get in _____ (a local state university).

What are your plans?

> To be a lawyer.

That's good. Everything going OK now?

> Everything's fine.

Shirley

Shirley's family life has been difficult for her. Although she was brought up by a guardian and never really lived with her parents the loss of her parents at a very early age still has had a tremendous effect on her. She also had the same problem with school as most of the interns reported, "I was bored."

How many in your family?

> I have one brother, one sister. My father is deceased. My mother is deceased. I stay with my Aunt.

Do you get along with your aunt?

> Yes. Sometime. I have to put her in her place every once and a while. Naw, I'm just talking. If she heard me say that. The only problem is we can't communicate. Whenever I have a problem I have to go to somebody I know I can trust to talk to. My brother--

Older or younger?

> My brother is 13 and my sister is 10. I wish he was old enough to talk to. He's cool. He goes to _____ (local school). Oh God, he is a hopeless case. He got kicked out about 20 times, for fighting.

How long ago did your mother die?

> My mother died in '70 and my father died in '78.

You've gone through a lot of changes then? Pretty rough emotionally? How did it affect your brother and sister.

> They were young, they didn't understand.

Did they have an illness or something?

> Yeah, they had an illness, both of them were on drugs.

Did they O.D.?

> Well, my mother didn't, somebody gave her an overdose, and my father I don't know what happened, he didn't O.D. he was just in the hospital a lot.

That must have been really tough. How long did it take to get over that?

> It took me a while.

Now are you sort of watching out for your brother and sister?

> Yeah.

I know it must be hard because you are not around them a lot and they are affected by their friends.

> Legally my aunt is my mother because she had me since I was three days old.

But did you spend time with your parents?

> No, I have never spent time with my parents.

You were always brought up by your aunt and partially by your father?

> No, I saw him every blue moon.

What about school?

> Oh, I stayed in trouble. I got kicked out a lot that's all. I never went to class. I was bored.

Laura

Laura is a shy intern, until you engage her in conversation. She briefly discussed some of the typical family problems interns report, e.g., a brother or sister is still immature and obnoxious. Laura's mother's concern for her daughter's attendance problem is characteristic of many interns' parents.

And how many in your family?

> One sister and one brother.

And, how do you get along together?

> I get along with my brother, real good, but my sister she got a mouth and I just want to bust her in it so bad.

How old is your sister?

> She is twelve and she is grown and hot. Her and my mother be talking and she be giving ya a look 'you ain't gonna tell me what to do.' I'm gonna come in when I want to. My mother leave, I just be boxing her ears. She had the

nerve to tell my mother when she get fourteen she gonna have a baby.

How do you get along with your brother?

That's my heart. I'll do 20 years for my brother.

How old is he?

Seven.

That's nice.

Me and my sister we get along, it's just certain times she start running off at the mouth. It drives you crazy. She like to play.... She ain't trying to mature yet.

She's still a kid?

Yeah.

What about your parents?

My mother is a pharmacist technician. She work at the local General Hospital and my father is a maintenance man. He had a chance to be a foreman but he just liked to work at welding.

How do you get along with your parents?

I get along with my father real good, but my mother we argue a lot. My father, well my mother get along real good but she always talking about girls are lazy and don't like to do nothing. We just have to have an argument every day of the week or the week ain't gonna be right. I think I get along with my family real good. Like when I messed up in school my father dropped out of school, but I think he does real good for having dropped in the 9th grade. But my mother didn't understand because her mother died when she was two and she never knew her father. She always went to school, never too many absences and then when she saw my attendance records she almost fainted. But you know she didn't do anything, we talked and for about 2 or 3 weeks she

> always said oh you ain't nothing but a dropout.

Bob, another intern sitting with us, looked eager to add something to the conversation so I asked Bob: You experience the same thing?

> All my mother asking for is a diploma. I think I can do that much for her. She put herself aside to do something for me, so the least I can do is get a diploma.

J.B.

J. B.'s background as mentioned earlier is somewhat atypical of interns at the site. He is also somewhat atypical in his interaction with other interns at the site--he is a prominent leader. His dominant role at the site justifies examining his background and his motivations for entering the program.

> I was a baaaad ass. Excuse the expression, but I was. Rippin and runnin around. The only time I would come home was to eat and wash up. You know hello and good-bye. I was gone. I dealt with a lot of women which drove me to drink. I used to drink so much, man I was in and out of the bottle. It was rough because you had to rap to all these women, you couldn't run the same line. Wine makes you want to talk so I drank to talk. It seemed like nobody cared. All they said to me was leave and get out. I traveled a lot. I used to steal, I put businesses out of business. That's how dangerous I was. I did it alone at the age of 14 acting crazy and wild. But then as years passed it started catching up with me. Police started watching me. I got caught rippin off this place and that's when it really hit the fan--cops started noticin' me cause my name...My name is J. B. and they knew my name. And with a name like that they didn't forget it.

Why do they call you that?

> Well, I got it from my father. They called him that. The police were always annoying me. The cops would say 'Hey, _____ and I'd throw up that middle finger just like that and

it was a constant everyday thing...."____ , we gonna get your nigger ass." This is what they were tellin me--cops, now and you know I'd throw up that middle finger...I'd do it to annoy them cause they were annoying me you know cause I'm thinkin' about robbin' somebody and they on my butt constantly. Well I made a few stings and kept on going to reform school and this and that till I met some dudes and we decided to make a big, big sting...and we got popped. I got arrested I went back and forth to the courts back and forth. Before that I got arrested for an assault on an officer and I still say I ain't guilty. Couldn't prove it cause I couldn't pay enough money for the serious lawyer you know what I mean...I stayed in jail goin' back and forth to court for about four months...I got four years probation and I was supposed to be cut loose but the day before I got the four years probation (I got into another problem inside the prison).

When you're indicted they got a 120 days exactly to either give you your trial or they gotta drop your case and we were askin' for a speedy trial and they were delayin' it. They were delayin' it. This is _____. This is like bein down south to me. I'm tellin' you. You won't believe it. You won't believe it. It's just like bein' down south. They get you in their court, they say they're tryin' to help you but they're not. The probation officer I had is now the D.A. Now what kind of stuff is that? I couldn't believe it and they sittin' there saying "Well, I'm trying to help you..." In going back and forth to court. My other case of assault of the cop that I did not do either is in court and I get a year on that and all the time I did didn't count. Did not count. Did not count. They ripped me off.

Was that around here?

Yeah, at _____. That's a terrible place because there's nothing to do, so all you do is waste. After the first six months I got to be in recreation yard. They isolated me from everybody (for this thing they said I did) and

> I didn't even do nothing, I was innocent. I used to wake up to nigger every morning for two weeks. It was a real trip and all the time my mind was going what the hell is going on?...

When you get marijuana is it a guard sneaking it in or is there a guy around with it?

> It's respect man, I was there a whole year and I knew that they didn't care but you had to respect them. As long as you put it away when you heard them coming well with some of the guards it was cool. The last few minutes before I got out was the worst of the whole time. Seemed like the clock stopped.
>
> I dealt with it though man. I saw a lot of people come and go. Crazy people. I actually saw a man throw a bucket of shit in another man's face.

Were there many gay guys?

> There were a lot of fags, but you never heard of anybody gang-banging up there. There were a couple of fags I used to get to give me back rubs. I really missed my back rubs in there. But if they would go too far I'd say look, I don't play that shit. Some of the faggots braided hair. You know faggots have deep voices man, you wouldn't believe it.

Well, after you got out of all that what did you do then?

> They isolated us in the most dangerous part of the place. The roaches had taken over. The roaches were bold, even in the daytime. They'd run right over your foot and keep going. They bite! I got bit on the arm, neck, and leg. They were just like a calvary. The security there at the jail was terrible. I learned a lot.

Did it change you?

> Yes, man. It made me take a look at myself. I paid (my dues) man, am I really like this? It was so aggravating. I hit a man one day and he fell and almost hit his head on metal.

I said to myself I could have killed this man.

When you finally got out of jail then what happened? Was it a long time before you came to CIP?

Yeah.

What did you do between time?

I was so used to being away from a crowd, I just stayed home. She took me to a mall one day and all these people moving, I just wigged out. I wanted to go back to _____ High, but that was just to play ball. But I messed up my leg and had surgery. Then I got a job as a -- dishwasher.

That's alright, it was a job.

Yeah, I worked there for a while, then I heard of CIP. So I talked to my father and he had been wanting me to go to school. But I came to CIP and I liked it. I know now what I want to do.

What is that?

Be a hair stylist. There's a lot of money in it. You know being a stylist. I'm gonna really try.

That's fantastic. You really made a turnabout didn't you.

Yes, this is really gonna happen. I've gone through a lot, as far as stealing, I've paid my dues and I'm still paying and I don't want to pay no more. I paid a whole year of my life and I don't want to waste any more time. I'm really looking in the right direction.

VII. THE PROGRAM COMPONENTS: CORE, SUPPORT, AND IDEOLOGY

A complex organization like that of the Career Intern Program is composed of a number of subsystems that enable it to function. The author has identified three subsystems that are critical to CIP operation: the core, the support, and the ideological subsystems. These subsystems have been abstracted from on-site observations of program operations supplemented with examination of evaluation materials and written records related to the "prototypical progam" in Philadelphia. In addition, retrospective interviews were conducted with former staff members of the original CIP.

The core subsystem includes the combined and integrated patterns of activity that are directly designed to assist in transmitting knowledge, skills, behavior patterns, and cultural values to the interns. This system consists of five CIP components: instruction, counseling, Hands-On, Intern Formalized Assessment, and program climate.

The support subsystem represents the infrastructure of the program. It is designed to enable the core components of the program to operate. The CIP support subsystem includes program maintenance (rules), personnel qualifications, personnel roles, curriculum, recruitment, facilities, funds, and materials and supplies. It also encompasses relations with the LEA, relations with the teachers' association, relations with the community and the local OIC, and involvement of OIC/A.

The ideological subsystem includes the shared explicit and implicit knowledge, opinions, values, plans and goals and the patterned expression of thoughts that describe, explain, and justify the social structure and organization. CIP ideology is largely a product of the parent organization's (OIC/A's) ideology. The fundamental elements include: caring about interns, providing a supportive context for them, providing a realistic perspective in which they operate, "dealing with the whole intern," maintaining high personal and academic expectation of interns, and treating interns as (young) adults and individuals.

The Core Program Components

Instruction

CIP provides a learning experience different from that which is found in the traditional high school. The basic elements are individualization, use of innovative methodologies and materials, small class sizes (approximately fifteen interns pe class), and infusion of the academic curriculum with a career orientation.

Individualization is characterized by interns working at their own pace, a variety of learning activities, and individual attention from instructors. Learning packets are a central feature of the individualized curriculum. These packets are sequentially designed materials provided for each intern, such as math problems or stories accompanied by self-testing questions and corresponding answers. The packets cover English, social studies, math, science, and career awareness and planning. The learning packet format allows interns to work individually, at their own pace, and at an appropriate level of instruction. The original packets were those of the developer site and were provided by OIC/A. These packets are being used as is or have been modified to provide a better match to interns' needs and curriculum requirements.

Instruction is eclectic in the program. Most instructors employ a variety of methods including academic problem solving, role playing, and enrichment activities such as career day seminars and academic and work-related field trips. Traditional lecturing and whole class activities (all interns occupied with the same assignment) are present on a limited scale. Individual and small group activities are the dominant instructional strategies.

Field trips represent an instructional activity intended to serve a variety of purposes. A minimum of nine field trips are planned during Phases I and II of the program. Three trips are related to academic course content, three to career awareness and planning, and three to general enrichment activities intended to broaden interns' cultural and experiential horizons. The field trips are provided to serve cognitive and affective elements of the formal academic and career exploration segments of the program.

Fused instruction is the guiding principle for instruction. "Fusing" involves relating careers and the "world of work" to the academic content of the courses. This makes instruction more relevant to interns--linking their immediate experience to future employment options. English, science, social studies, math, and electives (e.g., typing and art) all are fused with career oriented materials, activities, and perspectives.

Finally, the Career Counseling Seminars (CCS) represent the basic vehicle employed by the program to develop and maintain a career orientation. The CCS is planned jointly by counselors, instructors, and career developers, any or all of whom may actually teach classes. Interns attend CCS each day throughout their first term in the CIP. CCS focuses on building interns' self-awareness, an awareness of career possibilities, and an understanding of the preparation requirements associated with specific careers. The class also attempts to assist interns learn to cope with diverse social situations by providing instruction ranging from how to get along with others, to personal hygiene, to punctuality. World-of-work behavior norms are taught in CCS, including how to dress and how to communicate in job-related situations. Interns prepare two career reports based on independent research in two career fields. These reports are intended to familiarize them with the educational and/or training requirements of career fields in which they are interested, as well as providing a general knowledge and understanding of careers.

Counseling

Interns receive extensive individualized counseling related to their personal concerns, academic status, and career planning. Personal counseling is directed toward helping them resolve their own problems, building self-esteem (when appropriate), and developing a sense of responsibility for their own actions. Counseling sessions are held at least biweekly. Counselors schedule sessions when interns have not taken the initiative themselves. Personal counseling is also available to interns regarding both in-program and outside-the-program concerns. (Friction among interns or between interns and instructors represents an in-program concern. Needing day-care facilities for interns' children represents an outside-the-program matter.)

Academic counseling is directed toward assisting interns with such matters as attendance, grades, the number of credits required to graduate, course selection, conflicts with instructors, and so on. Career counseling is concerned with enhancing career planning and knowledge among interns. Basically, it aims at acquainting interns with the world of work (e.g., how to dress, how to address people in authority, the importance of punctuality, when direct and indirect questions are appropriate in work situations).

Teachers, counselors, and career developers are responsible for intern career orientation and job placement. They work together (e.g., through CCS) to assist interns as needed. Career counseling begins as soon as the intern enters the program. A Career Development Plan (CDP) is developed jointly by the intern and counselor to plan the intern's individual program. It is subsequently used to inform the intern of his/her progress in the program. In addition, staff members become familiar with the intern's career aspirations and career exploration progress and use this information to assist him or her throughout the program's three phases.

Group counseling or informal "rap" sessions are also arranged to help interns express their concerns and feelings as a group to the staff and to each other. Both the individualized and group counseling sessions reinforce the concept of planning for one's future and taking responsibility for one's life. Monitoring their own progress with the CDP helps interns follow through with their plans. Mapping out specific plans also serves to demonstrate to interns how a specific series of steps are required to accomplish one's objectives. The intern is informed of the "game rules," where the beginning is, how far away the end is, and what it takes to get there.

Hands-On

The CIP provides two "Hands-On" experiences for each intern to demonstrate that a link between school and work exists and that specific skills are required to function in a "real job." The Hands-On is a Phase II activity that explores career fields of interest to the interns. Each intern is asked to indicate two career fields that are of particular interest at the time of entry. These two career fields then become the foci of directed research, and a short report on each field is required as part of the Career Counseling Seminar. The career developers find resource people or agencies who will allow interns to spend a week at job sites working at or observing typical activities related to the job. An intern is assigned to spend a week at each of the two job sites upon successful completion of the first phase of the CIP.

The Hands-On is intended to give interns a detailed look at the activities involved in the career fields they have tentatively decided to enter. It, therefore, plays an important dual role in the CIP, both in motivating interns to complete the preparatory work prior to going to the job sites and in informing them about the real (as opposed to the popularly conceived) activities that a career entails.

Intern Formalized Assessment and Disposition Conferences

Interns are formally evaluated at three distinct points to ensure that they keep abreast of their current status in the CIP, are taking the proper courses, and are progressing in the program so as to achieve their high school diploma. Interns are given a diagnostic test upon entry to determine their proficiency and to provide a baseline against which to assess their academic needs. Intern Formalized Assessment is also carried out at the midpoint and the end of each school term, when instructors assign grades and credits.

Disposition conferences also provide information about the progress of each intern. These conferences involve all the staff members who work with the intern and are held at least every two weeks. Typically, a staff meeting is held after school and one individual will go through half of the enrolled interns' folders, requesting input regarding each individual's performance. Interns are not present at the disposition conferences.

The relevant points about assessment are that it is done on a regular, scheduled basis; that all staff members who work with an intern are involved; and that interns and their parents are formally presented with assessment results and asked to get involved with future planning. These procedures enhance communications among staff, parents, and interns and serve to reinforce the appropriate attitudes and behaviors needed for the successful completion of high school. Periodic assessment and feedback helps interns understand the specific steps or linkages required to accomplish their objectives and is a means for making sure they do not fall by the wayside. In addition, it provides a model of behavior for interns to internalize--enabling them to make more accurate self-assessments of their progress.

Program Climate

The program climate is a result of all participants' values, beliefs, behaviors and communication patterns. However, it is dominated by the staff due largely to the differential positions of power they hold in the hierarchical organization. The staff climate is directed by the program ideology and is manifested in various forms, including individualized attention, personalized counseling, language and dress codes, and attention to interns' personal as well as school problems. CIP staff expect that they will be able to prevent interns from being "turned off" as they were in their former high school by producing a program climate that is both supportive and motivating.

Staff members attempt to create this type of climate in several ways. Interns are treated as whole persons. School lives are not separated from non-academic, family, and community experiences. Also, interns are not sheltered from reality. They are held responsible for their actions. A maintenance system (rules and regulations) is established, producing a simulated world-of-work atmosphere.

To effect the desired motivating, caring climate, communications among staff members and between staff members and interns are kept open. Staff members attempt to produce settings conducive to learning by maintaining positive attitudes toward interns and by not sheltering them. Interns are encouraged by the staff (and other interns) to "hang in there."

Interns' enthusiasm about instruction, positive attitudes towards the CIP, and diligence about their attendance are indications that the appropriate climate has been created. Other indications include: interns actively involved in learning activities (e.g., participating in class discussions) and interns becoming active in enforcing CIP behavioral norms among themselves.

Core components' interdependence. The core components are interrelated. Instruction and counseling feed into each other and are informed by each other. Both components attempt to serve the intern according to the whole-person concept. The disposition conferences facilitate interchange among staff members about all aspects of each intern's life. This mechanism encourages consistent treatment of interns by staff members in both the instructional and counseling departments. It also enhances the probability that all staff members will perceive interns as more than "students" or "counselees" or "kids with family problems" or any other narrowly defined role.

The Hands-On experiences also serve a number of functions that contribute to interns' progress with respect to both instructional and counseling goals. The infusion of career-related content into academic instruction further reinforces the holistic approach of the program. Taken together, these various elements of program climate are intended to help change youths' perceptions of learning, of their post-school prospects, and, most important, of their own abilities to succeed in leading satisfying and productive lives.

Supporting Components

Supporting components include the maintenance system (rules and regulations); CIP personnel; the curriculum; the recruiting program; and the facilities, funds, materials, and supplies. They also encompass relations with the local education agency (LEA); arrangements with the local teachers' association; the participation of industrial, business, and social agencies in the community; and the roles of OIC/A and the local OIC. All of these components serve to facilitate implementation of the core components.

The Maintenance System

The maintenance system is one of the most important supporting components of the program. A maintenance system, according to

Cusick (1973), includes the body of rules and regulations concerning, for example, apparel, attendance, tardiness, physical altercations, smoking, the pass system, and the care of school property. This system is designed to support and reinforce various core activities. The system is administered by the entire staff; however, primary responsibility lies with the director and middle management.

The maintenance subsystem is guided by the CIP ideology and it is one of the most significant tools employed by staff to produce the program climate alluded to earlier. It enforces behavioral rules reflecting the realities of the world of work. Interns are held accountable for such infractions as being absent or late, loitering in the halls, missing assignments, and dressing inappropriately. Underestimation of the significance of this component manifests itself in a breakdown of "proper intern behavior," e.g., tardiness, improper apparel, graffiti, etc. This component is a vehicle for the staff to express their concern or care for interns.

Personnel qualifications. The CIP recruits and maintains a cadre of motivated, caring instructors, counselors, and career developers who are sensitive to the needs and concerns of interns. They also have at least moderate experience both in their fields of specialization and in alternative educational environments. Instructors ideally have a minimum of three years' teaching experience and bachelor's degrees in their discipline. Counselors and career developers with two to three years' counseling experience, bachelor's degrees, and ability in both personal and vocational guidance are recruited.

A CIP director is expected to have a master's degree in either education or business administration and five years' experience in educational administration or counseling. He or she is also expected to have the ability to provide "charismatic" leadership in "highly unstructured situations" and "under pressure." These qualifications are essential to providing an interface with the LEA and community and to maintaining a cohesive staff.

The instructional supervisor is the leader of the instructional team. This individual is expected to have at least four years of teaching experience, a master's degree, certification in two teaching subjects, the skills to demonstrate innovative and independent teaching techniques, and the ability to supervise instructors. These qualifications are desired to ensure that interns receive high quality instruction.

The career counseling supervisor is charged with supervising counselors and career developers. This individual is expected to have not only supervisory experience, three years' experience in personal and vocational guidance, and an academic degree in a related field. In addition, he or she should be self-directed and able to work well in task groups. Together, the two supervisors are expected to promote and maintain cooperative working relationships among all staff members.

To strengthen the instructional team, a CIP staff includes among its instructors two specialists, one in reading and one in math. Each of these persons should hold a master's degree and have at least four years of teaching experience. The math specialist should be knowledgeable about "remedial math" and "new math teaching techniques"; the reading specialist should be familiar with several reading programs at various reading levels. Both these staff members serve the function of ensuring that the CIP accommodates the varying ability levels and needs of the interns.

The "curriculum liaison/resource center specialist," should be trained in curriculum and materials development and experienced in library operations. This individual is selected to provide assistance to staff in adapting curriculum and to staff the library/resource center.

The school coordinator, plays a liaison role between the CIP and the feeder schools. This person ideally should have eight years of teaching experience, a minimum of two years' administrative experience, and a master's degree. The school coordinator may be a school district employee or a CIP employee; however the individual's primary responsibility should be to serve the CIP. The school coordinator selected for the CIP is expected to be experienced in and familiar with the school district and its procedures since the role requires extensive contact with the district. Actual experience in educational settings and dedication to serving the CIP's intended clients are the two primary attributes expected of all professional staff members.

In addition to the professional staff members, there is a support staff of two secretaries, one or two "associate professionals" (administrative/teaching aides), and a maintenance/security person. These individuals also serve significant roles in the operation of the program. Secretaries must be able to work under pressure and be sensitive and personable with interns and staff. Associate professionals must have versatile skills and be able to substitute at a moment's notice, process requisitions, and serve as jacks of all trades.

The maintenance/security person primarily must maintain the appearance of the building. Interns appear to take more pride in a clean building and it contributes to their morale. In addition, this individual is responsible for maintaining the security of the building, which is an important task given the sites' locations. Finally, this individual must be interested in helping interns. The "wrong attitude" can as easily turn an intern away as a bad instructor.

Personnel roles. Successful implementation of the CIP requires positive relationships and communications among staff members, and between staff members and interns. Teamwork and open communications among staff members are necessary to facilitate treating interns as "whole" persons. Open communication enables instructors, counselors, and career developers to understand a given intern's academic and personal situation and problems. They should, as a consequence, be able to plan activities to assist the intern. Formal transactions such as staff meetings and disposition conferences and less structured situations provide opportunities for exchange of important information about the program and the interns. An atmosphere of trust among staff members and the development of an esprit de corps facilitate open communications. The CIP director and supervisors are primarily responsible for creating and maintaining this work environment. Their sensitivity and competence are thus critical to implementation.

Instructors, counselors, and career developers are expected to communicate with interns daily. Although separate staff positions carry specific responsibilities (e.g., "math instructor," "counselor," "reading specialist"), staff members' interactions with interns extend beyond their specific roles. Instructors are expected to demonstrate an interest in the personal concerns of the intern, counselors and career developers are expected to demonstrate an interest in the intern's academic performance, and the school coordinators should also be interested in and aware of attendance and tardiness patterns.

Strong leadership is essential to maintain the functional unity of the system. The director is responsible for meeting the demands of: socializing the staff in their roles, orienting the interns to CIP academic and behavioral expectations, meeting LEA requirements for high school graduation, making sure essential materials and supplies are available, and planning recruitment strategies for future interns. In addition this individual is expected to spend considerable time in the classrooms monitoring instruction and modeling appropriate teaching techniques. He/she is also expected to participate in frequent meetings with staff members to discuss instructional matters and to give in-service training. Finally, the director's role includes outreach to the community to create awareness of and support for the local CIC and OIC/A.

The instructional supervisor is responsible for infusing the curriculum with a career orientation, ensuring that intern assessment occurs on a regular basis, and promoting opportunities for learning beyond those available in traditional classrooms. The career counseling supervisor's tasks include monitoring the development and maintenance of interns' Career Development Plans, developing procedures to track interns' academic and career progress, "rostering" (scheduling) individual interns into classes, and establishing guidelines for the provision of Hands-On experiences, on-the-job training, and part- and full-time employment.

The math and reading specialists are instructors who are expected to provide "intermediate level instructional work." The reading specialist is also expected to provide assistance (under the instructional supervisor's guidance) to other instructors for the integration of reading into their subject areas. Both specialists are resource persons for their colleagues; however they do not have specific leadership assignments.

The curriculum liaison/resource center specialist has three main duties: managing the Learning Resource Center, assisting in curriculum development, and finding suitable instructional materials (when requested by instructors). Finally, the school coordinator is the normal link between the CIP and the feeder schools and is responsible for managing the recruitment and intake of interns.

The roles played by all the CIP staff contribute to the successful daily operation of the CIP. Management tasks performed by the director and the supervisors are designed to ensure that cooperation between the CIP and the feeder schools is achieved. In addition, management is primarily responsible for maintaining good relations with the industrial community and maintaining open channels of communication among staff. The roles played by the instructional and counseling staff and other CIP staff are designed primarily to facilitate intern academic achievement and personal responsibility.

Curriculum. Curriculum was discussed implicitly under "Instruction." It is included here as a discrete supporting component because the curriculum must be designed to meet both the requirements of the LEA and the needs of the interns. This activity is shared by all staff members. It provides the staff an opportunity to establish working relationships and a sense of ownership of the program.

Staff endorsement of the CIP curriculum philosophy is clearly critical to the CIP's successful operation. Such endorsement entails (a) acceptance of the elements of the core curriculum--English, social studies, math, science, and career awareness and exploration objectives; (b) subscription to the learning-packet approach for individualizing instruction; and (c) willingness to let interns progress at their own rates. The CIP guidelines for the demonstration indicate that the curriculum is based on two sources: the objectives provided by OIC/A, especially as manifested in the learning packets developed in the prototype site, and the local curriculum requirements of the LEA and/or state authorities for high school graduation. To generate an appropriate CIP curriculum, these two sources are merged, and new materials are developed, along with new methods, as needed to meet both sets of expectations.

In adapting or developing curriculum units, staff members are particularly careful to include learning activities that relate academic content to the "real world" of everyday life and jobs. This "fusing" of the curriculum provides motivation for the interns by highlighting the relevance of their academic studies to the world beyond the school walls.

Recruitment. The CIP serves youth between 16 and 21 years of age who have dropped out of school or who are at risk of doing so. The CIP design identifies recruitment strategies that range from the use of mass media to personal presentations before community groups to create an awareness of the CIP among these youths. Emphasis is placed on establishing strong working relationships with "feeder" schools to secure up-to-date lists of dropouts and potential dropouts.

Once potential interns display interest in the program, they are tested to see if they meet the reading-ability requirement. Those who meet the reading requirement are then interviewed, along with their parents. (They are also requested to complete approximately four hours of psychometric tests for the evaluation.) Interns are given a two-day orientation upon acceptance into the CIP before beginning formal diagnostic testing and placement in the instructional program.

The school coordinator is specifically assigned responsibility for recruitment; however, other staff members and interns also participate in recruitment efforts as necessary. Parents are involved in the intake of new interns in the program to develop a link to the home from the beginning of the program.

Facilities. A building suitable to provide offices for approximately ten staff members and a classroom for each instructor is required. The building is also expected to house a learning resource center (a combination of library, resource center, and study hall), facilities for physical education, and a cafeteria. Furnishings for the facility include an appropriate number of tables, desks, and chairs for staff and interns. The LEA is expected to provide some of these furnishings as in-kind support for the CIP.

The local OIC is expected to secure a building. The building must be able to house the projected CIP enrollment of approximately 150 interns per year. It is also expected to meet minimum standards of safety and comfort (adequate lighting, heat, lavatories, etc.) for the projected enrollment and to comply with local building codes. The building should be structurally arranged to facilitate communication, e.g., all classes and offices within a reasonable proximity and accessible to interns and staff. Finally, the site should be accessible from the interns' residential neighborhoods.

Funds. The project budget is administered by the local OIC. The OIC Executive Director formally approves monthly budget allocations and CIP requisitions. The CIP director, however, is given considerable discretion in requesting budget modifications. Ideally, reasonable requests for funds are honored quickly so as to prevent any interference with ongoing program activities.

Materials and supplies. Books, learning packets, instructional and career materials, office equipment and supplies, and the like should be available from the moment operation begins. Instructors and the curriculum resource specialist have primarily responsibility for ordering materials throughout the year, thus ensuring that materials are well matched to the needs of the interns.

Relations with the LEA. An unusual feature of the CIP is its status as an autonomous alternative educational delivery agency that depends on the feeder schools to award diplomas to its graduates.* This feature, which distinguishes the CIP from virtually all other educational innovations, imposes many requirements on the program. The CIP must accommodate LEA curriculum and staffing guidelines. It must also secure the LEA's cooperation in order to identify dropouts and its permission to recruit potential dropouts. These requirements underscore the importance of establishing good working relationships with the LEA. The task of doing so falls largely on the CIP director, although the local OIC is charged with making the initial arrangements.

There are four significant concerns regarding the CIP-LEA relationship. First, the CIP career emphasis must be accommodated within the LEA graduation requirements. Second, since it requires the LEA's assistance in recruitment (by providing lists of both potential and actual high school dropouts), the CIP must be accepted by the LEA as a legitimate alternative educational program. Third, the CIP requires that the local school district grant credit for such nontraditional activity as the Hands-On experience and on-the-job training. Fourth, in-kind support from the LEA may be needed in the areas of transportation, physical education facilities, and even student lunches. LEA cooperation is expected partially because the CIP is able to serve students the LEA is less able to serve. More importantly, however, there is a financial incentive. Youth enrolled in the CIP are added to (dropouts) or remain on (potential dropouts) the student rolls of the school district. Consequently, students enrolled in CIP actually bring state monies into the LEA. This mutually advantageous arrangement evolved at the prototype site over an extended time period but is now an integral part of the CIP model.

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*Site A is the only site that has been integrated into the LEA and awards its own diplomas.

Relations with teachers' association. CIP staff members are expected to be as well qualified as their counterparts in the public schools. This criterion must be met if the LEAs are to issue valid academic credits and award regular high school diplomas (rather than certificates of general equivalency, or GEDs) to CIP participants. This means that the instructors (and the counselors in some states) must either be certified or "certifiable," where certifiable is defined as having completed all requirements for certification except for the licensing procedures themselves. Persons with such qualifications are likely to belong to, or be candidates for membership in, local teachers' associations or unions. At the same time, union policies of hiring and firing on the basis of seniority, of restricting work hours, of controlling salary rates, etc., are often basically contrary to the CIP philosophy.

Because any attempt to establish an alternative school that grants LEA diplomas without the cooperation of the teachers' group may be interpreted as an attempt to "bust the union," the CIP requires that program approval and a suitable staffing arrangement be obtained from local teachers' groups in the new sites. Various issues such as teacher certification and the placement of union teachers on the CIP staff are usually negotiated so compromises should be agreeable to both parties. A great deal of flexibility is required to meet local conditions and to obtain the teacher association's support.

Relations with community. A close relationship between the CIP and the local community is required to ensure that the CIP can offer a wide variety of appropriate Hands-On experiences to interns. This bond is formalized through the appointment of an Advisory Committee that consists of: representatives of industry, business, government, and education in the community. The Advisory Committee is an important element of the design for three reasons: (a) the collective knowledge and perceptions of the committee are expected to guide the career content and focus of the CIP to prepare interns for occupations that exist in the community; (b) the committee members' informal communication networks can be used to link the CIP to a pool of business firms and agencies that represent potential settings for the interns' Hands-On experience; and (c) committee members can be instrumental in helping CIP graduates gain entry to post-secondary institutions and job opportunities.

Involvement of interns' parents in the program represents another form of CIP/community relationship. Parent contact and orientation is considered important to the CIP, although it is not frequent. The CIP attempts to foster strong support for the program by informing parents about their children's progress periodically and inviting them to contribute to planning interns' programs. This plan is also expected to lead to favorable community perceptions of the program.

A final aspect of community relations--outreach--is less formal than the Advisory Committee and parent involvement. Outreach involves soliciting various community services to publicize the program. The director is primarily responsible for outreach into a broad spectrum of community groups, agencies, and media. In general, however, the entire CIP staff use whatever avenues for outreach to the community are available.

OIC/A role. The demonstration includes a critical role for OIC/A as the developer of the CIP prototype and its disseminator. OIC/A monitors the ongoing implementation of the CIP, provides feedback to prevent and solve problems and supplies staff training and other technical assistance (including troubleshooting to resolve problems as necessary). OIC/A also authorizes adaptations to the CIP model to accommodate the sites' new environments and is responsible for the sites' compliance to requirements imposed by the LEAs. An additional OIC/A function is to provide funding and oversee the sites' fiscal management.

OIC/A developed a catalog listing and describing the technical assistance workshops it could provide the sites. This list included seven workshops dealing with instruction, seven related to counseling, and twelve concerned with such general issues as factors affecting motivation and communication, performance standards, and management by objectives. OIC/A also informed the sites that technical assistance on any aspect of the CIP would be available as needed.

Local OIC role. The local OIC is the sponsor of the local CIP and the intermediary between the program developer (OIC/A) and the implementors (the CIP staff). The local OIC uses its contacts to introduce the CIP to the community and build support for it. The local OIC also functions as an intermediary between OIC/A and the CIP regarding any major concerns or problems faced by the CIP.

The local OIC extends its technical assistance and resources to the CIP. The local OIC administers the CIP budget and gives formal approval to personnel and other significant decisions made by the CIP director, however OIC also assures the CIP director's autonomy in many decisions. The local situation determines the extent of direct involvement the local OIC should have in CIP operations.

The core and supporting components of the CIP are numerous. Some are complex; some are straightforward. Both, however, are dependent on the CIP philosophy or ideology. The CIP is extremely dependent on staff members' abilities to assume new roles and carry out a variety of different functions simultaneously. The role of ideology serves to facilitate this adjustment providing a framework for the new behaviors. Constructive working arrangements with the LEA and the teachers' association, and support from the community are also vital to program operation.

Philosophy/Ideology

The CIP philosophy is one of the most significant keys to the successful operation of the program. It is an extention of the OIC and OIC/A philosophy, which consists of a fusion between a humanistic "serving the whole person" concept and a work ethic ideology. The OIC ideological orientation is congruent with the underlying ideological orientation of the American economic system. This match of ideological persuasions serves to help those presently disenfranchised or alienated from the system "get their fair share"--whether through the OIC manpower training programs or through the CIP.

The foundations of the program include: a stable hierarchical managerial framework, individualized attention, a fused curriculum, a reliably enforced maintenance system, extensive counseling, Hands-On experience and so on. These features are the result of translating the OIC philosophy and ideology into practice. The bottom line is, however, an awareness on the part of the interns that somebody cares and the fact that the program helps them accomplish their objectives.

An examination of the CIP philosophy and the process by which it is translated into practice provides insights into the dynamics of program operation. Program components, whether core, support or ideological, all have multiple overlapping purposes and effects. Salient elements have been abstracted to illustrate the interrelated nature of program variables or components. The major elements include: caring about interns, providing a supportive context for them, providing a realistic perspective in which they operate, "dealing with the whole intern," maintaining high expectations for both personal and academic growth, treating interns as (young) adults, and treating them as individuals.

Caring

Caring about interns is defined as displaying an interest and concern about the general welfare of the individual--personally and academically. This element of the program is manifested in many forms. Caring is manifested in the core components of the program in individualized instruction, extensive counseling, and just by listening to interns when they are speaking. The maintenance system provides a critical vehicle for transmitting this concern--ranging from formal reprimands for lateness, to disapproving looks for inappropriate apparel. Simply commenting casually on an intern's new shoes, a movie, or a disco beat represents one of the most typical (and effective) mechanisms for transmitting staff concern for interns.

Displaying personal concern about interns is not the same as babying interns, becoming best friends, or maintaining an indiscriminantly lenient relationship with them. The maintenance of the instructor-intern or counselor-intern role (with its implied differential power) serves an important function in the creation of an atmosphere of respect and purposefulness for all parties concerned. High expectations represent a form of caring and should not, according to one instructor, be undermined by "unearned" leniency, according to one instructor.

Supportive Context

A supportive context for interns is constructed by conveying a sense of confidence and personal interest in the interns' ability to succeed. Staff emphasize the need to give the intern every chance to succeed. Instructors contribute to this context in a variety of ways. A micro-level teaching technique that contributes to the overall supportive context of the program, for example, consists of listening to what interns say and prodding them to elaborate in class discussions. Providing interns with almost as many counselors as instructors and enabling interns to see counselors throughout the day to work out their problems serves to defuse potential problems and serves to enable interns to continue in the program.

The disposition conferences serve to facilitate the sharing of information about interns, creating a network of concern for them.

The recruiting of staff members with appropriate academic and experiential background provides one underlying strength of the program that is essential to the interns' success. These personnel provide interns with the skills required to graduate and pursue a career. They are also sensitive to the interns' concerns and are more likely to react, for example, to class disturbances appropriately—defusing rather than escalating a problem. The use of a curriculum that "makes sense" to interns and the flow of funds to maintain operating expenses also represent the underlying supportive structure that enables interns to function positively in the program.

Realistic Perspective

A realistic perspective is instilled in the interns by demonstrating to them the need to understand and follow certain prerequisite steps in order to accomplish one's objectives. In general, this is accomplished by providing an educational experience that actually prepares interns for careers in the world outside. This pragmatic ideological objective is translated into program practice in a variety of ways. The use of the Career Development Plan serves to acquaint interns with a map of the route they must travel to obtain their objectives.

The consequences of assisting interns identify the steps that must be taken to achieve particular goals, however, can serve to stifle those same goals. The CIP staff generally try to lead interns to realistic perspectives without "scaring them off." Preparation for short term jobs can be a useful means of preparing for larger and larger steps. The danger, however, is that interns may be intimidated by the long roads ahead of them and their educational aspirations may suffer as a result.

Staff members who are able to maintain the perspective that interns should be placed in "meaningful jobs" rarely encounter problems of this nature. Awareness that the implicit objectives of the program include upward mobility seems to help staff engender intern optimism that career objectives can be achieved. This point will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Intern Formalized Assessment represents a (realistic) feedback mechanism to let interns and their parents know how far and how well they have progressed in the program. The maintenance system is a means of providing interns with consistent reminders and reinforcements concerning the necessary steps required to accomplish one's objectives in the outside world. Punctuality, appropriate apparel, appropriate language codes, and completion of assignments are reinforced by the maintenance system; failure to meet these demands is negatively reinforced* in the form of warnings, consultations and disciplinary action.

The CIP prepares interns for real careers, sensitizing them to and enculturating them with career-related concerns such as the importance of hard work, dedication, punctuality, and appropriate language and apparel through its fused curriculum, its maintenance system, and various other means. The program staff provides interns with the opportunity to formulate educational and career goals (CDP). They also treat interns in a manner that indicates that these plans and goals are to be taken seriously. Career developers contribute to this goal by making interns' school experience as close to the reality they are likely to encounter as possible, e.g., Hands-On experience. In addition, they contribute to this goal by keeping up with the changing job market interns will enter. Fundamentally, however, the program staff, through various means discussed above, attempt to prepare interns for the real world by "forcing" them to recognize that they are responsible for their own actions. As one instructor commented: "If they want to make it, I'll help them, but its up to them in the final analysis, they've got to put out."

Dealing with the Whole Intern

Dealing with the whole intern involves taking the intern's personal life into consideration when analyzing or assisting interns. Academic growth and personal well being are regarded as mutually interdependent. Instructors and counselors both contribute to the intern's plans and progress through the CIP in disposition conferences and in daily interaction. Staff members consider teaching interns to "follow expected social norms" in post-secondary education and work to be as important as cognitive and effective growth. Self presentation skills are stressed as strongly as the acquisition of academic skills. The interns' life outside of school is always taken into consideration in assessing an intern's progress in the program. Parents, guardians, friends, probation officers, and so on are involved through home visits, phone calls, and invitations to the school (open house) as needed or when appropriate. Basically, the interrelationship of the intern network of personal and academic associations and activities are taken into consideration in an attempt to assist the intern--both inside and outside of the program.

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*Negative reinforcement is often perceived as a form of caring and attention by interns.

High Expectations

All staff members maintain high expectations for interns, both personally and academically. This positive attitude is important as the consequences of low expectation on academic achievement, (e.g., learning to read) for inner city students have been well documented in the literature (Rosenfield, 1971; Rist, 1970; Spindler, 1974; McDermott, 1974). Instructors expect and demand interns to complete assigned work (and on time) and challenge unsupported intern views--often using values clarification or inquiry method skills--without intimidating the interns.

Counselors are also "demanding"--emphasizing the need to "stick with it" (the CDP). They also promote high standards in the areas of politeness and common courtesy; e.g., not allowing interns to interrupt an ongoing discussion, encouraging the use of "proper" language (no vulgarities in their presence). In addition, the use of black English vernacular is discouraged in formal interactions. Group counseling sessions and assemblies are held periodically when the behavior of a large number of individuals does not match the staff's high expectations.

The maintenance system is used as a mechanism to remind interns of the staff's high expectations of them, e.g., passes are required from counselors for lateness, individuals are reminded (subtly or overtly) to remove their hats in the building, the vernacular is considered inappropriate for guests and formal classroom activities, etc. Behavior on field trips is expected to be exemplary--lively but within the "boundaries of acceptable behavior" according to two instructors. Field trips implicitly represent a test of how well interns are internalizing the high standards of conduct expected of them in the program context.

Treat Interns as (Young) Adults

Treating interns as (young) adults involves interacting with interns in a manner that acknowledges they are responsible for their own actions and should be allowed to take a major role in planning their future. One of the problems interns encountered in the regular public high school was that they felt they were treated like children with no opportunity to plan their future. The staff are aware of the interns' former experiences and their social responsibilities; however, they also recognize that they are young adults--that they are not fully responsible adults. Interns are respected but not treated as co-workers or equals.

The role and power positions between instructor and interns are allowed to function in these situations. The relationship also serves as a model of future employer-employee relationships.

The program uses the CDP to foster greater intern responsibility and uses the maintenance system to reinforce behavioral patterns required to meet the accepted behavioral codes or norms of adult employment. A delicate balance must be maintained between treating interns as adults and simultaneously recognizing their youth and need for guidance.

Treat Interns as Individuals

Treating interns as individuals involves recognizing and respecting the intra-cultural diversity that exists among them. Interns are not all alike. Each intern has an individual personality with specific talents and abilities, interests, likes, and dislikes. Many of the interns are leaders, as an examination of their lives reveals, and have stood out from the crowd for a long time. In fact, approximately 15% of the interns at each site listed associations with the "wrong crowd" as a major contributing factor to their dropping out of school. (This is a point requiring emphasis because it has not been reported in the literature to date as a significant basis for dropping out.)

While other interns have shown less overt individuality, many have experienced the harsh injustices of discrimination--racial and academic. Large numbers report having been viewed as a homogeneous group by teachers (racially or academically) for years. Some have protested this treatment in expressions ranging from classroom outbursts to vandalism to graffiti on the bathroom walls. One intern complained "you tell em but they can't hear ya...they just don't listen" and "they don't even remember your name."

The CIP staff remembers the interns' names but, more important, they treat interns as individuals with individual problems and concerns. Individualized instruction is used to attend to individual academic needs. Personal counseling is used to address individual concerns such as parental problems, a need for day care facilities for children, and severe personality clashes with instructors. Career developers attempt to secure Hands-On experiences that reflect intern interests. In addition, staff members take a personal interest in individual interns, e.g., discussing movies seen, music mutually enjoyed, politics, and even the weather.

OIC/A Philosophy/Ideology

The CIP philosophy is a direct extension of the OIC and OIC/A philosophy, which is based on serving people. The foundations of the movement/organization are deeply embedded in the church;

however, the philosophy and ideological orientation have been primarily manifested in manpower training programs. The most central themes of the OIC philosophy are service to the whole person and helping people help themselves.

OIC/A was originally established to serve the needs of "disadvantaged, poor, unskilled, and unemployed minority people in Philadelphia." From this beginning it has expanded its programs and services nationwide while remaining a community-based manpower training program. Throughout its dramatic growth, OIC has kept its roots tied to the church. OIC/A's convocation literature discussed the significance of this linkage:

> In no small measure, OIC owes its success to the direct involvement of religious leaders... The greatest strength for continued survival, growth and progress of an OIC movement rests with its community based roots and the time tested support of the church. The OIC community base is people. The firm religious foundation is the underlying force which founded and developed OIC. (14th Annual Convocation, April 1978)

OIC has served as a revitalization group through its training programs, special job creation programs for youth and others, and community investment cooperatives. Its aim has been to serve those people, those most in need--to pull them in "off the streets if necessary"--often through church and neighborhood networks that are instrumental in coordinating, recruiting, and making referrals and placements within communities across the nation.

Manpower training programs represent the most typical OIC vehicle for serving people throughout the United States. The programs offer GEDs and job training in such areas as welding, plumbing, drafting, auto body repairs, banking, police work, etc. OIC local programs have trained individuals in over 75 different skill areas. Furthermore, they have trained over 426,000 persons and placed over 270,000 in meaningful, rather than "dead end," jobs. OIC is proud that it has significantly reduced welfare roles and is quick to point out that over one-third of their trainees were on welfare before coming to OIC. The organization calculates that OIC alumni have contributed an estimated "$600 million to the national economy in tax dollars alone." In addition, OIC has provided extensive exploration/training programs that assist individuals gain entry to careers that require post-secondary education. OIC has grown into a total economic development and job creation movement that serves an interracial cross

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section of the unskilled, unemployed, and disadvantaged in more than 140 communities both in the United States and abroad.

The key to OIC's philosophy (and, in turn, CIP's philosophy) is self-help and service to the whole person. The significance of these concepts is illustrated in the OIC/A annual report:

> OIC screens people in, not out. OIC welcomes the poor, members of minority groups, those who cannot speak English, the handicapped, drug abusers, alcohol abusers, youth, women, ex-offenders and bone-weary, discouraged job-seekers. OIC says to them all: "EVERYBODY CAN BE SOMEBODY." This is not just a catch-phrase. It is a fact which OIC has proved through fourteen years of helping disadvantaged people to develop their abilities. OIC knows that a structure is needed to help disadvantaged people bridge the gap between their capabilities and the requirements of a productive, technological society. What people need is a hand up, not a handout.
>
> The OIC comprehensive program is founded on this OIC self help, whole person philosophy. It provides specific services to meet the specific needs of each trainee for personal and occupational growth. OIC recognized quickly that to help disadvantaged and minority people the program must include assistance in overcoming individual and family problems that inhibit learning, while also providing personal attitude and motivation development.

OIC is committed to the viability of the existing economic system. These activities, therefore, are aimed at working within the system--to help disenfranchised alienated individuals and groups "claim their fair share" of the pie and to "break the cycle of poverty."

> These endeavors (developing training programs and community investment cooperatives) are being undertaken to enable wage earners to improve the living conditions and services in poor communities, and to enable them to claim

> their fair share of the economic life of the nation. Earning, investing, establishing businesses and cooperative community improvement endeavors are all building blocks which will enable people to better their own standard of living, and also to break up the cycle of poverty before its destructive effects are felt by the next generation. (Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, 1977)

The theoretical underpinnings of the OIC philosophy are based on the Protestant (or work) ethic (Weber, 1958). Hard work, delayed gratification, saving, orientation toward the future, emphasis on competence and pride in one's work, attendance, punctuality, and proper appearance are all fundamental elements of the work ethic on which the American economic system is founded.

OIC adherence to the work ethic ideology is reflected in the emphasis on giving people "marketable skills" in the labor force as a solution to their problems. In addition, their ideological base is explicitly stated in OIC/A literature.

> OIC is premised on the work ethic. In a rapidly advancing technological world people must learn skills and develop themselves to a point where they can enter the work force as capable contributors. Our goal is to give people marketable capabilities. OIC's close link with business and industry at the national and local levels gives us a realistic view of what OIC trainees must be able to do in order to qualify for current and future labor force needs. Close contact with the community, in the streets of major urban centers and small rural towns, enables OIC to develop programs which reach the severely disadvantaged and bring them out of a world of dependency, hopelessness and hostility and into a world of competence and pride in their area of work. (Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, 1977)

Fundamentally OIC's work ethic ideology and humanistic philosophy of serving people--particularly people presently disenfranchized from "the system" (both black and white) has carried over to the CIP design and implementation. The CIP approach of caring, providing a supportive context, treating interns as individuals and adults, providing a realistic perspective for interns, and maintaining high expectations both personally and academically, is a true embodiment of OIC's ideological/philosophical orientation.

> Failure is seen by program staff as a function of social and economic factors, while blame is not theirs, the responsibility for success is. (Gibboney Associates, 1977, p. 182)

Summary of Core Support and Ideology Components of CIP

A complex organization like that of the Career Intern Program is composed of a number of subsystems that enable it to function. The author has identified three subsystems that are critical to CIP operation: the core, the support, and the ideological subsystems. These subsystems have been abstracted from on-site observations of program operations supplemented with examination of evaluation materials and written records related to the "prototypical progam" in Philadelphia. In addition, retrospective interviews were conducted with former staff members of the original CIP.

The core subsystem includes the combined and integrated patterns of activity that are designed specifically to assist in transmitting knowledge, skills, behavior patterns, and cultural values to the interns. This system consists of five CIP components: instruction, counseling, Hands-On, Intern Formalized Assessment, and program climate.

The CIP core subsystem encompasses three overlapping phases (see Figure 5). In the first phase, instruction and counseling departments work together to assist the intern in developing a Career Development Plan (CDP)--charting the intern's future in the program. The CDP is one of the program's core components.

Instruction provides a core curriculum and fused academics, as well as implicitly providing such world-of-work rules of behavior as coming to class on time, completing assignments on time, etc. The Career Counseling Seminar (CCS) is taught jointly by counselors and instructors and it explicitly provides world-of-work knowledge, e.g., appropriate dress, attitudes, etc.

Intern Formalized Assessment is conducted at the beginning of the intern's program (diagnostic testing) and at the middle and the end of each school term. This assessment provides a means to monitor the progress of each intern so no one "falls through the cracks" as in public school.

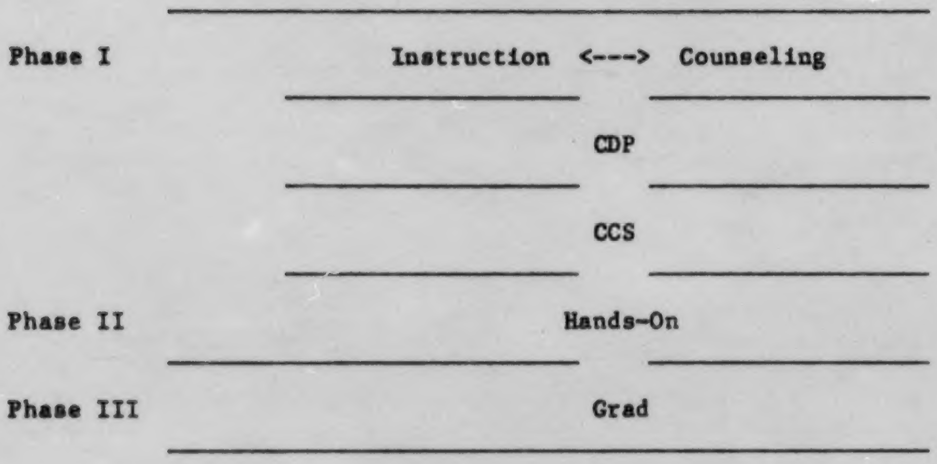

Phase I
Instruction <---> Counseling
CDP
CCS
Phase II
Hands-On
Phase III
Grad

Figure 5. CIP core components

In Phase II the intern goes on two Hands-On experiences and continues academic courses required to graduate. The Hands-On serves to demonstrate that learning specific skills and taking specific steps in the program are related to "real" work outside the program. The Hands-On is a glimpse of the final goal in the program.

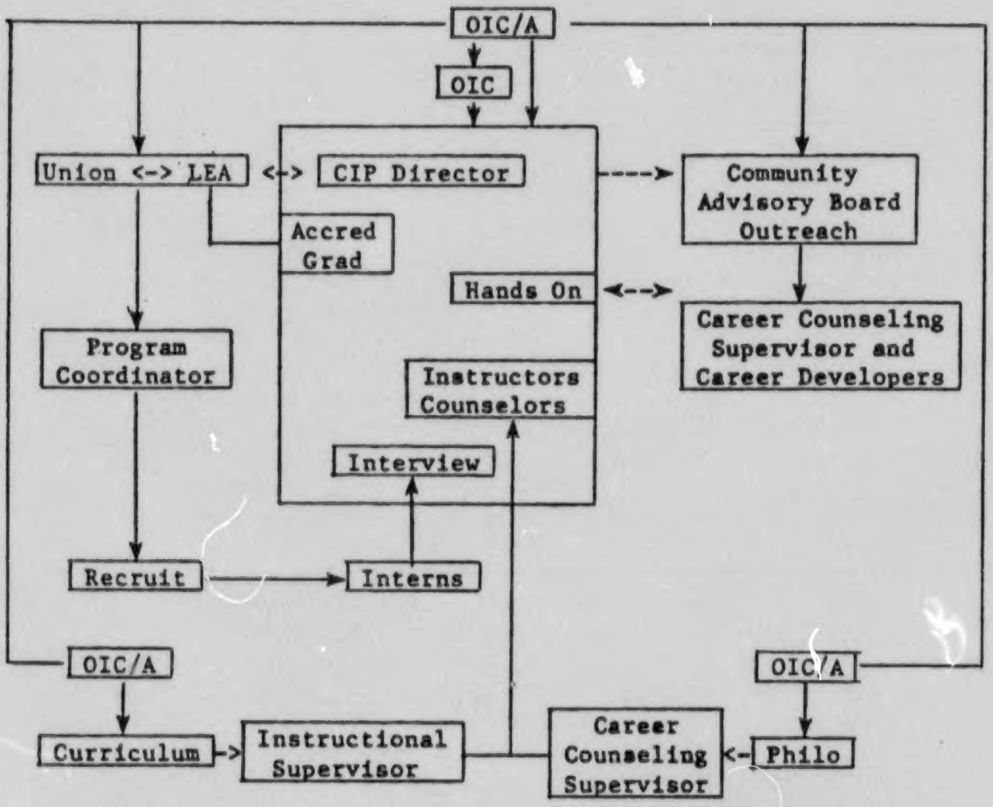
Phase III involves graduation from the program; attainment of a high school diploma; and placement in a job, in an on-the-job training program, or in advanced education. The entire process serves as a model of how the rational bureaucratic process operates. It reinforces the idea that specific steps or objectives are required to accomplish one's goals.

The support subsystem represents the infrastructure of the program. It is designed to enable the core components of the program to operate. The CIP support subsystem includes program maintenance (rules), personnel qualifications, personnel roles, curriculum, recruitment, facilities, funds, and materials and supplies. It also encompasses relations with the LEA, relations with the teachers' association, relations with the community and the local OIC, and involvement of the OIC/A (see Figure 6).

The program maintenance component is one of the most significant features of the support subsystem. This component includes the body of rules and regulations concerning apparel, attendance, tardiness, physical altercations, smoking, the pass system, and care of school property. This component is designed to support and reinforce various core activities. It enforces behavioral rules reflecting the realities of the world of work. Underestimation of the signifiacne of this component manifests itself in a breakdown of "proper intern behavior," e.g., tardiness, improper apparel, graffiti, etc. This component is a vehicle for the staff to express their concern or caring for interns.

Recruitment of interns is accomplished with the assistance of the feeder schools, which provide lists of potential interns and transcripts to the school liaison person. This process provides the program with its most essential component--interns. Recruitment is predicated on constructive working relations with the LEA as negotiated by the local OIC, the CIP director, and, if necessary, OIC/A. A constructive working relationship is also required between the CIP and the LEA to function in the city and to secure diplomas for graduating interns.

Sound working relationships are also required between the CIP and the community to provide Hands-On experiences for the interns. This type of relationship with the community also assures the program of a steady supply of potential interns and lessens the probability of community misperception of the CIP.


OIC/A
OIC
Union <-> LEA
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CIP Director
Accred Grad
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Instructors Counselors
Interview
Community Advisory Board Outreach
Career Counseling Supervisor and Career Developers
Program Coordinator
Recruit
Interns
OIC/A
Curriculum
Instructional Supervisor
Career Counseling Supervisor
Philo
OIC/A

Figure 6. Supporting components

OIC/A is the most encompassing element of the support subsystem as monitor, technical assistant, and disseminator. OIC/A is responsible for providing the information required to start up and operate the program and can intervene in internal as well as external program matters as deemed necessary (e.g., LEA negotiations, replacing staff, etc.). OIC/A administers the CIP through the local OIC; however, it also interacts with the CIP directly, e.g., contacting the CIP director, conducting workshops for the instructional or counseling staff. In addition, OIC/A provides the instructional staff with the basic core curriculum and fused academic approach--with learning packets and training in individualizing the pace and content of instruction. Similarly OIC/A trains the counseling staff in the OIC/A philosophy and methods of counseling. OIC/A's most pervasive support comes in the form of transmitting the OIC/A ethos and philosophy, characterized by Reverend Sullivan's motto, "We help ourselves." The CIP philosophy is a product of the OIC/A philosophy and ideology, and it guides the entire program.

The ideological subsystem includes the shared explicit and implicit knowledge, opinions, values, plans and goals, and the patterned expression of thoughts that describe, explain, and justify the social structure and organization. The CIP ideology is one of the most significant keys to the successful operation of the program. The ideology informs program practice in the same manner that theory informs methodology in social science. CIP ideology is largely a product of the parent organization's (OIC/A's) ideology. OIC/A's ideology consists of a fusion between a humanistic "serving the whole person" concept and a work-ethic ideology. The OIC ideological orientation is congruent with the underlying ideological orientation of the American economic system. This match of ideological persuasions serves to help those presently disenfranchised or alienated from the system "get their fair share"--whether through the OIC manpower training programs or through the CIP. The fundamental elements of the CIP ideology include: caring about interns, providing a supportive context for them, providing a realistic perspective in which they operate, "dealing with the whole intern," maintaining high personal and academic expectation of interns, and treating interns as (young) adults and individuals.

These components of the ideological subsystem are discussed briefly below:

Caring about interns is defined as displaying an interest and concern about the general welfare of the individual--both personally and academically.

A supportive context for interns is constructed by conveying a sense of confidence and personal interest in the interns' ability to succeed. Staff emphasize the need to give the intern every chance to succeed.

A realistic perspective is instilled in the interns by demonstrating to them the need to understand and follow certain prerequisites in order to accomplish one's objectives. In general, this is accomplished by providing an educational experience that actually prepares interns for careers in the world outside.

The CIP staff generally try to lead interns to realistic perspectives without "scaring them off." The danger, however, is that interns may be intimidated by the long roads ahead of them and their aspirations may suffer as a result. Staff members who are able to maintain the perspective that interns should be placed in "meaningful jobs" rarely encounter problems of this nature.

Dealing with the whole intern involves taking the intern's personal life into consideration when analyzing or assisting interns.

All staff members maintain high expectations for interns, both personally and academically. Instructors expect and demand interns to complete assigned work (and on time) and challenge unsupported intern views--often using values' clarification or inquiry method skills--without intimidating the interns.

Counselors are also "demanding"--emphasizing the need to "stick with it" (the CDP). They also promote high standards in the areas of politeness and common courtesy; e.g., not allowing interns to interrupt an ongoing discussion; encouraging the use of "proper" language (no vulgarities in their presence).

Treating interns as (young) adults involves interacting with interns in a manner that acknowledges they are responsible for their own actions and should be allowed to take a major role in planning their future.

Fundamentally, however, it is OIC's work-ethic ideology and humanistic philosophy of serving people--particularly people presently disenfranchised from "the system" (both black and white) that has carried over to the CIP design and implementation. The CIP approach of caring, providing a supportive context, providing a realistic perspective in which interns operate, "dealing with the whole intern," maintaining high expectations both personally and academically, and treating interns as individuals and adults is a true embodiment of OIC's ideological/philosophical orientation.

> Failure is seen by program staff as a function of social and economic factors, while blame is

> not theirs, the responsibility for success is.
> (Gibboney Associates, 1977, p. 182)

Figure 7 summarizes the interrelationship between the core and supporting components discussed above while Figure 8 summarizes ideological components. Figure 9 provides an overall perspective on subsystem and component interrelationships.

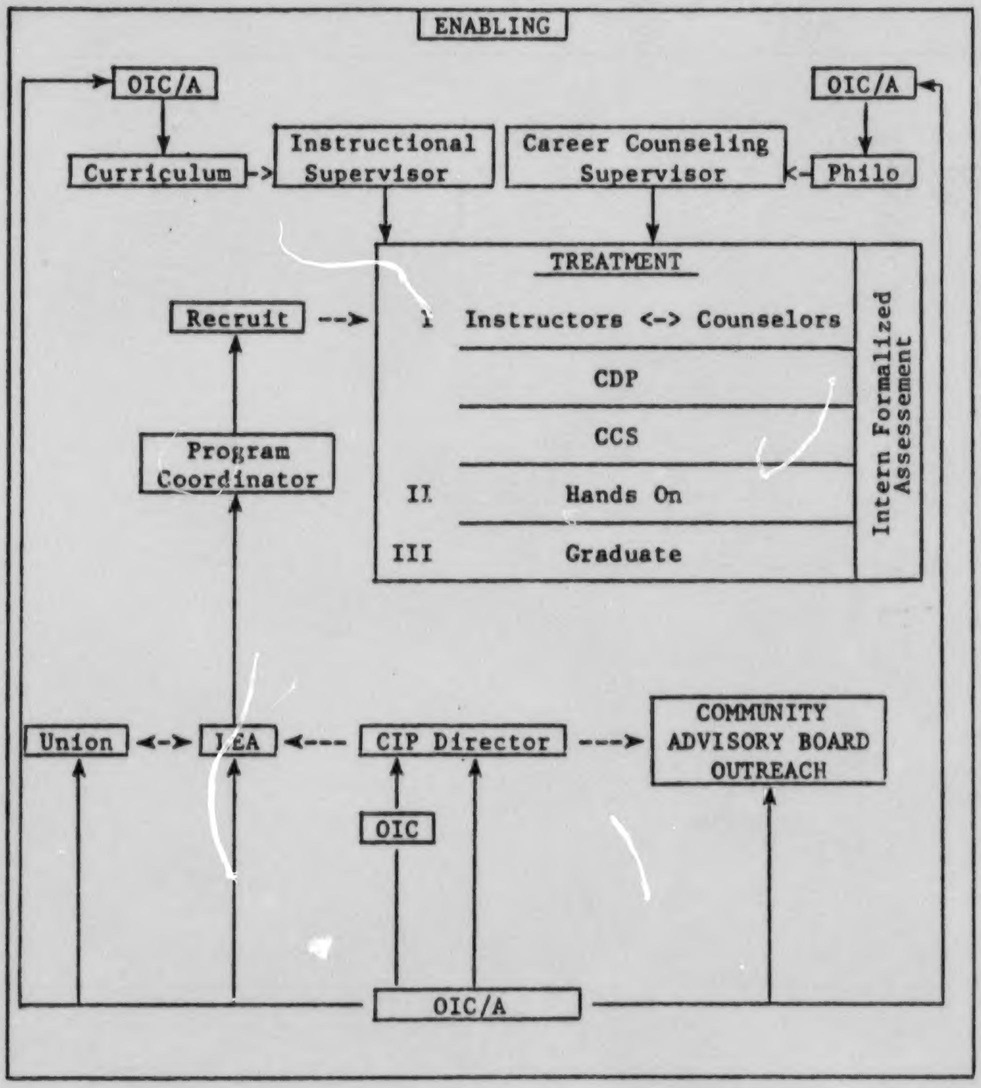
ENABLING
OIC/A
OIC/A
Curriculum
Instructional Supervisor
Career Counseling Supervisor
Philo
TREATMENT
I Instructors <-> Counselors
CDP
CCS
II Hands On
III Graduate
Intern Formalized Assessement
Recruit
Program Coordinator
Union
LEA
CIP Director
COMMUNITY ADVISORY BOARD OUTREACH
OIC
OIC/A

Figure 7. Interrelationships between Core, Supporting and Ideological Components

Extension of OIC/A Philosophy and Ideological Orientation	Examples of how philosophy translates into program practices
CIP PHILOSOPHY	CIP PRACTICE (Examples)
Caring about interns	Individualized instruction Extensive counseling Commenting on new shoes High expectations
Providing a supportive context for interns	Listen to what interns say Provide almost as many counselors as instructors Disposition conferences Recruit qualified staff
Providing a realistic perspective	CDP Intern formalized assessment Maintenance System Fused curriculum Hands-on Responsible for one's own actions
Dealing with the whole intern	Disposition conference Academic and personal life Daily interaction Attention to apparel, language, walk and hygiene Home visits, phone calls
Maintaining high expectations of interns--personally and academically	Instructors demand completed assignments (on-time) Counselor insists stick with CDP (unless inappropriate) Politeness and courtesy emphasized Group counseling assemblies Maintenance system, field trips

Figure 8. Ideological components of the CIP, based on OIC/A work ethic ideology (self-help or "we help ourselves") and humanistic philosophy (serve-the-whole-person concept)

CIP PHILOSOPHY	CIP PRACTICE (Examples)
Treating interns as (young) adults	Responsibility for own actions emphasized
	Major role in planning future
	Respect intern experience and social responsibilities
	Instructor-intern relationship used as model for future employment roles
	CDP foster responsibility
	Maintenance system reinforce behavior patterns
Treat interns as individuals	Intracultural diversity emphasized
	Individual personalities, leaders
	Some not want "wrong ground"
	Racial and academic discrimination of past (thought of as a homogeneous group
	Individualized instruction
	Personal counseling
	Career developer secures Hands-on regarding intern interest
	Staff displays individual personal concern

Figure 8. (continued)

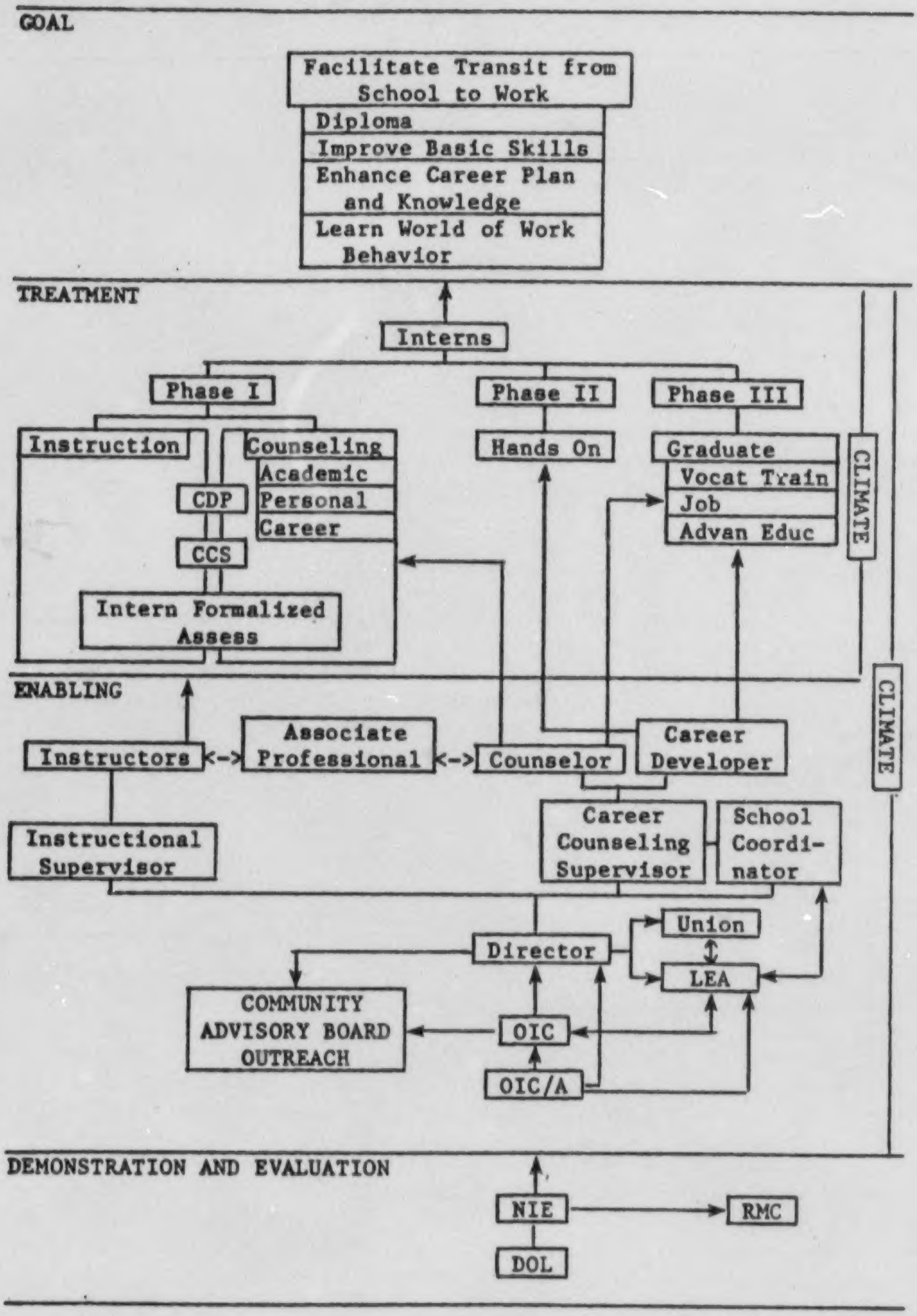
GOAL
Facilitate Transit from School to Work
Diploma
Improve Basic Skills
Enhance Career Plan and Knowledge
Learn World of Work Behavior
TREATMENT
Interns
Phase I
Phase II
Phase III
Instruction
Counseling
Academic
Personal
Career
CDP
CCS
Intern Formalized Assess
Hands On
Graduate
Vocat Train
Job
Advan Educ
CLIMATE
ENABLING
Instructors
Associate Professional
Counselor
Career Developer
Instructional Supervisor
Career Counseling Supervisor
School Coordi-nator
Director
Union
LEA
COMMUNITY ADVISORY BOARD OUTREACH
OIC
OIC/A
CLIMATE
DEMONSTRATION AND EVALUATION
NIE
RMC
DOL

Figure 9. Overall perspective on CIP subsystem and component information.

VIII. ETHOS AND INTERRELATIONSHIPS: "TREATMENTS" AND "OUTCOMES"

Ethos is the fundamental values or spirit of a group that distinguishes it from other groups. One of the objectives of the CIP replication effort was to reproduce the character of the Philadelphia site--according to the spirit not the letter of the model.

Because the climate at each site offers a useful indication of the site's ability to recreate the ethos of the prototype climate, detailed site-by-site analyses of the program climates were undertaken in March 1979). These analyses served to document the basic functional interrelationships of the program components and intern-staff interaction patterns. These patterns and interrelationships, in turn, help identify many of the significant manifest outcomes of the core, support, and ideological components of the program as well as outcomes due to extrinsic factors.

The program climates were re-examined in August 1979 and led to new insights regarding relationships between outcomes and program components as between outcomes and significant extrinsic factors. A second reason for undertaking to update of the program climate analysis was to examine the cyclical nature of the program in its developmental stages. (There are many fluctuations in program climate that correspond to subcycles in the program operation, e.g., new cohorts of interns entering the program, seasonal differences and various factors both intrinsic and extrinsic to the program.)

A brief sketch of some of the significant relationships between various levels of "treatments" and corresponding "outcomes" is presented below following each program climate description. The purpose of these sketches is to translate the descriptions into the language of treatment and outcome relationships that characterize program operations. The interrelationships have been classified according to the following categories: adaptive relationships intrinsic to program operation, adaptive relationships extrinsic to program operation, maladaptive relationships intrinsic to program operation, and maladaptive relationships extrinsic to program operations. The first two categories involve relationships that have constructively contributed to program operation--one from within and one from outside sources. The second two categories involve relationships that have destructively affected program operation--one from within and one from outside sources. All of these categories of interrelationships require examination in order to fully understand the dynamics of program operations at each site. Dominant relationships that exist across sites are summarized in the conclusion of the study.

There are many apparent relationships between specific program components, features, or traits and specific outcomes on various levels. None of these relationships, however, exists in a vacuum. Specific "treatments" can be identified as one of the most significant factors contributing to a specific outcome; however, the effect of a specific treatment is dependent upon the total configuration of the variables in the environment. For example, counseling in a small supportive environment where most of the staff are aware of the intern's personal and academic problems is totally different from counseling a student in the overcrowded urban high school where "no one knows anyone" except "the friends you hang out with and a few teachers."

As discussed earlier, the premise underlying the analysis presented here is that the program is a total sociocultural system within which all components are functionally integrated. The various relationships discussed following each site description are used only to highlight the significance of various components and the outcomes to which they contribute. The same components might be associated with different outcomes in a different sociocultural system or program context.

Site A

The climate at Site A approximated many of the features described in the idealized model of the program. Instructors employed the individualized approach with interns working on various assignments at their own pace and receiving frequent tutoring. Instructors were periodically observed attempting to relate their subject matter to career and "real life" situations. Math class used advertisements in newspapers to conduct cost comparisons of various products and to figure out when a discount or sale was really a bargain or just a gimmick.

A major problem detracting from the program climate and directly contributing to higher rates of intern absenteeism was the absence or excessive and repeated late arrival of several instructors and counselors. This situation affected staff moral because many individuals appeared "to get away with it" without being penalized. Staff members complained of "inconsistent messages" and blamed the problem on "weak management" and poor communications from administration to staff. Many staff members felt frustrated in their attempts to do their job when requests were bottlenecked at administrative levels of both the CIP and the OIC.

Counselors described their typical day as "hectic, with lots of discipline, documentation, counseling sessions, telephone calls to parents, and meetings with staff." In their opinion, the CIP is a "program that recognizes barriers to learning that are not academic." They described the interns as youth with "non-traditional problems," including cases of pregnancy, housing problems, court appointments, and need for welfare aid. In addition to academic and career counseling, interns receive of critical auxiliary services at the CIP, such as arranging for babysitting (approximately 10% of the interns are single mothers), accompanying interns to juvenile court to report on their current progress, and finding part-time employment for them since many interns need spending money for clothing and transportation.

Substantial amounts of counselor effort went into motivating interns to attend classes on time. While effecting behavioral change in this area is slow, given the fact that many interns come to the CIP "completely turned off by school," counselors stated that interns were making progress and that "interns who missed two classes a day had improved to a ten-minute tardiness." Much time was also spent with interns going over their personal files and transcripts. In the opinion of one counselor, this process is critical because "some students have never had information given to them, shared with them or [they] have never been made aware of time frames and planning." In referring to her counselor, an intern who "had been kicked out of school," commented: "She is really sweet. Helps me a lot with real problems and school problems. If I have trouble getting up, she'll call me up before it's too late." Another intern said: "Counselors are nice. My counselor has helped me get a very good job at _____. I'll be assistant secretary." For some interns, staff concern for their personal situations provided an important element in their lives. For their part, counselors reported that "with those students [with whom] we have been successful, it has taken a great deal of one-to-one meetings, with one counselor and also with a career developer."

Instructors tended to emphasize academic concerns and to refer interns to counselors as soon as they detected personal problems. The weekly disposition conferences contributed a great deal toward implementing a "whole person" approach by allowing input from all segments of the staff regarding the intern's academic and personal life.

Interns reported as one of the most important features of the program, the personalized approach they received from most instructors and being allowed to proceed at their own pace. They also mentioned the importance of the constant feedback they received from both instructors and counselors about their on-going academic progress.

In most cases, the CIP helped the interns by giving them special attention. Interns believed CIP has helped them, as one intern explained:

> At the CIP I have also learned how to control my temper. Mary [counselor] and Debbie [instructor] have helped me, sometimes in class, sometimes out. If I feel pretty bad they will take time out with me. That's good. I came with zero credits to the CIP. Now I have eleven.

In other cases, self-directed interns reported the CIP helped them by providing a setting where they can learn. A very articulate intern described his former educational system and personal experience at the CIP in the following manner:

> My former high school was not a pleasant place. The attitude and environment was not conducive to learning as opposed to being exposed to juvenile and delinquent elements. The learning experience was hampered by the amount of illegal experience. You had a lot of coercement, peer pressure. The incentive for not going to school was a lot more pleasurable in many cases.
>
> I knew a long time ago about the GED but I wanted a high school diploma. The CIP is helping me attain my goals plus a few things I didn't expect. My attendance is good. I turn in my homework. I am not disrespectful. I take my books home. My field of endeavor is already chosen. I want to go into business administration or management. I'll be graduating next March."

Staff members also made use of their function as role models to assist interns. Instructors and counselors reported that the interns "feel more comfortable with their problems" when they know that staff members have faced similar problems at school or in their lives. Therefore, in the CCS class, staff members discussed their own personal experiences and problems in order to gain the interns' confidence.

Support was given to the interns not only affectively, as described above, but also financially. In an ingenious instance of federal programs helping one another, many CIP interns (approximately one-third) also participated in the Youth Work Program and the Youth Incentive Entitlement Training Program, which provided income for the interns. Interns were also recipients of services normally granted by the public high schools, such as free lunches and transportation.

While CIP staff members had some real dissatisfaction with their salaries, which were described as "much lower" than those in the LEA, they conveyed a feeling of commitment to the program and felt that they are being successful. Despite this and other manifestations of the "austerity budget," most of them were very happy to work at the CIP and made comments such as "I have found myself in here"; "I'm anticipating the CIP really to be great." A counselor said:

> We have graduated people. We have placed them in careers and in college. We have taken people who would have done nothing with their lives and redirected them.

An instructor noted with enthusiasm:

> There is the case of this girl who attended three quarters at the CIP and got no credit. Then at the fourth quarter she's attending all classes and getting all A's.

Much of the supportive and encouraging climate present at the CIP was made possible by the small size of the program. It had an enrollment of about 100 and class sizes were kept under 20. Both interns and staff members were aware that the small size of the program made a difference. An instructor observed: "I'd hope that they would never have to have CIPs in places larger than this. Kids pick up a kind of surrogate family here."

While a supportive climate pervaded the CIP, rules governing attendance and dress did not appear to be vigorously enforced. Tardiness during the first period when the CCS is offered was severe. It was also quite noticeable in other classes. Attendance was also a problem, averaging around 60% but lower on Fridays. Regarding discipline, the attitudes of teachers and counselors did not appear consensual: some were annoyed at the interns' behavior and enforced some conduct and dress rules on their own; others took a laissez-faire approach. Expressing dissatisfaction in this regard, one counselor said, "Our problem is that we haven't been too effective in discipline. The inability to implement the intern's code of conduct, for instance. You have to get support all the way down the line. It's important to be consistent with our policy."

Site A had a very active intern council, which met weekly and was attended by one member of the CIP's Advisory Committee. Its most important agenda, at the last time the CIP was observed, was to deal with the problems of attendance, class cutting, and the dress code. This concern was a clear indication of how older interns at the CIP try to socialize new interns to the expected norms.

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operations

1. intensive counseling according to the whole person concept (inside and outside the program) enhanced intern coping strategies, i.e., controlling one's temper, and contributed to regular attendance patterns.

2. providing a supportive context contributed to interns studying, selecting a career, and earning a diploma, according to interns and staff members.

3. providing auxiliary services, e.g., day care service, enabled interns with children to attend the CIP on a regular basis.

4. existence of the program enabled interns to enter careers and college.

Maladaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. absence of enforced rules regarding lateness and apparel, for example, contributed to repeated intern tardiness (often leading to absences) and maladaptive self-presentation skills, e.g., inappropriate clothing for "world of work" culture.

2. absence or inconsistent use of the maintenance system was periodically interpreted as a form of "not caring." The validity of the intern's interpretation was not important. Their perception or interpretation contributed to the lack of motivation responsible for their many absences.

3. inadequate administrative support served to "bottleneck" necessary requests (e.g., for materials).

4. "weak" management contributed to staff absences which led, in turn, to intern absences. Staff were frustrated (some were job hunting on office time) and maintained irregular attendance patterns. Interns who came to see specific personalities lost interest in attending if their "teacher" was not present.

5. "loyal" staff grew increasingly frustrated as they watched the other group operate with impunity.

6. an "austerity budget" that made no provisions for cost of living, loyalty, or merit raises encouraged "resume passing" among staff members.

Site B

Program climate. The climate in Site B reflected many of the characteristics of the CIP model. Staff members were, on the whole, dedicated to the CIP approach and to helping interns. The positive attitudes of the staff were reflected in a pervasive concern for improving the program. Staff members freely expressed their enthusiasm about working in the CIP and their high hopes for its success.

Individualized pacing and personal attention were evident in each classroom. Instruction was varied in practically all reading, language arts, math, social studies and elective classes and included use of didactics, lecturing, small group instruction, and individual assignments. Science instruction was limited to whole group instruction because a science instructor could not be recruited. Potential science instructors appeared to be lured away by the higher paying positions in industry or the public schools. Interns were observed enthusiastically participating in role playing, brainstorming, and problem-solving activities in CCS classes.

The staff perceived the director as a leader with "strong management" skills able to make decisions on their requests regarding program operation (even though they may have disagreed with some of his decisions). The LEAs' politics did not allow him to recruit potential interns from the immediate area. He had to exercise great skill in dealing with parents in the community who threatened to boycott the program. They are aware of the difficulties he encountered regarding LEA politics and respected his ability to "juggle so calmly on a tightwire." Many of the staff members considered his techniques "dictatorial"; however, they still indicated a respect for his abilities. Interns, in small groups, often joked about the director, characterizing him as a dictator, but these same interns were observed frequenting his "open door" office regularly throughout the day on their own initiative to talk or just say "hi." Interns were also seen in and out of the middle management offices--for official and unofficial personal reasons.

During a program disco, outside crashers from a local school came in and "tried to rip off some typewriters." The interns pointed the crashers out to the career counseling supervisor without prompting or any hesitation. An intern who recognized one of the students immediately identified the individual and the individual's school. These actions are demonstrations of the intern sense of loyalty to the program. When an instructor's wallet was stolen the interns found the "culprit" who had transferred back to the feeder high school and convinced her to return the wallet and apologize.

The gangs in the area periodically erected obstacles for interns to attend the program. The director of one program reported:

> They were ready to beat him [an intern] up [in retaliation]. They hung around here for awhile. For about two weeks. We were helping this guy go through all kinds of places. Passing through the church door, to the other side of the street.

Another example of the obstacles gangs erected for interns concerns "turf" problems. The same director explains his solution to the problem.

> We have street guards, the street guards have to bring these kids to the corner and they have to cross quickly in order to come to this side. The Mighty _____ live on _____ and _____; [it's] their territory and in order for anybody to come here on the _____ bus, they get off on _____ and _____, they have to cross _____ [their turf].

Staff members' interactions with interns reflected the positive climate that had been attained in Site B. They took an active role in helping the interns with serious problems in their personal lives, problems that might otherwise have interfered with their studies. One intern discussed how the director and the career counseling supervisor had helped him in the past.

> Mr. _____, (director) he's an alright man. He's understanding, you know...some of us think he's a real pissed-off man, you know. Excuse my French. Some of us say he's like that but I can say for myself he's alright because he helped me out of a number of predicaments I was in myself. Like a young man that used to be attending this school [CIP] he was givin' me some hassles. Mr. _____

> sat down and me and the gentleman we talked it out instead of actually--avoided a fight or more dangerous. It was on. He had snatched a medallion of mine and it was gold. My grandmother had just bought it for me and I had bought the chain so that [pissed] me off. He was up here looking for me. I was looking for him. Gun gun, bullet bullet.
>
> He was down. Mr _____ [counseling supervisor] he arranged with _____ [the other young man], he asked [him] like a man to come up and face me. They sat us down and asked us not to have no violence. We talked. They said talk is a way of communicating among yourself if you have the speakage. If you don't have that speakage then there is such a thing called sign language of course and you can use that as a way of communication. And to touch, that's more of a way of sayin' "he's alright with me." We got along with that.

The concern of the counselors was also expressed through discussions with interns.

> Mr. _____ [the counselor] he's an on man. He's real little...for a little man I didn't expect so much out of him. I had certain family problems that would bother me and he told me there were ways you can get around this from a sit-down with your mother. He says, "you are twenty years old and you still out here, you got your mind goin' in circles. You don't quite know what you want to do yet an' still you got the power within you, because we can just look at you and see the progression you makin' on your reading tests and stuff."

Interns were also held accountable for meeting behavioral norms regarding dress; for instance, interns were sent home for wearing tennis shoes or hats in school. Periodically interns would test the policy by wearing their sneakers because "they want to be told to take them off--they want the attention." Those just seeking attention, testing the policy, were recognizable because they usually had their regular shoes in their lockers. Interns were also held accountable for absences or tardiness and getting assignments in on time. The manner in which the enforcement was carried out reflected caring and concern, but also firmness. Interns' reactions to staff members' rule enforcement showed acceptance and understanding. For instance, concerning the dress code, one intern remarked:

> I think they are right you know. It's a hassle but you know somebody got to go on a job interview. They're not going to go to work and get that job wearing sneakers and no scarf on their head..

Counselors sometimes had interns sign contracts in order to impress on them their responsibilities. Staff members from the janitor to the director were responsive to the interns' needs. Interns could be observed visiting and talking with the director on a regular basis. The janitor was also concerned about interns:

> I talk with the kids. They respect me and they don't dirty the floor up too bad.... But I tell them, "you get this education unless you want to be doin' like me" and they listen, most of 'em, they listen.

Site B experienced some temporary strain between the old interns and the new interns.

> The old students they did have a little conflict about us.... Some of the older students [first cohort] that were here already figured probably they wouldn't get the attention they got...but they showed us like, hey, what things we supposed to do when we get here because they weren't gonna stay here all the time.... They know they ain't gonna be here forever, they gonna have to go sooner or later. So since they were the first interns here and we comin' in as the second interns, they just cutting down the heavier ground, the light grass.

One of the strongest indications of the interns' positive feelings about the CIP in Site B was found in the manner they characterize the site.

> We are all together here as one body and all one group. We all is friends together. We're mostly like family here... It's like our own little community here you know.

The same intern remarked on one consequence of the CIP's small size.

> If I have a conflict with my sister she come out and she tell me blah, blah, blah, blah, and well I say "if you don't understand what I'm sayin' I'm sorry" you know because it doesn't hurt to say sorry unless you in the right. In [the public high school] I wouldn't of had to say sorry to nobody. There's too many of them in there to say sorry. [At CIP] either you gonna see them somewhere in the hallway or in class. One of these days they're gonna be in your class, if they're not in your class you're gonna meet them in the lunchroom, meet them at the meetings or the seminars or somethin'.

Many interns commented on the positive atmosphere of the CIP. Regarding the packets, one intern commented:

> It's a lot easier, it's a whole lot easier.... You can carry them around like a whole lot of notes in your notebook plus the fact you already have the answers on it. After you read your packet you do the answers on them; if you have to inspect your notes again you just take the same packet as in the class, instead of openin' up the book, finding a section and rippin' the pages out and puttin' the pages back in. That's the situation around here and it gives us a chance to go over ourselves to see what we're doing; if we don't like it we can find a little research on it. It gives us a chance to have better understanding of our homework.

The interns also perceived the sincerity of their instructors, both as instructors and as human beings.

> Before they give us the packets they go through the course of research, researching what they're doin'...and then they hand it to us and if anything is wrong they know it's wrong. They showin' us that teachers can make mistakes. Cause they showin' us they're more human than just robots. That's what makes this system of this school more flexible.

Most frequently, interns spoke about the CIP in terms of its contrast to their former schools, which they have described as cesspools. Thirty to forty students in a class sitting on the desks, "cutting up" in class, mugging teachers in the classrooms and stairwells, the smell of marijuana permeating the hallways, guards in the corridors, and identification cards and passes to go into the building and from one part of the building to another are typical characteristics the interns mentioned about their former schools. The major newspaper in the area reported over a hundred unemployed teachers preferred unemployment to teaching in the schools, citing physical danger to their persons as the single greatest reason for their stance. Most students coming from these schools bitterly complained about their treatment in their former high school:

> I had 21 credits but [the high school] said I only had 17, according to the computer that they had. The grades they put down. So that messed me around.
>
> I'm gonna tell you somethin': if you missed somethin' you gonna miss out on this certain thing and a test come up and BOOM.
>
> The worst thing is your friends comes up to you when you're gettin' up to go to class and says "Hey man, ya wanta get high." What are ya gonna do? So you go with them and you start cutting the classes and the next thing I knew I wasn't in school no more. I'd come to school every morning, but I wouldn't go into the building. I'd just be out there smokin' that herb and hangin' out.

One intern crystalized the interns' sentiments by simply stating: "It's a whole lot better" than the public high school. Interns were internalizing the CIP's world-of-work norms about attendance, dress, and other issues, and demonstrated it in various ways. A poignant illustration of this occurred during the first site visit. A group of interns was in an uproar, protesting vehemently about a counselor who was coming to work wearing a scarf on her head. The interns had already internalized the negative value associated with this "taboo" behavior and "came down" on the counselor for breaking the rules. Additional manifestations or outcroppings of interns' positive feelings about the CIP included: a high rate of attendance in school (83%) and at school functions such as dances; existence of a functioning student council; the ease interns display in talking and joking with the staff; the absence of graffiti on the walls; the absence of profanity in the building; the absence of smoking or loitering in the halls; and the courtesy and politeness demonstrated by interns with staff members and other interns alike.

The overall climate of the program was clearly supportive. Establishing this climate was no simple task given the community environment. The interns expressed a strong affiliation with the program and the staff recognized and addressed the interns' need to receive attention, "attention that some of them just aren't getting from home."

The supportive attitudes expressed toward the interns ran through all levels of the program. One secretary remarked:

> Sometimes you have to shoo them away, back to their classes...they'll just keep talkin' and playing with things, you know, that they're not supposed to. Not because they're bad. They're good kids, young adults.... They just want the attention, they want somebody to show them, you know, that they care.

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. counseling interns according to the whole-person concept (getting involved in interns' lives when it affects their participation in the program) contributed to interns "sticking with the program."

2. maintaining high expectations in the classroom and outside the classroom and manipulating interns when necessary contributed to a regular (high) attendance pattern for various interns (83% for the entire site).

3. enforcement of the maintenance system contributed to intern internalization of "world of work" norms and provided many interns with the attention they desired (which in turn kept them coming).

4. enforcement of the maintenance system was also directly responsible for the absence of profanity, smoking in class or hallways, and loitering.

5. the use of contracts and various teaching devices contributed to a greater understanding and sense of responsibility on the part of the intern.

6. all staff including the janitor serving as role models and understanding the philosophy and function of the program contributed to increased intern motivation to attend regularly and pursue studies.

7. the small size of the program produced a community-like atmosphere that forced many interns to exercise common courtesies not required at their former high school.

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8. the use of packets contributed to a better understanding of homework.

9. the openness and sincerity, etc., of instructors helped produce a school climate that was perceived as human and flexible; which kept interns coming and willing to work.

10. strong management, e.g., capable of gathering resources and making decisions about activities requiring immediate action, served to maintain operation of the core program.

11. strong management procedures, although perceived as dictatorial, produced a feeling of group membership and "belonging" among interns.

12. middle management's routine use of the whole-person concept in their interactions with interns was perceived as caring by interns (which in turn contributed to their attendance).

Adaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

1. outsiders crashing a CIP disco elicited and reinforced a strong program affiliation that was demonstrated when interns identified the outsiders to the career counseling supervisor.

2. "break-ins" similarly creates a "we/they" dichotomy and reinforced a strong sense of program affiliation and loyalty.

Maladaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. strong management procedures were perceived as dictatorial and produced friction between the director and some staff members.

Maladaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

1. LEA politics created a situation in which the CIP was unable to recruit potential interns from the community in which it was located. Because the program was not available to them, a few community members threatened to picket the building. This, in turn, made dealing with the community an extremely delicate and time consuming operation.

2. gangs in the immediate vicinity of the program periodically erected obstacles for interns to attend the program (turf problems--territorial imperatives).

Site C

Program climate. Site C has had difficulty replicating the CIP climate. RMC's initial visit to the site revealed that staff members had lost much of the enthusiasm they had immediately after being trained by OIC/A. Staff attributed their loss of enthusiasm in part to the lack of cooperation and delays in negotiations with the school board and union.

Instruction in the academic subjects was conducted primarily in a traditional manner, e.g., lecturing, large group instruction. Learning packets and individual diagnosis, small group and individualized instruction, were periodically observed. With few exceptions, however, they merely supplemented the more traditional approach.

A few classes were observed in which interns worked exclusively with learning packets and at their own pace. The packets had been modified to eliminate inappropriate content or had been developed by Site C staff members. Instructors who used the packets exclusively expressed the opinion that their interns were not taking their learning seriously. In a few classes texts and workbooks were used to supplement the packets. Role playing was also observed in a few instances.

The CCS classes were taught by teams of counselors, instructors, and career developers who used the learning packets. Role playing and problem solving activities related to "self-awareness and careers" were incorporated into CCS instruction. Interns were taken on a number of field trips related to careers and academics, (e.g., neighboring colleges and vocational schools) as well as to cultural enrichment. Resource persons visited the CCS classes to share information about their careers and the world of work.

The second visit to Site C revealed a greater shift towards traditional classroom methods with much of the instruction being teacher-centered. Instructors complained about not being able to individualize because of the increased number of interns. The rooms on the top floor were crowded with approximately 10 interns in a class. This was due as much to the small room sizes as to the number of interns. In fact, several features of the building were not conducive to learning or to "satisfactory" staff communication according to a majority of staff members. Some teachers are on the third floor and never see anyone (except the interns) throughout the entire day.

Only one instructor was still conducting individualized instruction using the packets. This instructor had previously used the packets exclusively, but had recently started supplementing them with other materials. He commented that some of his interns thought "this way of learning was boring," but that the content was good. On the other hand, most of his interns reported that the packets were interesting but that their content was inappropriate.

The individualized counseling program for the third cohort was not underway during the last site visit because of enormous growth in the program's student population. In addition, the demanding recruitment efforts that preceded the intake brought program operations to a "screeching halt." When recruitment was completed, additional time was borrowed from regular program activities to prepare for the incoming cohort. Plans were being made, however, to schedule interns for entry interviews with counselors and career developers.

Individualized counseling had taken place on a regular basis for the second cohort of interns until third-cohort recruitment pressures mounted. Counselors followed up on interns who were absent or late, and a number of social services were found for interns who needed them. After school jobs, for example, had been arranged for interns who needed to work.

The second visit also revealed further diminishing of staff enthusiasm and some active discontent that were reportedly related to dissatisfaction with the CIP administration and changes in staff roles that had recently been made. The majority of staff members at Site C expressed a need for greater administrative autonomy for the program. One group suggested that the director's lack of authority to hire and fire staff was the basis for many of the difficulties at the site. Another group referred to a lack of management skills as the source of the administration's problems. In addition, a few members of the staff--both black and white--expressed some discomfort working under the direction of a black man. On the other hand, "race issues have been used to obfuscate real inadequacies," and individuals were on "power trips," according to a reliable ex-staff member. Grievances about issues ranging from insufficient supplies to promised raises that never materialized were rarely addressed, according to several individuals. Resentment occasionally surfaced between the two LEA-employed instructors and the rest of the CIP staff regarding salary differences, fringe benefits, working hours, and attitudes. Inadequate communication among staff members made it extremely difficult for some individuals to function efficiently in their roles.

A fear that the funding agencies would terminate the program when recruitment goals were missed and internal strife was rampant, contributed to tension and frustration among the staff. One instructor echoed the sentiments of the majority of the staff: "It's hard to wake up in the morning not knowing if your job will even be there from day to day." He added that the local OIC has placed pressure on staff to "shape up or ship out," leading to an atmosphere where "everyone is minding everyone else's business." In fact, many individuals were observed to spend an inordinate amount of time recording voluminous notes about each other "to cover themselves." This procedure was referred to as "documentation" by the local OIC and was viewed as an important step in the termination of staff. There were also a few individuals "waiting in the wings," convinced of their ability to assume the administrative roles in the program.

The effects of these problems trickle down to the interns. Many interns were given schedules without sufficient regard for the courses they required for graduation. Frustrated, two interns commented: "I'm bein' ripped off again. They're doin' the same thing to me as _____ (the high school)."

A few instructors discouraged interns from pursuing their career interests without suggesting alternatives. One instructor acquired from the LEA commented: "It's irresponsible what they're doing, counseling them all to college. Take _____, she wanted to go into computer science. The first thing I say is what's her background. It takes math and she hasn't got it.... There are only three students in the whole school that are college material."

The lack of leadership and communication, and the fear and frustration among the staff were reflected in intern behavior. High absenteeism (approximately 40%), periodic altercations, derogatory graffiti on lavatory walls, smoking on the stairs and in the corridors, and other behaviors characteristic of the neighborhood high school sporadically occurre at the site.

Staff attitudes towards the goals of the CIP and staff commitment to helping interns--as opposed to staff feelings about administration of the program--remained generally positive. On both site visits, dedication to treating interns as "whole persons," helping them attain their high school diplomas, and assisting them develop career awareness was expressed--"in spite of it all." The generally positive attitudes toward program goals and interns of most of the staff were illustrated by the following remarks:

> They [the interns] are what make it all worthwhile.
>
> I have a warm spot for them.
>
> Our interest in the interns is the common denominator.

The interns were keenly aware of many of the program's problems. However, they remained optimistic and offered significant insights into solving the kinds of problems they perceived.

> See they got to know who is serious about this and whoever is not. There are a lot of those that ain't serious about it. When you find the ones that are not serious about themselves you gotta get them out, cause they'll turn the crowd around. They'll turn the crowd around, you understand what I'm sayin'? Bullcracking around this, that, the the other thing. Interrupting the class. It really bothers the people that are really serious about bein' here.... That's what they be tryin' to get away from.... You see a friend everyday, he say "what's happening man, oh, man, oh, let's get high," and it sounds good. It sounds good. I think they should just sit down and talk about it and try to separate the immature students from the mature ones. Deal with it like that instead of dealin' with everybody as a whole. It might take a little more time, you know, and make them earn their salaries more, but it's supposed to be for the students' benefit.

The vast majority of interns, moreover, found the site to be "a lot better" than their old high school, regardless of the evident problems that existed.

> It's the only program you can deal with. Twenty-two weeks ain't much time. You just got to get down to it.
>
> They check out and see where your mind is at, you know. See where your head is at. Try to see where your head is at...and they give you a lotta advice. Everybody is interested, you know.... They can deal with people now better than the public schools, 'cause some of them have been where we going and where we are trying to get to. So they can deal with us better. It's alright.
>
> I think CIP is alright, you get more freedom.
>
> If this place was to close there is no way I'm tellin' you, ain't no way I'd be goin' back to

> the high school. I'd be just hangin' out again, gettin' back with _____ and _____ and gettin' back into my old ways, you know.
>
> It's a lot different. Less students in the class, you know.... They're not on your back. Work at your own pace and all this. It's a lot better.

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. dedication to the whole person concept "in spite of it all" resulted in interns perceiving the program as "a lot better" than their old high school regardless of the problems.
2. the brevity of the term, according to a few interns, directly motivated them to "get down to it."
3. counseling according to the whole person concept contributed to interns understanding their problems and recognizing steps to remedy them.
4. the existence of the program has prevented a number of interns from "just hangin' out" and "getting back into my old ways."

Maladaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. perceived "weak administrative skills" and insufficient administrative autonomy (to hire and fire staff) contributed to staff indifference to administrative demands and factionalism between nonsupporters and "loyalists".
2. factionalism, "power trips" and the use of racial issues were used to obfuscate real professional inadequacies among staff members.
3. local OIC pressures to "shape up or ship out" and individuals waiting in the wings for new positions to open up contributed to "everyone minding everyone's business."
4. staff frustration and tension coupled with a lack of administrative autonomy contributed to staff neglect in establishing course schedules that reflected interns' requirements for graduation--this in turn contributed to high rates of intern absenteeism.
5. the lack of a consistently enforced maintenance system, e.g., school rules and regulations, directly contributed

to intern "bullcracking in class," high absenteeism, periodic altercations, graffiti on the bathroom walls and smoking and loitering in the hallways.

Maladaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

1. initial lack of cooperation and delays with school boards and unions diminished staff enthusiasm; manifestations of the lowered morale were frequently interpreted by interns as a form of "not caring," which affected attendance.

2. LEA negotiations required employment of LEA instructors. Those hired had non-supportive attitudes and low expectations of interns that significantly affected their morale and attendance.

3. the difference in pay scales, fringe benefits and number of paid holidays between CIP and LEA personnel contributed to the already present factionalism.

4. fear of program termination significantly contributed to the tension, frustration, and eventual resignation of staff members, while pressures for recruitment to "get the numbers" for treatment and control groups effectively shut down program operations (as in all sites).

Site D

Program climate. Site D has recovered from a debilitating political conflict within the program. The staff was divided into factions. The instructional supervisor was perceived by many as "vindictive" and "after the director's role." The director isolated herself from the staff, and the staff felt harassed and frustrated because they had no means of presenting their grievances if they were not in the good graces of the administration. Discussing program problems with the OIC Executive Director or the CIP director was either considered a ploy to pit administrators against each other or was regarded as "not going through proper channels."

Because the situation so disrupted program operations, the director and instructional supervisor were eventually fire. Subsequently, a disagreement developed between OIC/A and the local OIC as to who would be the new director. The OIC/A-favored candidate was selected for the position, and the staff have indicated their satisfaction with this choice. The change in the directorship has produced a significant difference, according to all staff members. "It's like a great burden has been lifted from us all. We talk to each other now, have you noticed? [The acting instructional supervisor and the instructional staff] understand each other, so therefore more things get done as opposed to not doing something to get back at somebody."

Communication problems have been largely resolved as a result of the leadership changes. In the past, individuals from one faction would send a messenger to deliver a communication or they would not communicate at all. This severely affected the working relationships within the staff because "work just couldn't be done, it's as simple as that." This period also took its toll on staff morale and affected the interns. Attendance fell to 50% or less. Theft and discipline became problems.

Recovery from the earlier devisiveness was a very slow process. Interns were regularly reminded of the rules about attendance and tardiness, but uniform enforcement of the rules was still lacking as of the last site visit. The attendance rate had risen to 70-75%. On the other hand, interns were observed regularly, coming in a half hour late. The staff members were taking turns patrolling the halls to "get them back in class."

Classes have been small (15-20) and instruction individualized since Site D began operating. The attention interns receive is highly individualized, and is characterized by independent study with teacher supervision and tutoring. Interns were observed working at a pace commensurate with their ability, though instructors specified minimum amounts of work to be completed in order to earn credits for the term. Group assignments and individual presentations were observed. Generally, most instruction was conducted on a one-to-one basis, with the instructor approaching individual students to find out how they were doing and what concepts or explanations remained unclear. At this time, limited use was made of other instructional strategies such as role playing and problem solving.

All instructors had borrowed the learning packet concept. They had made many of their own packets by selecting various descriptions or explanations from books and following them with sets of questions about the text. These materials were reproduced and given to each student. In addition to these materials, many instructors used textbooks selected from the lists approved by the LEA. Due to their limited numbers, books could only be used on-site; interns were rarely allowed to take them home.

The CCS was being taught using a team teaching approach. Instructors relied heavily on OIC/A-developed learning packets and employed an eclectic approach that included independent reading, group discussion, oral presentation by both interns and outside speakers, and field trips to several firms and other places in the community. The CCS classes were large due to several staff positions remaining unfilled. There were about 35 interns in each of the four CCS sessions--but interns did not complain about the size of the classes.

The program had only one counselor and one career developer at the time of the second site visit. Earlier problems had influenced the decisions of others to leave. In addition, there were many factory recruitment and training programs competing for counselors and offering higher salaries. The shortage of personnel made the process of individualized counseling very difficult, although several interns reported having received invaluable help from their counselors even during the most difficult time.

The only counselor employed at the time of RMC's second visit devoted most of her time to scheduling interns into classes. The career developer was obviously overburdened with a workload that included teaching two CCS groups, developing community resources for forthcoming Hands-On experiences, and meeting interns' requests for part-time employment. Many interns complained about not being able to see their counselors and some took advantage of the problem by loitering or "cutting out." On the other hand, most found it possible to meet with their counselor when they "absolutely" needed help in academic, career and/or personal areas.

Intern apparel and style of walking were indicative of some of their values and attitudes. At Site D many of the new interns emulated role models from "blaxploitation" films such as Superfly. For instance, they wore wide-brimmed hats, trench coats, and flashy jewelry. As one intern phrased it "they got that syncopated walk down." A number of the older interns from the first and second cohorts, however, mimicked the behavior of the new interns to ridicule their behavior. The attitude toward the dress code was relaxed, bordering on total non-enforcement. A few staff members asked interns to remove their hats or combs from their hair, but the majority either did not notice or ignored the interns' appearance rather than using the situation to reinforce world-of-work values and behaviors. It is apparently hoped that as interns "grow into" the attitudes and behaviors expected in the program, they will internalize the program norms with respect to dress and other world-of-work behaviors.

A member of the clerical staff who displayed concern about the issue commented:

> You just have to keep reminding them about the hat situation. That's part of going to employment. You cannot go in with your hat on. That's where the career comes in 'cause you go into an interview with your hat

> on and they don't really want to talk to you 'cause the old rule, it was set up a long time ago.... It's really important 'cause some of those hats they wear here, if they were to wear them to an interview--big Barcellonies--you can't wear that to an interview...that's part of their personality. They tell us, "If I take this off, half of me is left." They don't realize it yet but that's the half of them that they're gonna have to leave behind.

Now, as one instructor commented:

> We are at the point where we are arguing about the same problems that all schools face--attendance, discipline, the hours, salary, and this cold building.

Staff members are young, dedicated to the program, and sympathetic to the problems of young people in the inner city. For several of them, however, the experience of working in the CIP was "a real eye opener."

> It was surprising--like the interns we're getting here. I expected high school drop-outs, to have learning problems and [to be] kinda slow; but [here it is] mainly the opposite. The young people that I've found for the most part probably just got bored or got into other things--'cause there are so many other things offered besides school. I just sit here and think if they would have had the proper chance they would never have been here in the first place because of the environment and the circumstances.

The environment the instructor referred to encompasses both the community at large and the public high schools specifically.

Experience in the CIP led some staff members to realize that the relationships and interactions they observed among the program, the community milieu, and the interns were representative of issues that go far beyond the immediate context, and supersede the success or failure of any particular program. Questions began to surface concerning "what's really happening in this country?" and "how can this state of affairs exist?" Staff members have begun to grapple with these problems. Individuals demoralized by the situation departed. Those who remained became more cynical but were no less dedicated to serving the interns. One instructor commented on how his experiences with the community had affected him and "changed his way of thinking."

> I said [in a previous conversation with another staff member, since departed] "How do you think this program is going to go?" and he said something that I had never quite heard like that before: "I'm not quite sure [society] wants it to go. Does society in general really want success in a program like this or do they want a stop-gap measure?" He doesn't work here anymore and that's the first time I heard it and it really got me thinking. And now as more and more programs come and go and the supposed monies flood into a metropolitan area like ours and then seeing how they disappear and never really reach the grass roots. I really started asking myself that question and I have come to doubt it very seriously...this whole lifestyle shouldn't be this way. If the proper chance is given, if this was truly a democracy, if success was really everyone's first goal for everyone, I don't see how anything like this should exist.... I find it the same kind of persecution as against the Jews, for example. I have not experienced it as much as my parents...[my mother's] parents were killed in the camps and she tells me about prejudice and I listen. I see it here and it's the same. It's just keeping one in one's place. It's like Abraham Lincoln never existed in a way, or anything was ever signed, because no one is picking cotton but there is still [major employers in the city] and it's almost exactly the same only they get wages, high wages in an inflationary environment. That is the same as if they were getting low wages.... I think this program is definitely a positive step. As far as the long run, it's such a feeble step. I never realized the vast scope of the problem, more and more, just look at the area the school is situated in for miles. It seems kind of hopeless.... I don't think people believe it or they see it and don't want to believe it and they're glad it's like that and that may be more of a majority than you think.

The high schools in the area were similar to the public inner-city high schools throughout the country. Students drop out for a variety of reasons--boredom, drugs, crime, pregnancy, family problems, and "the need to get a job." Interns were extremely critical of their former high schools. One of the staff members elaborated upon the problem:

> The public school system is not really designed for minorities because most of the things you hear about in history are Anglo-Saxon Protestant. They cannot identify with it. I'll do it 'cause it's here, but in its course of twelve years you have to get motivated to stay for twelve years. You have to see that there's something you're getting out of it. If you don't see that there's something you're getting out of it, you're gonna get out.

The interns were motivated in the CIP classrooms. They pointed to their relationships with their instructors as prime factors responsible for their motivation and participation in the program:

> I feel they are with you instead of against you because in public school really the teachers are not worried about the students--all they're worried about is whether they can pay the light bill or when they can get their car note paid up...and they don't give us as much attention as the teachers do here; not attention as far as babying you--I mean real help.

> Communication with the teachers--they seem to be very helpful. If you have any questions they'll go all-out to help you with those questions; but they won't give them to you; they let you find them out yourself.

The atmosphere as experienced by interns was conducive to the establishment of immediate friendships. Both old and new interns commented on the ease with which they made friends at the CIP.

> The environment here I like better [than the high school]. Here it don't take long to make friends. For example, I just met him the day before yesterday and he bothers me constantly everyday. Think I knowed him for a year. But it's friendly around here.

New interns, however, were quick to complain of the lack of extracurricular activities available in the school to keep them interested. The old interns "came right back on them," however, and listed the types of activities they could become involved in "if they would just keep their ears open,"--CIP is HIP Committee, Student Council, basketball team, and the Financial Committee.

There was a seriousness on the part of the interns that overrode the sociability and the minor discontent with the program. "Your first responsibility to yourself is to get your diploma--that's the purpose for coming...."

Many of the interns had already "experienced the negative parts of life--that's what they based their decision on coming here on," Broken homes, alcoholism, drug abuse, gangs, and teenage pregnancy were not uncommon in the backgrounds of the interns. Some interns had been "school hopping" for years, transferring from one school to the next, trying to find places where they could fit in without getting "sucked into the wrong crowd." This a point is especially worthy of emphasis since the existence of a sizeable group concerned with avoiding association with undesirable elements is not mentioned in the literature. They transfer or dropout because they do not want to be affected by the conventional high school setting, not because they are failing. These dropouts, in fact, are the successful not the unsuccessful products of the urban school setting.

Most of the interns at the site were ready for a change in their lives, as two interns characteristically expressed.

Intern 1: I can look back over the days when I was sitting around smokin' weed and everything. I used to be all lazy, brokedown, cool, you know, but it's not about bein' cool, it's about livin' and enjoyin' life.... It's not all about bein' deprived or anything. It's all about tryin' to get it and at your best. You can't expect someone to just give you somethin' for nothin'. You gotta put forth a little effort to try to make it better for you. I'm thinkin' about my future and the way I wanta raise my children and the way they should raise their children. I don't want them to grow up like I did--crime, you know, dope and all the rest of the ugly things that come with it.... It's all based on who you're influenced by.

Intern 2: 'Cause nobody wants to be a robber, nobody wants to be a dope pusher, nobody wants to be

> a leader of white slavery.... That's why I feel maybe I didn't have the right friends around me when I was a child, maybe that's why I did some of the things I did at my younger age--around eleven, twelve, and thirteen. Now I'm seventeen years old and I'm proud of it because I can look back at all the things I had done while I was younger and say, 'well that was really stupid' or 'I shouldn't have done that,' but now it's all about makin' my future look better than, you know, my past.

Intern 1: I want to walk in the light myself 'cause I have been walkin' in darkness for a good long time. Now that I have seen the light whether it be within this school or within my church or whatever, I know my direction.

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. the relationships of interns with their instructors was a primary motivating factor behind their continued participation in the programs.

2. enforcement of some elements of the maintenance system, e.g., patrolling the halls, directly contributed to "getting interns back into class."

3. experience with interns led the staff to recognize that their behavior resulted from boredom or not wanting to get involved with the "wrong crowd" rather than from any learning disabilities.

4. experience in the program contributed to staff awareness and perception of "the problem that exists in American democracy with respect to stop-gap measures, demonstration projects that come and go, the systematic ignoring of problems, and the preference of many for the way things are now. (This type of awareness led to an increased dedication for some and to departure from the program for others).

5. the supportive atmosphere was conducive to the generation of friendships.

6. the program generated a loyalty in "old" interns such that they defend it from new interns' verbal assaults.

7. the existence of a program like CIP assisted many interns in their attempts to find a direction for their lives.

Adaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

1. OIC/A's removal of individuals perceived by most staff members as isolated and harassing, raised the entire staff's morale (even though some staff members didn't think these individuals were at fault).
2. experience in the community was a real eye opener for some staff members who become more cynical but also more dedicated.
3. interns' past experiences with broken homes, negative peer pressure, dope, school hopping (looking for the "right kind of people"), etc. provided strong motivation to enter the program and seriously pursue their studies.

Maladaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. past factionalism and lack of staff communication effectively halted all but the core program operations.
2. low staff morale affected intern morale and contributed directly to poor attendance and indirectly to theft in the program and disciplinary problems.
3. inconsistent enforcement of the maintenance system contributed to tardiness and inappropriate appearance, e.g., hats, sneakers, T-shirts, etc.
4. the limited supply of books prevented interns from being able to take them home.
5. understaffing in the counseling department led to intern dissatisfaction, loitering in the halls waiting to see the counselor, and "cutting out."
6. the perceived lack of relevance of school learning over long periods of time contributed to interns' disinterest in school and/or dropping out. It also produced intern expectations regarding school work that kept motivation low.

Program Climate Update

The climate at each of the CIPs has been highly susceptible to problems in the start-up stage such as (a) obtaining an agreement with the LEA and the teachers' union, (b) pressures brought about by the recruitment crisis, (c) and the ability of the CIP director and the two departmental supervisors to keep the staff cohesive and task-oriented. Because of its volitility, the program climate has fluctuated throughout the demonstration. Various subclimates are identifiable at the sites. The subclimates correspond to the subgroups in the program: old interns, new interns, old staff, new staff, counselors, instructors, general staff, administration, and so on. The two basic categories discussed below are: intern climate and staff climate. Many variables affect the climate for these two subgroups; however, only the most salient factors are discussed.

At site A, the staff climate began at a high point. Morale was good. Staff members were enthusiastic and performed their duties creatively. They were supportive of and cared about interns. Later, a number of problems were responsible for a progressive decline in the climate. The impact of the austerity budget was increasingly felt. CIP personnel received much lower salaries than the public school staff. In addition, budget policy allowed no provision for raises--either for merit or cost of living. This policy coupled with "weak management," infighting, and excessive numbers of evaluations contributed to high turnover, staff dissatisfaction, and absences.

These problems were compounded by the inappropriate use of an early RMC evaluation report (according to staff members) "to batter the sites over the head." Select sections of the report that contained only the "negative stuff" were read to the sites by the local OIC. A staff member reported:

> We sat there and listened to it (the report) and it got worse and worse and worse. After a while I got up and asked him "Did they say anything good and the reply was: "it wasn't conveyed to me."

This served to demoralize a group of dedicated individuals and represents a totally inappropriate (albeit unintentional) use of an evaluation report.

Recently, however, staff spirit has been "rekindled." Changes in administrative personnel, increased accountability as exemplified by staff sign-in charts, greater local OIC support, and discussions with the evaluators have significantly contributed to the improvement. Staff members currently display supportive, caring, and more cooperative attitudes and behaviors, including making plans for summer programs to attract and retain interns. Minor conflicts remain, including fears of top-level management using scapegoat techniques to remove middle-management personnel. Preliminary indications suggest this problem will be constructively resolved and the new spirit among the staff will continue to be headed in the "right" direction.

Intern climate has paralleled staff climate--beginning at a reasonably high point and progressively declining. High staff turnover due to the dissatisfactions mentioned above detracted from program continuity. Since most interns reported that they came to school to see personalities (specific instructors) high staff turnover and absenteeism markedly reduced intern motivation to attend regularly. High staff turnover or absenteeism was often interpreted as a form of "not caring."

Although this problem has now been resolved, its effects continue. In addition, the institution of a new dress code and attendance policy has dismayed the interns. Many interns have (presumably temporarily) removed themselves from the program in protest.

Application of the new rules failed to take into account the nature of the interns and the community. Interns are "more complacent here," than in other communities, according to administrators, instructors, counselors, and the interns themselves. Many interns report satisfaction with their jobs, social relationships, and overall lifestyle. A former staff member phrased it as follows: "They are satisfied with their position in life. .... It's not like poverty like you see in other cities; it's deceiving. They've got jobs but look at the kind of jobs they got!" Also interns are aware of the fact that they don't have to dress conventionally to get a job. They have already jobs without changing their lifestyle. In fact, since the principal of one of the feeder schools wears a hat and shorts in school, they believe the dress code rules are "arbitrary and irrelevant."

Interns at Site A do appear more complacent than interns at other sites. Although they were indignant about the new policies, only a few of them became involved in attempting to alter the dress code, or in the discussions during student council meetings. One instructor relates a classroom experience that is also indicative of their general orientation. During role playing in a history lesson, interns were asked what they would do if they were slaves on a plantation. "Would you work to get your freedom--if the master said you could--or would you do something else (if so, what would you do?)"? Every intern responded that increased work would be acceptable. The instructor commented: "I was surprised that no one mentioned revolt."

It is also noteworthy that, while interns appeared complaisant in general, they reported that their grievance was not primarily with the new rules themselves but with the way they were "laid down on us." Interns expected and demanded to be consulted. When they were not, they made little effort to change the situation aside from walking away from it--not attending the program.

Given these factors, the response of the interns was predictable. Those who remained disagreed with the behavior of both the administration and the interns. They remained simply to complete the program. As one intern reported, "If I leave now I'll just have to make up the time later anyway, so this way I'll just be ahead of the game." Interns who attended regularly reported that instructors and counselors "care... I don't always agree with them but they're there when you need 'em."

Adequate planning for summer activities and stabilization of the staff are expected to remedy many of the problems that were afflicting the program in early spring 1979--particularly the problems affecting interns. The climate at the site approximates that which ws achieved in Philadelphia; however, it still needed improvement. Specifically, although Site A counselors were supportive and instructive, they must make greater use of motivational techniques, with more interns, more of the time to achieve parity with the Philadelphia site.

At Site B, the staff climate has remained relatively positive throughout the demonstration. Minor hostilities and personality clashes exist, but they do not significantly affect the program operation. The director is often referred to as a dictatorial figure by interns and a few staff members, but his ability to run the program is respected by the majority of the staff. Attendance has been good, turnover low, and staff members have been supportive of the interns and caring.

The intern climate was extremely positive during the early months of the demonstration. Interns were enthusiastic about learning, supportive of other interns, rarely resolved differences through altercations, and did not loiter in the halls.

This situation was temporarily interrupted when the third cohort entered the program. The site required expansion to accommodate the new interns. A second building was secured; however it was a separate building and provided interns with the opportunity to cut classes or roam in the streets while crossing over from one building to the other. Much of this behavior was reduced by an administrative "crackdown" involving strict enforcement of existing rules. Since then, the intern climate has improved considerably but has not risen to the levels observed in the early months of program operation. This may reflect more realistic expectations on the part of the interns, however, rather than lower morale. The overall climate at Site B continues to be rated highly in terms of providing a supportive, caring, and productive atmosphere.

In Site C, the staff climate has been characterized by conflict, confusion, and disillusionment. Interpersonal communication problems were common throughout the entire staff. The morale of the staff was given a temporary boost when the local OIC Executive Director assumed leadership of the CIP and directly monitored and trained the former director. She also directed the effort to recruit required numbers of potential interns and control group students. While the staff climate was significantly improved during this temporary intervention, it lapsed again with the appointment of a new director.

The new director commands the respect of the staff but still has had serious problems to manage. She has clearly begun to redirect the staff and improve their morale; however, at this point, staff climate does not begin to approach that of the Philadelphia prototype.

The program was significantly affected by federal intervention shortly after the new director took charge. At that time, according to various sources, the funding agency "went out looking for the worst site." The purpose of the visit personnel from that agency made to Site C was perceived as an attempt to determine whether termination or extension of the program was appropriate. The funding agency subsequently placed Site C in a kind of probationary status while a decision was made to extend the other sites for nine months. The entire episode of being selected "as the worst site" further demoralized staff.

The intern climate at Site C has also been far from that of the prototype site. Large numbers of interns have been loitering in the halls during class hours. Altercations have occurred periodically in and around the building, and many interns have complained about the staff. One intern said she was really hurt when an instructor (one of the LEA instructors) said, "You don't have the stuff to make it in an accounting program in college" and continued to the effect that only three interns in the entire program were college material.

A few interns have complained about not receiving credits from CIP that they thought they had earned. This pattern, however, has slowly improved. The installation of the new director was primarily responsible for observed slow but steady change in the staff and intern climate. She has developed a streamlined and more accurate method for analyzing incoming transcripts and rostering interns. In addition, she has pushed the concept of personal accountability for all members of the program.

The new director was "very concerned about the large number of students hanging around in the halls, on the steps, and in the lounge." She perceived that there was no efficient mechanism for finding out where interns were supposed to at particular times and quickly took steps to correct this situation. She initiated actions to involve instructors and other staff members in enforcing class attendance. The results were gratifying: "Teachers and staff have helped me "clear the decks."

Overall, the new director appears to be creating substantial changes in the program operation and climate. Under her leadership there appears to be hope for "turning the program around."

The staff climate at Site D has changed dramatically from committed and enthusiastic, to alienated and demoralized, back to its present state of cooperative, committed, and well directed.

Significant difficulties at the site eroded the morale of the staff. The local OIC was considered "non-supportive" (a number of staff members still perceive the local OIC as non-supportive), the former director was considered aloof from program concerns and the former instructional supervisor was viewed as harassing by a majority of the instructional staff. Abusive, petty, and argumentative are adjectives that characterized the social interaction patterns.

The replacement of the director and the instructional supervisor improved the morale of the entire staff. The feelings of the entire staff were expressed by one instructor, it was as if "a yoke had been lifted from our shoulders." The new director has been positively received. Staff members have described her as a "competent administrator and educator.... Interns and staff members can, and do, respect and trust her.... [The director's] leadership can help make [the site] first class."

Overall the staff climate has improved tremendously. At present, it approximates the intentions or spirit of the climate reported in the prototype.

Intern climate at Site D paralleled the staff morale--with some time lag. During the first site visits, significant differences between "serious" and "immature" interns were observed; however, everyone appeared to "get along with one another." Interns made friends easily. Few rules were adhered to or enforced, but a warm and friendly rapport existed among interns and between interns and staff. A few instructors and counselors were worried about the "excessive leniency" concerning adherence or enforcement of rules, e.g. wearing hats in the building, leaving school early, and so on. During this early period, a number of interns wore loud clothing and demonstrated a preoccupation with the old "gang" stories during liesurely conversations. The climate was accepting and friendly but it did not resemble the prototypical climate because it was not balanced--"it was caring but not firm."

This pattern suffered a serious setback immediately preceding and during the third-cohort recruitment crisis. The sites were threatened with termination if they could not enroll sufficient numbers of interns into the program within a prescribed period of time. Staff became disenchanted with the CIP administration and the local OIC as evidence accumulated that quotas were not going to be met, and staff absences or early departures were frequent. Interns interpreted this behavior as a form of not caring, a phenomenon similar to the first site's experience.

These problems were compounded by the lack of adequate heat in the building in the middle of winter. Interns had to be turned away from the building because it was simply too cold to hold classes. The lack of heat together with the winter vacation broke the continuity of attendance and lowered the morale of the intern body as a whole.

At about this time OIC/A intervened, replacing staff members, initiating a recruitment "blitz" through the media, and so on. The overall effect was positive--"it saved the program." In fact, Site D site currently has waiting lists of potential interns. On the other hand, OIC/A's dramatic intervention created confusion for the interns and has had repercussions.

The establishment and enforcement of rules concerning attendance and suitable attire that followed OIC/A's intervention has produced a marked change in the interns' attitudes and appearance. Only one or two interns continue to wear loud apparel characteristic of the "street culture." A related change was that older interns (second cohort interns) who were initially less serious about the program began to defend it from the verbal insults of some of the new (third cohort) interns. In addition, these same older interns began to enforce the rules among themselves and with new interns.

Overall, the intern climate improved markedly from that of the early months of CIP operation. Interns continue to be as friendly and open as before, however, their attitudes toward a career, school, and the appropriateness of their apparel have changed. The level of intern enthusiasm is not as high as it was in the early months of operation, but the site climate as a whole is balanced. It is "caring and firm" simultaneously and, as a result, more closely approximates the climate in the Philadelphia prototype.

Site A Update

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. increased accountability contributed to the "re-kindling" of staff spirit.

2. greater local OIC support contributed to staff re-direction and activities planning for interns during summer and fall.

Maladaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. former staff problems led to high staff turnover and had the delayed effect of lowering intern morale and attendance.

2. sudden imposition of a dress code and rules of attendance that were perceived as arbitrary after a long period of laxity led to decreased intern attendance.

Maladaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

1. (mis)use of an evaluation report to highlight program deficiencies contributed to the demoralization of a once-dedicated staff.

Site B Update

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. an administrative "crackdown" reduced problems of intern cutting (discussed in maladaptive relationships intrinsic to program operation).

Adaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

1. time has contributed to reducing interns' interest in roaming the streets (between buildings).

Maladaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. expansion to a new separate facility directly contributed to cutting classes and roaming in the streets while crossing from one building to the other.

Site C Update

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. the new director has initiated beneficial changes and improved staff morale (however, she must deal with a number of lingering problems).

Adaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

1. local OIC intervention contributed to a temporary boost in staff morale (as discussed earlier).

Maladaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

1. the funding agency conducted its own evaluation of the program ("looking for the worst site," according to various sources), which contributed to the further demoralization of the staff.

Site D Update

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. enforcement of the maintenance system has directly affected intern attitudes and appearances, producing greater conformity to "world of work" norms.

2. the program has generated a "loyalty" among "old" interns such that they defend it from some of the new interns' verbal assaults.

Adaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

1. the OIC/A intervention and media blitz contributed significantly to "saving the program"--literally and figuratively.

Maladaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

1. past staff dissatisfaction and past staff absences have had a delayed negative effect on intern attendance patterns.

Maladaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

1. lack of adequate heat in the building and severe weather conditions forcing the administration to close down operations contributed to a break in continuity of intern attendance patterns.

IX. THE LATENT FUNCTION OF THE PROGRAM: SOCIAL MOBILITY AND THE TRANSMISSION OF MIDDLE-CLASS VALUES

The Career Intern Program serves both manifest and latent functions. The study thus far has focused primarily on the manifest functions of the program, e.g., enabling students to complete high school and receive a high school diploma (rather than a General Education Diploma), improving basic reading and math skills, and enhancing career planning and occupational knowledge among students. The analysis has also briefly discussed some of the latent functions of program components. For example, it was mentioned that late passes are used to get interns to class on time (a manifest function), but are also used to teach interns the importance of authority and punctuality (a latent function).

This chapter focuses on three interrelated latent functions of the CIP.

- it contributes to the upward movement of lower socioeconomic class blacks and other minorities (who are disproportionately represented in the dropout and unemployment statistics)
- it acculturates lower socioeconomic status students into the middle-class value scheme typified by the "world of work"
- it offers itself as a basis for social identity

The relationships among these latent functions are those of: mechanism, vehicle, and goal. Contributing to the upward social mobility of lower socioeconomic status blacks and other minority groups represents the goal. Inculcating disenfranchised groups with middle-class values represents the vehicle for reaching the goal. Offering the CIP as a basis for social identify represents the mechanism that to enables the program to transmit middle-class world-of-work values. The conventional (urban) high school has the same manifest goals as the CIP and uses many of the same tools and processes to attain them. The difference is primarily one of latent goals.

Schools as Socializing Institutions: The Typical Mechanisms, Vehicles, and Goals

Schools typically are transmitters of culture in its present form--not an idealized future form. These institutions serve to prepare students to enter specific available roles in a highly stratified society (Ogbu, 1978). Contrary to the commonly held assumption that schools typically "maximize social equality by promoting equal opportunity," Brookover and Erickson (1975) demonstrate that schools maximize social stratification by serving as the mechanism by which individuals are initially sorted and allocated to positions in the highly differentiated and stratified labor force.

The myth of education--public or private--is that it is neutral. This myth is furthered by a substantial portion of the educational literature, which is premised on the assumption that schools are able to sort out individual differences in a neutral and objective fashion (Harvard Educational Review, 1969; McMurrin, 1971). In fact, the plethora of common educational practices such as testing, grading, and ranking students are used to demonstrate the objectivity of the pursuit.

The educators who use these tools, however, are people—cultural beings operating in a cultural context. The literature highlights this basic fact by demonstrating that they have high or low expectations for students that are based on the child's membership in a given social class or ethnic group--rather than on "merit" (Brophy & Good, 1970; Leacock, 1969; Rist, 1970). Because of these expectations, teachers typically socialize students differentially for work roles that match their perceptions of the student's (parents') social class.

The center stage for this human drama is the classroom. Skills in self-presentation are acquired in the classroom. These skills are related to work-role characteristics at various levels of the hierarchical division of labor. There are specific traits, speech patterns, and ways of presenting oneself that correspond with each level of the job hierarchy (Goffman, 1959). Bowles and Gintis (1976) emphasize the role of education as a vehicle for transmitting "manners of speech and demeanor more or less socially acceptable and appropriate" to a given level in the labor force (p. 141).

The importance of specific skills in self-presentation is emphasized by Bowles and Gintis (1976). Their summary of the literature indicates the importance of various personality factors such as "one's relationship to authority" at various levels of the labor hierarchy. They rate this particular variable as a more critical factor associated with educational achievement and satisfactory work performance than cognitive ability as defined by IQ tests.

Meyer (1970) suggests self-image is another important dimension related to the presentation of self that schools use to prepare students for future work roles. A review of the literature in the area supports this contention--that schools strongly contribute to students' self-image in a manner that corresponds to anticipated future roles (see Meyer, 1970, and Sennett & Cobb, 1972, for detailed discussion of the subject).

Kohn (1967) provides a useful classification scheme and mechanism for organizing the labor market job hierarchy. His conceptualization provides a framework for explaining how schools socialize students into various slots in the hierarchy. He classifies jobs as ranging from high to low. Internal and external pressures or cues represent the mechanism used to create (and distinguish between) the two types. The higher level jobs are characterized by employees who internalize norms consistent with the organization. This is consistent with Reisman's (1961) and Whytes' (1957) work on the other-directed personality and the organization man, respectively. Lower level jobs are characterized by external requirements, rules, regulations, and routines. Workers at the lower end of the hierarchy, according to Kohn, are trained and expected to accept the direction of external authority. Individuals employed at the higher levels are trained and expected to demonstrate "independent judgment" based on internalized values and drives that correspond with a given organization. This paradigm is further supported by other studies reported in the literature (Gintis, 1971; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Edward, 1976).

Schools train individuals to develop and respond to internal and external cues. Working class schools generally use "externally imposed methods" of motivating students to behave in ways that teachers consider appropriate. Socialization for higher level roles, on the other hand, involves teaching students to internalize and identify with the norms so as to be "self-directing" (Wilcox, 1978).

CIP as a Socializing Institution: The Middle Class

Typically, students are socialized for work roles based on staff perceptions of students' (or their parents') social class background. Generally, students are socialized into the same social class as their parents. The CIP also socializes interns for work roles; however, in this case, staff perceptions of the interns' social class background serves as an impetus to alter the pattern. Contrary to the typical pattern of socialization, interns in the CIP are socialized into the middle-class culture.

The program serves as an instrument by which individuals are sorted and allocated to positions in the highly stratified labor force with a bias toward middle-class positions. Staff personnel are not neutral in their objective. They label interns positively and maintain high expectations in order to help them "claim their fair share" of the economic pie. Career counseling seminars (CCS)

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emphasize the importance of self-presentation skills related to middle-class work roles. Counselors and CCS, as well as other classes, are designed to instill positive self-image in the interns. This acculturation is conducted in a "supportive" manner that encourages interns to seek middle-class job positions in the labor hierarchy. Career roles and relationships to authority are thoroughly discussed in terms of middle-class work-role expectations. Finally, the program prepares interns for the middle-class world of work by teaching them to internalize norms that are consistent with the program. This training prepares interns for occupying a position in the job hierarchy that requires exercising independent judgment within the limits imposed by middle-class value systems.

How Does It Happen: The Vehicle

The OIC/A philosophy and ideology are premised on the work ethic as discussed earlier. This philosophy/ideology is extended to the local OICs and the CIPs to guide program practice as demonstrated.

Implicit in the mainstream American work ethic adopted by OIC/A are middle-class values--values that generate behavior and are characterized by such traits as:

- future orientation and planning
- punctuality and appearance
- hard work, with emphasis on competencies
- delayed gratification
- pride in one's work

The CIP embodies these values in its philosophy and transmits them through its core support components.

Future Orientation and Planning. The design of the entire program emphasizes the importance of planning for one's future. Interns are expected to prepare a Career Development Plan (CDP)--with the assistance of their counselors--at the beginning of the program. They establish goals (career objectives) to be accomplished within a given time framework. The CDP is a road map made to chart the intern's future. As such, it emphasizes the importance of planning for future roles (in employment). Encouraging interns to accept the responsibility to "follow through" with their plans represents one of the means by which they are taught to internalize and identify with the norms and requirements of an organization. This prepares interns to be "self-directing" within the program context and, later, in employment.

Career counseling and CCSs are concerned with career planning. The emphasis on career education is significant in itself. The term career itself connotes a higher level job in the labor hierarchy--one that is associated with significant skill development and a long-term personal commitment. This connotation is significant and recognized by various educational leaders (Marlin, 1977) and by interns who compare their temporary jobs with their career objectives.

The CCS requires two reports, each researching a different career field. Conducting the research for these reports and learning about the career requirements demonstrates the significance of researching and planning the steps required to accomplish one's objectives. In addition, these activities serve to reinforce the value orientation of addressing oneself to the future.

The Hands-On experience serves to approximate the long-range objectives of employment in a career--"a goal to be worked for" according to one counselor. The Hands-On also serves to provide reinforcement along the way towards graduation, employment, or advanced training or education. It offers a concrete incentive by making it "real"; interns report being encouraged to "keep going," to continue with their long-range plans, or to reassess their objectives after completing their Hands-On experience.

The learning packets represent the central feature of the individualized curriculum. They cover the core subjects of English, social studies, math, science, and career awareness and planning. The packets are organized in a building-block fashion--each lesson builds on the one that preceded it in terms of basic information and complexity. Interns complete the packets at their own pace; however, they must devise their own strategies for completing them within the allotted time period. The implicit function in such a sequentially designed program is internalized self-discipline. It aims the intern at the future and provides a map of the route to the ultimate destination. The responsibility to complete the lesson (to learn) rests with the intern.

The fused curriculum serves to tie the immediate experience in the classroom to future employment. Simply by creating this link throughout instruction the intern routinely receives encouragement regarding his/her ability to enter specific roles. The intern's ability to fill these roles becomes an assumption in the program. This aspect of the program demonstrates how the specific lessons represent tools or sets of tools required to reach one's goals.

Finally, role playing and other instructional devices are used to teach interns specific self-presentation skill for interviews or future employment. These skills include: the importance of punctuality, cleanliness, appropriate apparel, and taking the initiative to solve a given problem according to an internalized set of rules. Role-playing may involve an employer congratulating an employee for taking the initiative to work late and finish an important task or a father reprimanding his son for not cleaning up the yard and taking the garbage out when he knew it had to be done).

Punctuality and Appearance. The maintenance system of the program provides the most direct means of transmitting the middle-class values of punctuality and appearance. A variety of other components, however, also serves to impress upon the intern the importance of these values.

Late passes are used to remind interns of the importance of getting to class on time. The more important latent function they serve, however, is to teach interns the significance of time. The program's career orientation places special emphasis on the significance of time in relation to work.

The sequential packaging of the learning packets, the development of the CDP, the sequencing of instruction, the orderly fashion in which interns are told how to prepare for and research career fields, and the Hands-On experience all serve to emphasize the concept of time as a finite quantity to be used efficiently or wasted. Straying from the self-imposed time schedules for completing an assignment or the sequence of phases in the program "costs" the intern and serves to provide a negative reinforcement for such behavior. Completing assignments or sequences of phases according to plans receives such positive reinforcements as good grades, compliments, permission to go on the Hands-On experience, and graduation. This reinforcement facilitates the development of an internal timeclock. As one instructor pointed out: "If they expect a few strokes they've got to earn them."

CCS, counseling sessions, and assemblies explicitly emphasize the importance of being on time for school, employment interviews, and/or daily employment. CCS instructors emphasize the significance of punctuality on the job in role playing and rap sessions by comparing, for example, what happens to the routinely late employee as opposed to the punctual employee "when raises and promotions come by." They also discuss the importance of punctuality and appearance in terms of self-presentation skills and elements contributing to one's self-image. Counselors often accompany interns to Hands-On experiences to make sure they arrive on time and to impress upon them the importance of a punctual arrival.

The maintenance system mentioned earlier represents one of the most important mechanisms for teaching interns to internalize middle-class norms regarding appearance. "No hats" in the building is one of the rules that stands out across the sites. The purpose is to prepare interns for "the world of work"--where big Borsolinis and wool caps "turn employers off." One staff member explained "You can't wear that to an interview.... They tell us, 'If I take this off, half of me is left.' They don't realize it yet but that's the half of them they're gonna have to leave behind." One site prohibits interns from wearing sneakers because it presents the "wrong image" to employers. "Loud" clothing is subtly and indirectly frowned upon (with stearn eye-to-eye contact, disapproving comments, joking insults, and straightforward requests to alter the apparel). Staff members enforce these rules whether in class or in the hallways, thereby reinforcing "the message."

CCS place a great deal of emphasis on the proper or appropriate presentation of self for interviews or future employment. The clothing interns wear to class and the attitudes they display in the program are discussed in CCS and group counseling sessions. Interns are requested to comment on something they like or dislike about the intern next to them during CCS. The following set of remarks are typical of those made by the older interns: "I don't like your attitude" (to a new intern with a chip on his shoulder), "I don't like your hat" (to an intern wearing a cowboy hat in class), "I wish the men would shower after working out," "I am not talking to you because I waited an hour for you last night and you didn't show up," "I like your shoes" (shiny new, expensive leather shoes). These comments evidence an internalization of values regarding "correct attitudes," appearance, hygiene, and punctuality. These same interns after class confessed they were "the same way...with those same attitudes... and those big old hats...and I'd never be nowhere on time, you know what I mean?" The negative consequences of overdressing for a given job are also discussed in some detail.

CCS and small group counseling sessions are also held to impress upon the interns the significance of maintaining certain personal hygiene standards. During the last site visit at one of the programs the men were placed on one side of the cafeteria and the women on the other to discuss specific grooming and personal hygiene habits. Detailed attention was paid to maintaining such practices as daily bathing for the men, feminine hygiene and deodorant for the women, brushing teeth and seeing a dentist regularly, care of hair, clothing, and so on. Personal grooming habits, it was stressed, "are a matter of respect for the people around you" as well as "for the job interview." The emphasis in this regard is on establishing and maintaining the appropriate self-presentation for one's anticipated (middle-class) role.

Hard Work, Competencies, Delayed Gratification, and Pride in One's Work. Hard work, the development of competencies or skills, delayed gratification, and taking pride in one's work represent the bedrock of middle-class values or the work ethic. The program adopts the general OIC manpower-training focus on the development of skills, and stresses the development of career exploration skills rather than vocational skills.

The CDP, the fused curriculum, and the two CCS career research reports demonstrate the importance of learning skills and developing competencies to accomplish one's objectives of entering and pursuing a career. Developing these skills, counselors stress, requires "diligence and perseverence." In addition, developing those skills requires "sacrifice." Counselors report periodically "sitting an intern down and telling him you can't be just partying all the time...or just hanging out. You've got to think about your future, five-ten years from now. You've got to make a choice what kind of life is it gonna be?" One staff member reported that "most of them we don't have to tell them to make that decision, they already have. That's why they're here. They just need some help sticking with it and learning what it's all about."

The basis for the decision to enter the program varies from intern to intern. Once in the program however, interns learn to internalize the value of delayed gratification. Developing the CDP, completing the classroom assignments, writing the two CCS reports, and so on all help interns accept the value of delayed gratification, which in turn enables them to go to Hands-On, earn a diploma, and pursue a career.

Many of the program components implicitly teach the value of hard work. Interns learn through the CDP how many courses are required before they can go to Hands-On and graduate. Courses teach interns to expect reports, assignments, tests, and plain hard work to receive credit for the course. Researching careers informs interns of the years of education or apprenticeship required to pursue a given career. The selection of a career after having researched the requirements itself represents an internalization of the need for hard work to reach one's goal.

Counselors and instructors have been observed routinely encouraging interns to display talents or praising interns for "jobs well done" in an attempt to reinforce the behavior and encourage interns to take pride in their work. The Intern Formalized Assessment is used primarily to monitor intern progress; however it also serves to encourage interns to "keep up the good work." This also contributes to interns' taking pride in their work. One intern remarked, "for the first time in a long time I'm doing great." Interns discuss freely their desire to take pride in their work or profession. Many interns come into the program with a distaste for the wrong type of (illegal) professions;

however a larger number develop a definite stance against illegal professions only after they have identified a "respected" career for themselves in the program. One intern ready for a change who had found a "respectable" career to pursue through CCS was absolutely convinced that "nobody wants to be a robber, nobody wants to be a dope pusher, nobody wants to be a leader of white slavery."

The overall philosophical aim is drawn from the parent organization as discussed earlier--to help people help themselves. This is accomplished at the CIP by teaching interns the value of hard work, developing competencies, delayed gratification, and taking pride in one's work--the basic elements of the middle-class world-of-work value scheme.

The Quasi-Total Institution Effect: The Mechanism

The program's operation is dependent on the intern's willingness to attend and to learn as much as it is dependent on the functioning of the program components. Most interns, like most youth today "are neither psychological adolescents or sociological adults... they are in a stage of life that lacks any clear definition" (Daner, 1976) Interns are in a "liminal" stage where, according to Turner's (1969) definition, they "pass through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state"--they are in a state Turner (1964a) refers to as "betwixt and between."

Many interns come into the program, ready for a change. Staff and interns alike, however, report that most interns are looking for attention, a direction, and a means of fulfilling these needs. This is one of the most important reasons they attend the program. Once in the program and willing to continue coming and learning, it is possible for the staff to transmit middle-class, world-of-work values. One mechanism implicitly employed by the CIP that enables interns to achieve their objectives is referred to here as the quasi-total institution effect.

The author defines this mechanism as a quasi-total institution effect because it closely resembles some of the salient features of the total institution (Goffman, 1961). However, there are also some fundamental differences between the two. Goffman defines the total institution "as a place of residence and work where a number of like situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed formally administered round of life."

The CIP is not a place of residence or work and interns are not cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time. However, the CIP is a place of work where a number of like-situated individuals lead a partially enclosed, formally administered round of life. In addition, interns are "cut off" from the wider society for appreciable segments of the day--five days a week. The specific differences between the CIP and Goffman's total institution include:

- Most rather than all aspects of school life are conducted in the same place and under the same single set of authorities.

- Most instead of each phase of the member's daily school activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large group of others, all of whom are on one level, treated alike, and required to do the same thing together.

- Most rather than all phases of the school day's activities are tightly scheduled, the whole sequence of activities being imposed primarily by administration--with intern feedback--rather than exclusively from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials.

- The various enforced activities are brought together into a rational plan purportedly designed to fill the official aims of the individual and the institution.

One of the basic purposes of a total institutional setting is to "allow its members a well defined structural and ideological situation into which they can fit themselves" (Daner, 1974). The CIP serves the purpose--albeit not in as encompassing a manner as a religious communal group. The CIP, like Daner's description of an ISKCON temple also

> provides formal rites, positive identifications and models and an ideology...[which] can also help resolve some of the conflicts of the youth stage on the sides of trust, autonomy, initiative, industry, identity, intimacy, generativity, and integrity. (p. 12)

The CIP offers interns a well defined structural situation. There are many ways in which the program provides this kind of definition and structure. One of the most basic means of providing this type of experience is by assisting the interns develop a CDP that charts the route the intern must follow to reach his or her goals. Interns are informed of the number of credits they are required to complete to finish each phase, to participate in the Hands-On experience, and to graduate. Counselors also give interns class schedules to direct their daily pattern of behavior. In addition, interns are informed regarding "what is expected of them" in terms of sociocultural competencies. Many of the program features discussed in detail earlier also serve to provide interns with an understanding of the sociocultural competencies expected of them, e.g., the maintenance system, CCS, counseling, assemblies, group counseling sessions, and daily instruction.

The CIP also offers interns a well defined ideological context. Ideology, as discussed earlier, provides a guiding force or theme for interns to follow--providing a sense of coherence in their school life. The CIP philosophy is an extension of the OIC/A philosophy/ideology--to "help people help themselves." This work-ethic doctrine expressed in a caring and supportive context and a career exploration orientation provides interns with a well defined ideological context "into which they can fit themselves." This ideological context is all encompassing, as documented earlier, ranging from providing a supportive context to the nature of instruction and learning itself.

Staff members at each of the sites suggest interns come to the program for attention as much as any reason. One of the program secretaries commented in this regard:

> Sometimes you have to shoo them away, back to their classes...they'll just keep talking' and playing with things, you know, that they're not supposed to. Not because they're bad. They're good kids, young adults.... They just want the attention, they want somebody to show them, you know, that they care.

The program as a quasi-total institution serves to provide interns with attention, affiliation, a focused identity, and a direction. Intern comments indicate they are receiving the attention they are seeking. "They listen to you...if you've got a problem with your [school] work or even you know, at home." This environment also generates an atmosphere that is conducive to developing friendships. The environment, particularly the small size of the program, also forces interns to extend common courtesy to each other--courtesies they would not normally display among their peers.

Some of the interns display a highly developed sense of affiliation--using CIP as a basis for social identity.

> We are all together here as one body and all one group. We all is friends together. We're mostly like family here.... It's like our own little community here you know.

This represents one of the most charactersitic forms of the quasi-total institution effect.

Finally, interns display a sense of purpose and commitment in the program--proudly discussing their career goals and their new-found direction.

Rituals: Rites of Solidarity and Rites of Passage

One of the most common elements of a sociocultural system are communal rites or rituals. CIP as a sociocultural system also has communal rites. (See Burnett, 1976, for a discussion of ceremonies and rites in the student system of an American high school.) These rites represent the foundation of the quasi-total institution effect. Marvin Harris (1971) defines the nature of communal rites.

> Communal rites fall into two major categories: (1) rites of solidarity and (2) rites of passage. In the rites of solidarity participation in dramatic public rituals enhances the sense of group identity, coordinates the actions of the individual members of the group, and prepares the group for immediate or future cooperative action. Rites of passage celebrate the sociological movement of individuals into and out of groups or into or out of statuses of critical importance both to the individual and to the community.

Rites of solidarity. The CIP has a varity of rites of solidarity. Student council elections represent one of the most common rites of solidarity. During elections the sites buzz with excitement. Committees form, interns work on posters and slogans, interns discuss who is the most popular, the most likely to win, the best candidate, and candidates make their speeches, and the entire intern body votes. Slogans and speeches often express why a candidate is best for CIP, rarely make any promises, and generally make some vague reference to future cooperative action, e.g., school trips or discos, etc.

The financial committee conducts its ritual bake sales to try to raise money for the student body. A flurry of activities precedes any sale. Members must meet and plan out their task. Interns are asked if they would bake something to sell as the bake sale. Posters are made up and displayed throughout the building. Phone calls are made by the interns right before to "make sure everything's alright." Booths are set up and interns are encouraged to contribute to help raise money for trips or the prom, etc.

Some of the sites have periodic basketball games or other sports events, which serve to bring "the entire program together."

At one site, the staff played against the interns. Everyone playing wore CIP T-shirts. Several individuals assumed formal cheerleading roles while the majority of the program participants in attendance displayed their involvement in the event by loud booing and cheering. After the game was over, everyone was talking about when the next one would be arranged.

A fight broke out towards the end of the game between two interns; however, it did not significantly detract from the event. In fact, after inquiring about the reason for the altercation the event proved to be extremely illuminating. One of the newer (gang-affiliated type) interns was talking about taking over the program and one of the older, first cohort, interns felt it was necessary to let him (and his group) know that they were not going to take over their (the first cohort's) program. The protective stance, the degree of affiliation and loyalty to the program, and the nature of the undercurrents in the intern world could not have been more clearly demonstrated. Later, after "having it out" these two became reasonably good friends. This type of behavior is also classified as a rite of solidarity against a threat.

The single most identifiable communal rite of solidarity is "CIP-is-HIP" days. CIP-is-HIP day is a complex affair that is celebrated or performed somewhat differently at each site. The ritual began in one program and because of its popularity among participants and external observers was diffused to the other sites. The typical CIP-is-HIP day at one site involves participating in meetings and discussing preparations, e.g., making a meal for the interns or interns making a meal for the staff; determining categories for awards, e.g., best attendance, most talkative, best personality, teacher's pet, always on time, enthusiastic about CIP, likely to succeed, class participation, leadership ability, always late, and sleeping in class; posting the names of indivuals with their "awards,"; joking about the awards; arguing about the awards; and generally getting involved in the excitement.

The instructional supervisor at this site explained how excited the interns were on CIP-is-HIP day: "We're going to have CIP-is-HIP day next week. Now that has been the single overriding innovation of interns, they seem to like that activity better than any other."

The instructional supervisor also explained more about how it works, how it can be used to improve attendance and how it helped recruitment when the staff organized the day.

> We give recognition to interns who are just about any category. And they really like that and the last one, the last one that we had, the second cohort came in, and the attendance

> was better than the first cohort. You know, they came in while we're having CIP-is-HIP day and that spread the publicity about the program...and the enthusiasm that things were going on.... So we're going to have another one real soon and we must instead of letting so many go by.

Rituals of solidarity bring the program "together." Staff and interns are given more of an opportunity to get to know each other personally and, in the process, the communal ritual serves to establish a bond that links everyone together as a member of the group. These rituals represent the vehicle for producing and maintaining a "little community."

Rites of passage. Rites of passage are conducted in various ways at the CIP. Moving from one term to the next marks a rite of passage for some interns. The staff and the interns recognize the difference between the "old" and the "new" interns and the transition is considered significant.

When an intern dramatically alters his or her attitude or academic performance, the event is commemorated with a minor rite of passage. The intern may be placed on the honor role or given a specific CIP-is-HIP award or interns may give the individual a nickname, and so on. The most significant rite of passage that the program offers is, however, graduation.

Interns emphasize throughout the entire program that "your first responsibility to yourself is to get your diploma--that's the purpose for coming...." Interns recognize the difference between passing an equivalency examination and a diploma--both in terms of personal self-worth and employment--and they are in the program to earn the diploma. As one intern explained: "I knew a long time ago about the GED, but I wanted a high school diploma." Many also refer to this experience as their "last chance." Parents are concerned about their children's progress in school, as one intern describes, "[My mother] always went to school, never too many absences, and then when she saw my attendance records she almost fainted."

Interns are very much aware of their parents' concern and this concern serves as a prime motivation for participating in the program. One intern put it simply: "All my mother's asking for is a diploma. I think I can do that much for her. She put herself aside to do something for me, so the least I can do is get a diploma."

The graduation ceremony marks the transition from young adult to adult for many, from dropout to success for others, and from dropout or "potential dropout" to high school graduate to the employment community or post-secondary educational institution. The OIC/A News (1979) captures the importance of this rite of passage: "The CIP graduation ceremony, it is worth noting, is taken very seriously by parents and interns. It is a cap on a genuine achievement, and the ceremony affirms that."

Therefore the communal rites of the CIP represent the foundations of the quasi-total institution effect. They enhance the sense of group solidarity and offer a rite of passage into adulthood--into employment or postsecondary education.

X. CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions

This interim report describes work in progress. For this reason, the conclusions reached must be regarded as incomplete and somewhat tentative. Although it is not expected that major changes will be made between this and the final Task C report, there will almost certainly be minor modifications and shifts of emphasis.

The purpose of the Task C study is to relate CIP "treatment variables" to "outcomes" at various levels. As has been noted in earlier chapters, these interrelationships are highly complex. If nothing else, it is hoped that this study will dispel any simplistic notions of specific treatment components "producing" specific outcomes. There are treatments and outcomes on various levels that depend on a multiplicity of variables and interrelationships in any given educational program. The task of highlighting specific sets of interrelationships within the context of the CIP as an integrated unit--a sociocultural system--has been a challenging endeavor, but one that the author feels has produced useful insights.

The most significant relationships observed across sites have been categorized as either adaptive or maladaptive, and as either intrinsic or extrinsic to program operations. Briefly, the following interrelationships were prominent across sites.

Adaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

- The relationship between interns and instructors is considered a primary factor motivating interns to maintain their participation in the program.
- The use of packets contributed to a better understanding of homework.
- Dedication to the whole-person concept in intensive counseling (including getting involved with intern's personal life when it affects his/her participation in the program) contributes to better attendance; enhancement of coping strategies (e.g., better control of temper, intern perception of the program as "a lot better" than their former school, and better intern understanding of their problems and the steps necessary to remedy them.
- Strong management capable of acting decisively and of gathering resources when needed to maintain program operation, is required to implement core program components.

- Increased accountability has contributed to the "rekindling of staff spirit" (where applicable).

- Greater local OIC support contributed to staff re-direction and planning (where applicable).

- Enforcement of maintenance system, e.g., school rules and regulations regarding promptness, appropriate apparel, etc., contributes to interns internalizing "world-of-work" norms and provides them with desired attention (which in turn "keeps them coming"). Enforcement of the program's maintenance component is also directly responsible for the absence of profanity, smoking in class or in the hallways, graffiti, and loitering.

- The use of contracts and various teaching devices contributes to a greater understanding and sense of responsibility on the part of the intern.

- Maintaining high expectations of interns--personally and academically--contributes to a high attendance pattern, higher grades, and increased self-esteem for many interns.

- Providing a supportive context for interns contributes directly to increased attendance, higher grades, selection of a career, and graduation according to many interns and staff members.

- The fact that all staff members including the janitor understand the philosophy and function of the program and serve as role models, contributes to increased intern motivation to attend regularly and pursue studies.

- The small size of the program produces a community-like atmosphere that "forces" many interns to exercise common courtesy not required at their former high school.

- Providing auxiliary services for interns, e.g., day care facilities, enables them to attend on a regular basis.

- Experience with interns leads staff to recognize that many of them (dropouts and "potential" dropouts) were just bored or didn't want to get involved with the "wrong crowd" contrary to initial expectations (on the part of some staff members) that they were learning disabled.

- Experience in the community contributes to staff awareness of the problem that exists in American democracy with respect to stop-gap measures, demonstration projects that come and go, the systematic ignoring of problems, and the preference of many for the way things are now. (This type of awareness leads to increased dedication for some and departure from the program for others.)

- The program has generated a "loyalty" among old interns such that they defend it from new interns' verbal assaults.
- The existence of the program has prevented a number of interns from "just hanging out" and "getting back into my old ways"; it has also enabled many interns to select a career, graduate, and enter employment, job training, or postsecondary education.

Adaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

- OIC/A's removal of individuals perceived by most staff members as isolated, "weak managers," or harassing improved staff morale and program operation (where applicable).
- The OIC/A intervention and media blitz contributed significantly to "saving the program"--literally and figuratively (where applicable).
- Local OIC intervention contributed to a temporary boost in staff morale (where applicable).
- Experience in the program community was a real eye-opener for some staff members who become more cynical but also more dedicated (where applicable).
- Interns' past experiences with broken homes, negative peer pressure, dope, school hopping (looking for the "right kind of people"), etc. provided strong motivation to enter the program and seriously pursue their studies.
- Outsiders crashing a CIP disco elicited and reinforced a strong program affiliation that was demonstrated when interns identified the outsiders to the career counseling supervisor.
- "Break-ins" similarly created a "we/they" dichotomy, subsequently reinforcing a strong sense of program affiliation and loyalty.

Maladaptive Relationships Intrinsic to Program Operation

- Inadequate administrative support served to "bottleneck" necessary requests (e.g., for materials) (where applicable).

- An austerity budget that made no provisions for cost of living, loyalty, or merit raises encouraged "resume passing" among staff members (where applicable).

- "Weak" management contributed to staff absences, which in turn led to intern absences. Staff were frustrated (some were job hunting on office time) and maintained irregular attendance patterns. Interns who came to see specific personalities lost interest in attending if their "teacher" was not present. (where applicable)

- Insufficient administrative autonomy to hire and fire staff contributed to staff indifference to administrative demands and factionalism between nonsupporters and "loyalists" (where applicable).

- Factionalism, "power trips," and the use of racial issues were used to obfuscate real professional inadequacies among staff members (where applicable).

- Staff frustration and tension coupled with a lack of administrative autonomy contributed to neglect in establishing course schedules that reflected interns' requirements for graduation--this in turn contributed to high rates of intern absenteeism (where applicable).

- Past staff dissatisfaction and factionalism had carry-over effects on staff and intern morale and intern attendance patterns (where applicable).

- Strong management procedures perceived as dictatorial contributed to friction between the director and some staff members (where applicable).

- The lack of a consistently enforced maintenance system, e.g., school rules and regulations, directly contributed to intern "bullcracking in class," high absenteeism, periodic altercations, graffiti on the bathroom walls, and smoking and loitering in the hallways (where applicable).

- Sudden imposition of a dress code and rules of attendance that were perceived as arbitrary after a long period of laxity led to decreased intern attendance (where applicable).

Maladaptive Relationships Extrinsic to Program Operation

- High membership quotas for treatment and control groups forced recruitment concerns to override all other program operations and consequently detracted from the operation of the sites.

- Initial lack of cooperation and delays with the school boards and unions diminished staff enthusiasm; manifestations of the lowered morale were frequently interpreted by interns as a form of "not caring," which affected attendance (where applicable).

- LEA negotiations required employment of LEA instructors. Those hired had non-supportive attitudes and low expectations of interns that significantly affected their morale and attendance (where applicable).

- LEA personnel's different pay scales, fringe benefits, and the ability to take paid holidays not provided CIP staff further contributed to the already-present factionalism (where LEA and CIP personnel work together in the same program).

- LEA politics created a situation in which the program was unable to recruit potential interns from the community in which it was located. Because the program was not available to them, a few community members threatened to picket the building. This, in turn, made dealing with the community an extremely delicate and time consuming operation (where applicable).

- Gangs in the immediate vicinity (of the program) periodically erected obstacles to prevent interns from attending the program (turf problems--territorial imperative) (where applicable).

- (Mis)use of an evaluation report to highlight program deficiencies contributed to the demoralization of a once-dedicated staff (where applicable).

- The funding agency conducted its own evaluation of the program ("looking for the worst site" according to various sources), which contributed to the further demoralization of a staff (where applicable).

This chapter summarizes the basic interrelationships affecting and characterizing CIP program operations. The quality of these interrelationships is critical to the program's ability to fulfill its manifest goals of enabling interns to complete high school and receive a high school diploma (rather than a GED), improving reading and math skills, and enhancing career planning and occupational knowledge.

The CIP demonstration effort has focused on replicating the manifest goals of the program and the activities designed to achieve them. The latent goal of contributing to the upward social mobility of various lower socioeconomic groups (who are disproportionately represented in the dropout and unemployment statistics) was never made explicit. It is the author's opinion that making this fundamental truth explicit would have substantially facilitated program staffing and training as well as other aspects at the replication effort. In addition, recognizing the process by which the program contributes to this latent objective is fundamental.

The program, like its parent organization, is geared toward the "work ethic." Individuals are working within the system to get "their fair share" of the economic pie. The dominant skills taught in the CIP are self-presentation and self-image skills that relate to middle-class levels of the job hierarchy. The program transmits middle-class values of hard work, delayed gratification, punctuality, and so on as a vehicle for securing middle-class occupational positions rather than working-class positions. In addition, the program expects interns to internalize these values so that they can demonstrate "independent judgment" consistent with world-of-work norms. According to Kohn (1967) this value orientation is characteristic of "higher" level jobs while lower level jobs are characterized by external requirements, rules, regulations, and routines. The aim of the CIP in this regard is to develop an internalized time clock so that interns will be self-directed rather, than externally directed by a factory clock.

Another latent function of the program is to provide a basis for social identification and affiliation. The program's operation depends as much on the intern's willingness to attend and learn as on the proper functioning of the program components. Most interns are neither adolescents nor adults; they are in the "liminal" stage between the two. Many interns come into the program ready for a change; most, however, are simply looking for attention and direction. The CIP offers them a means of attaining this objective. Once interns have committed themselves to participate in the program, it is possible for the staff to transmit middle-class "world-of-work" values to them. The mechanism that underlies this affiliation-acculturation phenomenon has been named the quasi-total institution effect. The quasi-total institution "allows its members a well defined structural and ideological situation into which they can fit themselves." The CIP serves this purpose for interns by providing formal rites, positive identifications, and models to emulate.

The key to keeping this quasi-total institution system alive lies in its rites of solidarity and rites of passage. CIP-is-HIP day is the single most identifiable communal rite of solidarity celebrated at each site. This ritual, among many others, serves to "enhance the sense of group identity, coordinate the actions of the individual members of the group, and prepare the group for immediate or future cooperative action."

Graduation ceremonies represent the most significant rite of passage in the program. Interns emphasize throughout the entire program that "your first responsibility to yourself is to get your diploma--that's the purpose for coming." Interns recognize the difference between passing an equivalency examination and earning a diploma--both in terms of personal self-worth and employment--and they are in the program to earn the diploma. The graduation ceremony marks the transition from young adult to adult for many, from dropout to success for others. OIC/A Key News (1979) captures the importance of this rite of passage: "The CIP graduation ceremony, it is worth noting, is taken very seriously by parents and interns. It is a cap on a genuine achievement, and the ceremony affirms that."

These basic implicit goals, vehicles, and mechanisms represent notes and chords in a melody. A note out of place produces dissonance, a chord out of place can bring the performance to a close and the melody ends. Played skillfully, however, the program is harmonious and resembles a concert-hall symphony.

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STUDY OF THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM

Interim Non-Technical Report - Task D:
Comparison of the CIP with Other Youth Programs

October 1979

Prepared for the
National Institute of Education

RMC Research Corporation
Mountain View, California

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of the Task D Interim Report is to discuss comparisons that have been made between the Career Intern Program (CIP) and other youth programs in terms of effectiveness, feasibility, and other factors important for policy. As a program for youths who have dropped out of the regular high school or who are at risk of doing so, the CIP was judged as exemplary and is currently being tried out in four new sites. The evaluation of the tryout encompasses four tasks: Tasks A and C, which assess the implementation; Task B, which assesses the outcomes of the program; and Task D, which compares the CIP with other alternative projects for youth.

RMC's approach to the Task D question of how the CIP compares with other youth programs was two pronged. It compares the CIP first with three quite similar projects that were implemented prior to the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1978 (called herein non-YEDPA projects) and then with several less similar YEDPA projects. The first set of comparisons was made in terms of project outcomes such as attendance, enrollment, retention, and ability to graduate students. The second set of comparisons encompassed such implementation issues as incentives for participation, relations with the LEA, relations with the community, recruitment, and work placements.

The search for non-YEDPA projects, covered in the first section of the report, led to a review of over 500 projects, 120 of which were found to be within the scope of the study. Careful examination of the documentation of the 120 projects resulted in the identification of three projects with sufficient documentation to determine that they were acceptable for comparison with the CIP. These three projects were:

The Alternative Learning Center, Morgantown, West Virginia;
The Experience-Based Career Education Project, Baltimore, Maryland; and
The Urban League Street Academy, New Orleans, Louisiana.

A tentative assessment of the three comparison projects revealed that, although they appear to have a number of striking similarities to the CIP, relevant statistics such as attendance and retention rates are defined and computed in such diverse ways that the real extent of correspondence cannot be precisely determined.

Data were available from the three comparison projects and the CIP on four indicators of success--enrollment, retention rate, number of graduates, and school attendance. In terms of

enrollment, projects were found to use different methods of estimating both current and total enrollment. Projects were found not only to use different methods for calculating retention but also differed in their definitions of positive and negative terminations. Issues related to effectiveness in graduating students were even more complex as projects varied in the type of diploma offered and the initial credit status of the students served. In regard to attendance, projects differed both in the methods used to calculate attendance rates and in how attendance records were compiled.

Given these constraints, inferences from the comparisons could be drawn only tentatively. None of the three comparison projects could be shown to be either inferior or superior to the CIP in terms of the four success indicators. The CIP may have some advantage over two of the other projects in attracting and graduating youths. All projects appeared to have some difficulty in maintaining attendance levels, but projects serving out-of-school youths (as the Street Academy does) appeared to have more success than those serving both in- and out-of-school youths.

In order to draw more meaningful inferences from the comparisons that were made between the CIP and the three selected projects, it will be necessary to achieve greater data comparability. On-site validation and the collection of additional data will, it is hoped, make it possible for RMC to report more conclusive findings in the Final Task D Report (March 1980). It is also anticipated that one or more additional projects that currently look "promising" will be found suitable for additional comparisons.

The second section of the report focuses on implementation issues. It does so by comparing the CIP to two other YEDPA programs undergoing concurrent implementation. The comparisons, thus, cover three different institutional arrangements: an alternative educational delivery agency run by a community-based organization (CBO) in the case of the CIP, an approach based on broad community participation in the case of Youth Community Service (YCS), and the predominant utilization of existing manpower agencies and other government units in the case of Entitlement.

The process of program implementation is conceptualized as dependent on two sets of forces: those affecting the youths' decisions to participate and those resulting directly from the efforts of program administrators.

A significant proportion of disadvantaged youth, particularly those out of school, live with only one parent, alone, or have children of their own. As a result, they need a host of supportive services not adequately provided by present work-oriented programs. Predictably, these programs have encountered difficulties in appealing to out-of-school youth.

Since many young people tend to leave the regular high school because they see it as an oppressive or unsatisfactory environment, the idea of returning to it is not appealing. Entitlement, which sought to motivate out-of-school youths to return to school in exchange for a minimum-wage job, failed to provide an adequate incentive. Dropouts prefer programs that offer them concrete, individually tailored work experiences, as shown by the YCS, or alternative academic settings characterized by individual attention and a clear career focus, as in the case of the CIP. Students already in school seem more willing to remain if provided a financial incentive. On the other hand, some are willing to forego financial incentives if offered an alternative academic setting, as the CIP has demonstrated.

Because of the apparent hierarchy in preferences, it seems that programs that (a) offer either a precise interest/job match or an alternative academic environment, (b) provide a host of auxiliary services, and (c) offer a financial incentive have more appeal than programs that incorporate only one of these features.

The decision to enroll in a work-oriented program seems to represent a fragile commitment. Eligibility and entrance requirements have compounded this problem. Although the requirements were designed to ensure that the target population would be served, their mere presence has discouraged a large number of disadvantaged youths from enrolling. The perception of these work-oriented programs as serving primarily "dropouts" or minorities and as being "experiments" rather than service providers further deters young people from participating.

Findings reveal that, while all three institutional arrangements are possible, some appear to have advantages over others. Programs with well developed community networks tend to perform better in gaining access to disadvantaged and, particularly, out-of-school youths. Programs run by community-based organizations with a distinct self-help ideology tend to develop an ethos particularly effective among alienated and minority youths.

Program implementors have had varying degrees of success in providing work experiences carefully matched to youths' interests. Large programs without well developed networks of community resources have provided narrow ranges of occupational choice, mostly within public agencies. Small programs with linkages to community resources, such as the CIP, or moderate-sized programs with extensive community representation, as has been the case for YCS, have secured the support of various employers in the community and have provided more diversified occupational experiences, even though the participation of private firms has been low in all cases.

Assessing the quality of work experiences is difficult even in the case of small programs. The nature of the experience--which may involve only one youth per job site--poses logistical problems not likely to be resolved without major increases in personnel and funds for monitoring purposes.

The participation of private, particularly profit-making firms, in the provision of work experience remains an elusive objective. Despite the wage subsidies present in some programs, relatively few private businesses have made job opportunities available. On the other hand, programs run either by CBOs or by groups with broad community representation seem capable of securing the support of diverse employers in the community.

Evidence has shown that all of the key activities carried out by program implementors--recruitment, relations with the LEA, provision of work experiences, and coordination with the community--are extremely dependent on the context of the community where the program operates. From the identification of youths to the finding of work experiences for them, program administrators must count on the receptivity of community agencies, firms, and, when applicable, the LEA. This characteristic of work-oriented programs requires that program administrators be able to communicate the details of program objectives and features clearly and effectively--so that community members will understand and accept the programs. It also requires that program administratos gain a solid knowledge of the resources in the community prior to program implementation. The importance of these two tasks indicates that work-oriented programs must give close attention to and allow adequate time for start-up activities. It also suggests that programs run by organizations very familiar with their community have a distinct advantage.

INTRODUCTION

Study Background

This Interim Task D non-technical report describes the findings of one of the four tasks that make up RMC Research Corporation's Study of the Career Intern Program. The contract for this study was awarded to RMC by the National Institute of Education (NIE) in April 1978, pursuant to an interagency agreement between NIE and the Department of Labor (DOL).

The Career Intern Program (CIP) is an alternative high school serving low-income youths between the ages of 16 and 21 who have dropped out of their regular high school or who are at serious risk of doing so. Developed in 1969 by the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc. (OIC/A), the project achieved notable success in helping youths graduate from secondary school and in smoothing their transition from school to work, to further technical training, or to post-secondary education.

In 1976 the prototype program which operated in Philadelphia, was judged to be exemplary by the Joint Dissemination Review Panel of the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) and NIE. Under authorization of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1978 (YEDPA, P.L. 95-93), DOL elected to field test the CIP in four new localities to find out if the same beneficial outcomes that had been observed in Philadelphia could be achieved in the new sites. DOL funded the dissemination effort and, through an Interagency Agreement, arranged to have NIE monitor both the dissemination itself and the evaluation of the program at the four new sites.

The evaluation encompasses the following four tasks:

Task A: Assess the process of program implementation in the new sites;

Task B: Determine the effects of the CIP as implemented in the new sites and compare the effects with those achieved in Philadelphia;

Task C: Analyze the program to determine causal relationships among program components and effects; and

Task D: Compare the CIP with other similarly targeted programs in aspects relevant to policymaking.

This report presents RMC's findings to date relevant to Task D, the comparison of the CIP with other programs having similar goals and serving similar target groups. Tasks A, B, and C have been described in other reports.

Task D Scope

The general question addressed in Task D is, "How does the CIP compare in terms of effectiveness, feasibility, and other factors important for policy to other similar programs serving similar youths?." The intent of this comparison is to provide information about the relative advantages and disadvantages of alternative intervention strategies and different delivery systems for programs designed to increase the "employability" of youths.

The study explores specific questions such as: "What are the advantages and disadvantages of a community-based organization over a local education agency (LEA), prime sponsor, a private contractor, or other agency in administering a program like the CIP?" and, "What are the features of programs for youths that are related to their success in attracting youths, in improving their school attendance, in helping them to graduate, and in other factors related to enhancing their employability?"

RMC used two approaches to address the overall Task D question. The first approach was to search out projects with goals and features similar to those of the CIP and to analyze their effectiveness in comparison with the CIP. The second approach used was to examine alternative programs that presented only broad similarities with the CIP, (although serving the same target group) but that had been studied during implementation and could thus provide useful comparative data relevant to delivery systems.

This two-pronged approach was suggested by the nature of the available data. Evaluations of projects operating prior to the 1978 YEDPA legislation (herein referred to as non-YEDPA projects) and those being implemented as a consequence of the legislation (herein referred to as YEDPA programs) are dramatically different. Most non-YEDPA project evaluations are replete with descriptive data about project components and outcomes. Almost without exception, these evaluations contain little process information pertaining to implementation issues. On the other hand, several current YEDPA programs are being subjected to process evaluations and although these studies have not yet been completed, significant findings about implementation issues have been reported. These programs, however, have not yet produced much in the way of outcome data.

The fact that non-YEDPA programs had data on effectiveness and impact led to their inclusion in Part 1 of this report. Since YEDPA programs offered data on implementation, Part 2 focuses exclusively on them. Thus, the emphasis in Part 1 is on effectiveness, while that of Part 2 is implementation feasibility.

PART 1

COMPARISONS OF THE CIP WITH SIMILAR NON-YEDPA PROJECTS

Classie M. Foat

I. OVERVIEW

The purpose of this part of the report is to present findings pertaining to the comparison of the CIP with non-YEDPA projects. The central question addressed is, "How does the CIP approach compare in effectiveness, as well as feasibility and other factors important for policy, with other non-YEDPA approaches designed to help youth who have dropped out or who are at risk of dropping out of school? An initial search produced some 500 projects that were candidates for comparison with the CIP. Lack of comparability, and of descriptive data, however, ultimately reduced this pool to only three projects. The following pages provide the details of the selection of these projects and summarize the features of the components they have in common with the CIP.

Using outcome data reported about the three projects and the four CIP sites, some preliminary assessment is made of the relative merits and demerits of different approaches to helping low-income, high risk youth. The question of how the CIP compares with other approaches has changed, however, from that originally called for by the RFP (NIE, 1978). The RFP specified that "projects undergoing comparable evaluations" be identified (p. 21), but the search, although extensive, failed to identify any projects with evaluations that employed designs similar to that used with the CIP. Thus, the comparisons that are made here employing such criteria as success in increasing high school retention; decreasing absenteeism; facilitating graduation; and placing youths in jobs, college, or skills-training programs must be interpreted with extreme caution since the data reported by the three sites and the CIP are not exactly comparable. Not only do the evaluation designs differ, there are major differences in how indices such as attendance and attrition are defined and quantified.

An additional, even more important problem is that the projects identified as similar to the CIP are far more stable and mature. One project has existed for seven years, and comparing it to the 18-month-old CIP is problematical at best. Finally, there does not appear to be any adequate way, when comparing the CIP to other projects, to take into account differences in project effects that may be related to the demonstration nature of the CIP. The delivery system of the CIP, including the time constraints, are all unique to that program. Any inferences made about the relative merits or demerits of its components must be tempered by the fact that none of the projects selected for comparison was implemented in a similar fashion.

II. SELECTING PROJECTS SIMILAR TO THE CIP

The Task D search for projects similar in scope to the CIP was undertaken on a wide scale. Nominations were sought from a wide variety of sources and various sources of documented information were examined. This process was ongoing from September 1978 until May 1979, when the acceptance of nominations had to be cut off.

Nomination Sources

Because the CIP is a career education project, the primary focus of the search was on federal, state, and local career education projects, but adult and vocational education projects were not excluded from the study's scope. Although clear and distinct differences among these different kinds of programs do exist, they all serve complementary purposes in offering basic skills training and instruction pertaining to the world of work. The search was limited to projects that served 16- to 21-year-old youth.

Four major sources of nominations were used to identify projects. These were: (a) the literature on career and vocational education; (b) persons in federal, state, and local agencies such as members of the vocational education staff at the Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education, members of the National Advisory Council in Career Education, the Chief State School Officers, and the State Coordinators of Career Education; (c) staff from several local research firms who had compiled project documentation in conjunction with previous research contracts; and (d) the OIC/A and RMC staff members.

Over 200 persons and projects were contacted for project nominations and descriptive and evaluative documentation. More than 75% of the persons contacted for project nominations responded to the requests for information and over 500 project descriptions were reviewed, most of which were not of alternative school programs and were immediately rejected as inappropriate for further consideration. In toto, 120 alternative school projects were nominated as likely candidates for comparison to the CIP. Documentation was received on more than 60% of these projects.

Selection Criteria

Selecting projects with components similar to the CIP required the development of 16 selection criteria. Thirteen of these criteria--called preliminary screening criteria--were developed to see if the project was within the scope of the study. Three other criteria were used for a finer screening of projects. These were called secondary screening criteria and were primarily concerned with the adequacy of information about the projects.

Preliminary Screening Criteria

The thirteen preliminary screening criteria were developed to ensure that projects selected for comparative evaluations would indeed be similar to the CIP. These criteria were developed under the headings of objectives, demographic characteristics, treatment characteristics, size, and availability. Selected projects had to meet four objectives:

- the projects must enable students to complete high school,
- the projects must increase high school retention,
- the projects must enhance career planning and occupational knowledge, and
- the projects must improve basic academic skills.

The demographic criteria were:

- youths served must be actual or potential dropouts,
- youths served must come primarily from areas of low income and high youth unemployment,
- youths served must be 16-21 years of age, and
- youths served must have sufficient reading skills (i.e., read at fifth-grade level or above).

In terms of treatment characteristics, two criteria were developed. These were:

- projects must provide training in basic reading and math skills, and
- projects must provide for career planning and occupational knowledge activities.

The one size criterion set was:

- the project must currently serve 50 or more youth.

Finally, the two availability criteria specified that:

- projects must have existing evaluative and descriptive information, and

- projects must be currently operating.

Secondary Screening Criteria

The secondary screening criteria were primarily concerned with the adequacy of information about the project and, unfortunately for the purposes of this report, consideration could be given only to documented information that RMC was able to obtain prior to the writing of this report. Several additional projects may have adequate information, but has not yet been obtained. The three secondary screening criteria required that (a) descriptions of components of the project be sufficiently well defined that the procedures and activities of the project are clear; (b) evaluative and descriptive information reported indicate the student population represented in the findings (e.g., grade levels, age levels, in-school youths, out-of-school youths); and (c) the project's outcomes be compared to those of some reference group (e.g., earlier dropout rates of the same group served or attendance comparisons with the regular high school). Carefully controlled experiments were not required.

All of these criteria had to be met for selecting projects to compare with the CIP.

Screening Process

The screening of projects began with an examination of each nominated project's documentation against the 13 preliminary selection criteria to determine if the project was within the study's scope. In most cases information received from the projects was sufficiently detailed to allow some judgments about whether or not they were within the study's scope. Table 1 summarizes the frequency of the rejections by type. Over half the nominated projects were rejected because they did not (or because it could not be determined that they did) meet one or more of the preminary screening criteria.

Careful examination of the documentation of those projects that did meet the preliminary criteria revealed that, in all cases, the documentation was not sufficient to meet the second set of criteria. In the case of 20 projects where it appeared that the criteria might be met if additional information could be obtained, telephone and/or letter requests for such information were made. To date eight have provided the necessary information. Five of these had to be rejected while three were selected for inclusion in the study. Because of insufficient information, twelve others programs are currently "in limbo." They appear promising, but have not as yet made adequate information available to RMC.

The three projects identified as appearing to have met both sets of criteria are: (a) the Alternative Learning Center, Morgantown, West Virginia; (b) the Urban League Street Academy, New Orleans, Louisiana; and (c) the Harbor City Learning Program (Experience-Based Career Education), Baltimore, Maryland. None of these sites have been visited, although all were contacted by telephone to gather additional information about their program components and their evaluations.

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF REASONS PROJECTS WERE REJECTED

Reasons for Rejection	No. Projects	Percentage
Outside project scope	63	54
No response	30	26
Insufficient information	19*	16
No longer exists	5	4
Total	117	100

*Twelve of these passed the preliminary selection criteria and appear to be likely candidates.

III. FINDINGS

The three projects selected for comparison have a number of features in common with the CIP. All four projects also have reported data on similar indicators of success--enrollment, retention, number of graduates, and attendance--in terms of which comparisons can be made. Drawing inferences from the comparisons is extremely dangerous, however, because of differences among project definitions and quantifications of these indicators of success.

Overview of the CIP and the Selected Projects

The following description of the CIP and the three selected projects--the Alternative Learning Center (ALC), Experience-Based Careeer Education (EBCE), and Urban League Street Academy--focuses on both the common and distinguishing features of all four.

General characteristics. Like the CIP, the three comparison projects serve either in-school or out-of-school youth or both and have goals similar to the CIP. At two sites, like two CIP sites, the majority of the participants are black and live in large metropolitan areas. At the third site, the majority are white and live in a rural area of the south.

Although all four projects have similar goals and serve similar youths, close examination revealed six important differences. First, in terms of project duration, the ALC and EBCE projects have been in existence for three years, and the Street Academy has operated for seven years. The CIP is currently in only its second year's operation. Second, in terms of project administration, the Street Academy is the only project that is community based like the CIP. It is administered by the Urban League and, although its leadership is not church related as is the CIP's, it does have a client-centered orientation dedicated to extending its resources to the community. In contrast, the ALC is administered by the county school district, and the EBCE project is administered jointly by the CETA prime sponsor and the school district. All the projects, however, operate as autonomous alternative schools.

The third distinction is that neither the Street Academy nor the ALC offers a high school diploma while both the CIP and the EBCE do. A fourth distinction is that the Street Academy and the ALC, which work primarily to prepare students for the high school equivalency (GED) examination, offer accelerated instruction so that students can graduate earlier than if they remained in their home schools. Fifth, in terms of youth served, one of the projects--the Harbor City EBCE project--serves dropouts only. Unlike the CIP and the other two selected projects, it does not have to depend upon the LEA for its enrollment. As a CETA program, all its youths are recruited from the local manpower office. Finally, the EBCE project is the only one in which youths are paid allowances for the time spent completing assignments.

Characteristics of Projects' Components

Comparisons were made among the projects in terms of twelve specific components. These were: instruction, counseling, career education, program climate, personnel, curriculum, recruitment, facilities, funds, relations with the LEA, relations with the monitoring agency, and relations with the community.

As in the CIP, instruction in all three comparison projects is individual and the curricula are infused with work-related content. Even so, the instruction at each project does have a unique element about it. The EBCE project makes extensive use of individual learning experiences that take students out into the community for weeks at a time. The ALC is unique in its use of a large number of self-instructional materials that are commercially available through publishing companies. The unique element of the instructional approach for the Street Academy is its extensive use of GED materials.

While all three selected projects have a counseling component, only the Street Academy provides the same kind of extensive individual counseling services related to career planning, personnel concerns, and academic status as the CIP. Individual counseling is provided in the ALC program but not as frequently as in the CIP. Career counseling, including placement assistance, is provided for EBCE youth by the CETA prime sponsor upon entry into and exit from the program, but there is no personal or academic counseling.

A point of distinction to be made between the CIP and the three comparison projects is their varying emphasis on career education. One aspect of the CIP career education component (called Hands-On) provides an opportunity for youth to explore careers in two fields through visits to job sites (for one week each) with resource persons in the community. Its Career Counseling Seminars (CCS) (to which all students are assigned) provide the main mechanism by which career orientation and education is developed and maintained.

The career-related activities provided by the EBCE are similar to the CIP's Hands-On experiences, but students are provided with actual work experience that takes them to job sites, and they are paid a stipend for their participation. The ALC and Street

Academy are at the other end of the continuum. Neither has a component similar to the CIP's Hands-On, although the ALC youths are offered specific training in a skill and approximately 35 Street Academy students participate in a career training program in the afternoons.

The CIP attempts to provide a climate that is motivating and supportive to participating youths. Available documentation suggests that the Street Academy has a climate very similar to the CIP's.. Less is currently known about climate in the EBCE and the ALC.

While the CIP project specifies that personnel be skilled and have experience and expertise in their areas of specialization, certification is not a must for the instructors and counselors. For the comparison sites, all instructors and counselors are certified, although it is not clear at this point if these are requirements of the programs or of the LEAs. Like the CIP, all three comparison programs have project directors. In two of the three programs, the directors report directly to the LEAs (unlike the CIP). Also unlike the CIP approach, staff members of all three comparison programs are selected from among the local school district staff and, at two of the sites, teachers are paid out of district funds. In the third program, teachers are on loan from the school district.

Since the CIP offers a regular high school diploma and must depend upon the LEA for award of academic credit, its curriculum must meet the LEA requirements. The three comparison sites share a similar relationship with the LEA, although course approval is not as much of a problem for the ALC and the EBCE as for the CIP since they operate as integral parts of the LEA. Even though the Street Academy, like the CIP, operates under a community-based administration and does not offer a regular high school diploma, its curriculum must also be approved by the school board so that students who wish to obtain their diplomas can be given academic credit for completed courses.

In the CIP, recruitment is scheduled to occur three times a year (primarily because of the demonstration nature of the program) and requires the employment of strategies such as campaigning for youths not only in the community, but also in the public schools and on the streets. While none of the three comparison programs has found it necessary to recruit so intensively, two of them, like the CIP, depend upon the local schools for student referrals. Also, like the CIP, the youths enrolled in two of the alternative projects remain on the schools' roster. The third site (the ALC) operates as an autonomous school but, because its curriculum is approved, its students can receive diplomas from their former schools.

Like the CIP, the facilities of all three comparison projects are located away from the regular public school. The EBCE and Street Academy projects occupy a building that is also shared by other projects also administered by the CETA prime sponsor and the Urban League, respectively.

The Street Academy project is most similar to the CIP in that its funds are also administered by a local community-based organization (the Urban League). For the ALC project, the funds are administered by the school board. The EBCE is unique in that its funds are administered by the local school board but are also monitored by the local and state manpower office. The directors of all the comparison projects, like the CIP, have access to funds (through approval by the fund administrators) needed for purchasing materials, supplies, and other project needs.

Like the CIP, all three comparison projects have established relations with the LEA that allow for in-kind support from the LEA. All are dependent upon the LEA for accreditation, for example. All also receive in-kind support such as food and transportation services. The Street Academy also receives in-kind support in terms of staffing (the LEA provides four certified teachers). This feature is unique.

Since the ALC is funded and administered by the school district, it shares a unique relationship with its LEA. It receives students from schools all over the county and serves as a "transitional" school. That is, students in the early high school grades (ninth and tenth) are encouraged to return to their regular school as soon as possible and to earn a regular high school diploma.

Of all three projects, only one, the Street Academy, has relations with the monitoring agency similar to the CIPs' relationship with its local OIC. The Street Academy is also the only one of the three comparison projects that is community-based like the CIP. (It is administered by the Urban League.) The EBCE and the ALC projects are administered by their respective LEAs, although EBCE is a CETA project and is also monitored by the local and state manpower offices. In terms of project administration, all three comparison projects have directors who hire their own personnel and who, like the CIP directors, must seek the approval of the sponsoring agency. The EBCE project is unique in that all of its administrative staff are employed by the CETA prime sponsor. The director must make monthly reports to that agency and to the assistant superintendent of the LEA.

Like the CIP, relations with the community is important to the projects' operation. A key element of all three projects selected for comparison is the interaction of the project with employers in both the public and private sectors. All three feature some type of work experience for students within the community. One project--the Street Academy--has an advisory panel like the CIP that assists in linking the project to the business community.

In terms of parent involvement, the Street Academy is most like the CIP. Staff members make home visits as needed and plan special activities to involve parents. In the EBCE project, parents are not extensively involved. The ALC does provide workshops for parents, but their orientation is directed more at helping parents cope with their children than at involving them in the project itself.

Comparison of Outcomes

The discussion that follows is a tentative assessment of the relative advantages and disadvantages of the CIP as compared with the three other programs. As indicated earlier, such comparisons can only be tentative at this time because the extent to which data from the different programs are comparable has not yet been adequately determined.

Data are available from the three comparison sites and the CIP on four indicators of success--enrollment, retention rate, number of graduates, and school attendance. Additional data are also available for some sites on outcomes such as placement, impact on parents, changes in student attitude, and relations with the LEA. Once we are able to ascertain exactly how these indicators of success are computed, more valid comparisons will be possible.

Enrollment

A review of the documentation forwarded by the three comparison programs revealed enrollments of 62, 79, and 213, respectively, for the ALC, the EBCE, and the Street Academy, compared with 861 (as of May 1979) for the four CIP sites. The ALC and EBCE figures represent enrollment for one academic year. The figures reported, however, are for the ALC's first year of operation and for the EBCE's third year. The enrollment figure of 213 for the Street Academy is also for one academic year but for its sixth year of operation. For the four CIPs, the enrollment figure of 861 represents total enrollment for three cohorts spanning an 18-month interval. If this figure is trustworthy, it can be concluded that the CIP serves an average of approximately 430 students per (nine-month) academic year.

After less than two years' operation, the four CIP sites taken together are attracting a larger number of youths than the other commmunity-based project (the Street Academy) and more youths than either the ALC and the EBCE projects, even though all three have existed for longer time periods. Perhaps a more appropriate comparison would be that the average CIP site is attracting approximately as many youths as the average comparison project even though it is newer and less well established. One might also infer that the projects administered by community-based organizations are more successful at attracting youths than projects administered by other agencies, but other factors would have to be considered before this inference could be verified.

Two aspects of the reported data make it difficult to draw firm conclusions. First what is meant by enrollment is unclear and apparently varies from project to project. Although it is not entirely clear, it appears that, for two projects, enrollment is defined as the number of students enrolled in the project by a fixed admission date. This type of statistic can be quite misleading. If the date is early in the project's operational cycle, enrollment will be higher than at a later date as attrition is high during the first few days or even weeks. One other project appears to have used average monthly enrollment as an indicator of total enrollment. This type of index should be substantially more stable than the "one-shot" body count. In the case of the CIP, the enrollment count is the number of applicants who were admitted to the program--regardless of whether or not they ever attended. To make more valid comparisons among projects, it will be necessary to probe records carefully and attempt to cast the enrollments of each project in a common metric.

The second point to be made regarding the validity of conclusions about enrollment is that only the CIP and the ALC have reported enrollment goals or capacities. The ALC, for example, is operating at maximum capacity when serving 35 students per youths, even though it has enrolled fewer students than the other projects. For the EBCE project, maximum capacity is 90 students. Thus it is operating at approximately 88% capacity. The expected capacity of the CIPs (according to the CIP feasibility study) is 150 interns per site. Thus, even though the CIP sites enrolled a larger number of youths than any of the other projects, with the exception of one site, they have not operated at maximum capacity. (See Treadway, Foat, Fetterman, Stromquist, and Tallmadge, 1979, for a discussion of recruitment problems experienced by the CIPs.) The issue is a complex one. While it is clear that projects cannot be expected to extend services beyond their maximum capacity, it seems unfair to make comparisons in terms of success in achieving enrollment quotas between large- and small-capacity projects.

Retention Rate

Retention rates reported by the ALC, EBCE, and Street Academy are 50%, 91%, and 83%, respectively. The EBCE reports this rate as being higher than that of its parent school, the Harbor City Learning Program (retention rate of 63%). For the CIPs, the average reported retention rate is 69%. (Two sites reported a retention rate of 57%, one site a rate of 30%, and the fourth site a rate of 75%.)

If taken at face value, these data suggest that the ALC and the CIP have experienced more difficulty in retaining students than the other two projects. Since the EBCE and the Street Academy both serve out-of-school youths exclusively, it also appears that retention is related to the type of youth served. While it appears that these two inferences are valid, there are some problems with the data. Again, different projects have used different formulas for measuring retention rates. One CIP site, for example, took the total number of students enrolled at the time the calculation was made and divided it by the number of students initially enrolled. This procedure did not account for graduates and as a result a retention rate of 30% was reported, when in fact the rate would have been 55% had graduates been counted as retained. At another CIP site, the retention rate was obtained by adding to the number of youths currently enrolled in the program those with "positive terminations" (e.g., graduating or returning to the regular school system) and dividing the sum by the total initial enrollment.

A second problem with retention rate data is the lack of consensus among projects over what is meant by positive and negative terminations. While a return to the regular high school would be regarded as a positive termination for one project, at another project such a termination would be considered negative.

Finally, there exists a lack of consensus over the time and conditions under which a student is classified as having terminated. Most projects use the local LEA criteria for determining when a student's name should be added to the project's termination list, but these criteria vary among the LEAs. In one project, the criterion for terminating a student is five consecutive days' absence, while in another, a student is considered terminated after four weeks' absence within a twelve-week period. Also, in some instances students return to the project just prior to being dropped from the enrollment list, or are dropped and then readmitted. Only one project reported the number of students dropped from the total enrollment who subsequently returned to the project.

Total Number of Graduates

The ALC, the EBCE, and the Street Academy reported 3, 6, and 65 graduates, respectively, for the 1976-77 school year. For the CIPs, a total of 89 students have graduated (55 from one site, 15 from the second site, 13 from the third and 6 from the fourth site). These figures correspond to approximately 5, 8, 31, and 10% of the reported enrollments for the four projects.

Again it appears that the two community-based projects (the CIP and the Street Academy) are more effective than the other two projects. However, given the large differences in youth interest, capacity, and commitment that are likely to exist between projects, it would be inappropriate to reach such a conclusion without considering (a) the kind of diploma offered, (b) the proportion of students who are in-school youth versus those who are out-of-school youth, and (c) the number of students "eligible" for diplomas or certificates. It seems quite likely, for example, that the Street Academy can graduate students more easily because "graduating" means earning a GED, not a high school diploma. Unfortunately, there are many plausible explanations for the observed graduation rates and not enough data to enable choosing among them.

Attendance Rate Issues

The current CIP attendance rate is 58.6%, while the EBCE and Street Academy attendance rates were 89% and 60%, respectively, in 1976-77. (No attendance figures are reported for the ALC project.) These statistics suggest that attendance has been a problem for all the sites. It also appears that CIP sites are less successful in maintaining high attendance rates than two comparison projects.

Again, conclusions about attendance rates must remain tentative for several reasons. First it is not clear whether the reported rates are based upon average daily attendance or some other estimates. For the CIP sites, the data reported represent the average attendance over three months of the project's operation (March, April, and May 1979). Although the project's operations were more stable during this period than they were earlier, the figures are likely to be unrepresentatively low because the months of March, April, and May are generally the months in which school attendance is poorest in most public schools.

Second, because the CIP sites are known to employ different procedures for recording attendance, it can be assumed that similar differences exist among the comparison projects. A third factor related to attendance is the previous attendance patterns of the participating youths. Since one characteristic of the target population for these programs is poor attendance, consideration must be given to previous attendance records and/or changes in attendance patterns from previous years. None of the sites have reported such data although one site--the EBCE--did indicate that its attendance rate is higher than that of its parent school (i.e., 89% versus 72%).

A final factor related to attendance is the problem of attrition. In the case of the CIPs for example, there is a distinct possibility that students who have actually left the project are being counted as absent rather than terminated--especially since, as mentioned earlier, some discrepancies exist in the criteria for termination.

Summary

Assessing the advantages and disadvantages of the CIP in comparison to other alternative approaches is a complex and problematical task. Of four indicators of success--enrollment, retention, number of graduates, and attendance--inconsistencies in the data render the drawing of conclusions extremely hazardous. At a very tentative level, the CIP, together with the Street Academy, appears to have the advantage of attracting a larger number of youths than the other two comparison projects. In terms of retention rates, it appears that the projects serving out-of-school youth only have an advantage over those that serve both in-and-out-of-school youth. No striking advantage or disadvantages are evidenced in terms of attendance rate for the CIP or any one of the other three alternative approaches, although all sites seem to have problems with attendance. Finally in terms of leading to graduation, the CIP appears to have some advantages over the ALC and the EBCE, although the youth served are not exactly comparable. The Street Academy seems to produce more graduates than the CIP, but they earn GEDs rather than regular high school diplomas.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary purpose of this section of the Task D report has been to provide details of comparisons that were made between the CIP and similar non-YEDPA projects. The common and unique features of the three alternative projects and the CIP were described, as was the process of identifying the three comparison projects. As pointed out, drawing inferences from the comparisons is extremely hazardous because of differences among projects in their definitions and quantification of criterion measures. If additional data can be obtained, it may be possible to clarify some of the issues that have been raised. Additional data on 12 "promising" projects may also enable new comparisons to be made. Such new comparisons may also be enlightening.

Some 500 youth-oriented projects were reviewed and three were selected for comparison to the CIP. None of the three projects could be shown to be either inferior or superior to the CIP in terms of such indicators of success as attendance patterns, retention, number of graduates, or success in attracting youths. The CIP may have some advantage over the other projects in attracting youths and (together with the other community-based project) in helping them to graduate. Even these inferences must be viewed with some skepticism, however, because of data inadequacies. All projects appeared to have difficulty in maintaining attendance levels, but projects serving out-of-school youth appeared to have somewhat more success in this area.

Data comparability was the most severely limiting factor in RMC's attempts to draw meaningful inferences from the comparisons that were made. Differences in project features were readily apparent, but causal linkages could not be unambiguously established. The discussion on the similarities and differences between the CIP and the three comparison projects thus left unanswered a number of questions important to policy makers. For example, does the fact that youths are paid for their work experience (one of the three projects provides stipends) really make a difference in retention rates or attendance patterns? Is having day-care facilities for youths with children related to improved school or on-the-job attendance patterns or in the number of students who complete their high school education? And, is a project administered by a community-based organization more likely to be successful than is one administered by a CETA agency. These and other questions related to determining the relative merits and demerits of the CIP cannot be answered without first establishing whether or not the data reported by the CIPs and the alternative approaches are comparable.

The major issues related to data comparability are summarized as follows:

- Enrollment Issues
  - Projects use different methods for estimating current and total enrollments (i.e., duplicated vs. unduplicated counts)
  - Enrollment capacity is confounded with total enrollment
- Retention Rate Issues
  - Projects use different methods of calculating retention rates
  - Projects differ in their definitions of negative and positive terminations
- Issues Related to Number of Graduates
  - Projects vary in the type of diploma offered to youths (i.e., GED vs. regular high school diploma)
  - Relationships are likely to exist between the number of graduates and the number of credits needed to graduate when youths enter the project. The projects that were compared serve target groups that differ in this respect
- Attendance Rate Issues
  - Projects use different methods of calculating attendance rate
  - Projects use different procedures for recording attendance

In order to make useful comparisons among projects, some degree of comparability with respect to such concepts as "negative termination," "positive termination," "current enrollment," and "attendance" are essential. While it is anticipated that RMC will be able to make some recalculations, it is unlikely that the desired degree of comparability can be achieved from the information available in any existing records.

As indicated, on-site validation of reported data and the collection of additional data will make it possible for RMC to report more conclusive findings for the Final Task D report (March 1980). In addition to making comparisons in terms of indicators such as retention and absentee rates, number of graduates, and enrollment, it is anticipated that additional comparisons can be made with indicators of success such as relations with the community, relations with the LEA, and job placement among others.

PART 2

COMPARISON OF THE CIP WITH OTHER YEDPA PROJECTS

Nelly P. Stromquist

I. INTRODUCTION

Purpose

This portion of the Task D Interim Report has a two-fold purpose. First, it seeks to present comparative findings on implementation issues common to work-oriented programs.[1] Second, it seeks to explore the various factors that have affected these implementation issues.

A characteristic feature of most work-oriented programs is that the intended clients (disadvantaged youth) are not compelled to participate; their involvement is voluntary. For this reason, the implementation of work-oriented programs is governed as much by those forces that influence the decisions of young people to participate as by those related to the running of the program itself. While dichotomizing implementation processes into these two categories must be regarded as simplistic, it provides a useful framework for organizing the following discussion.

The implementation issues discussed herein include the various factors that affect the young peoples' decisions to enroll in work-oriented programs. They also encompass actions that must be carried out to set the program in place such as recruitment activities, the provision of work experiences, relationships with the local educational agency (LEA), coordination activites with the community, and the role of community-based organizations (CBOs). Youth attendance and retention patterns, which do not enable the implementation process but constitute an intrinsic part of it, are also included.

This portion of the Task D report focuses primarily on implementation issues that have been problematic and/or about which useful information has been acquired. For the most part, the issues chosen for analysis are intimately related to one or more of the following three areas in which federal policy makers hope to acquire new information:

- the feasibility of new institutional arrangements for the provision of work-oriented programs,
- the extent to which young people can be provided "meaningful" work experiences, and

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[1] The term work-oriented program is used here to refer to programs that involve career-awareness, work-experience, career-related education, and academic training either singly or in combination.

- the appeal of current delivery programs to the target group.

These concerns are included among the priority issues of the 1977 DOL Knowledge Development Plan (U.S. Department of Labor, 1977, pp. 8-9). A better understanding of them, consequently, should be useful to policy makers.

Several programs that are comparable along one or more dimensions have been implemented under DOL sponsorship. Most of these programs, however, have not yet produced detailed accounts of their implementation. This limitation leads the author to restrict the comparison to three programs for which adequate data bases exist. These are:

- The Youth Incentive Entitlement Program (hereafter referred to as Entitlement), which represents the case of a small- to large-sized (with projected enrollments ranging from 200 to 8,000 youths) work-oriented program which offers subsidized employment in return for school attendance;

- The Youth Community Service (YCS), which represents the case of a medium-sized program (1,600) characterized by its emphasis on an experiential approach and community participation; and

- The Career Intern Program (CIP), which represents the case of a small alternative high school (300) offering no financial incentives but enabling youth to obtain high school diplomas.

Findings regarding these programs are augmented by parallel data (when they exist) from the Job Corps, the School-to-Work Transition programs, and the Service Mix programs.

The work-oriented programs described above offer a different set of specific "treatments" and appeals to youths. However, they have in common five broad characteristics: (a) recruitment of youths on a voluntary basis; (b) provision of work experiences; (c) some form of career training; (d) a dependence on the immediate community for work experiences; and (e) a dependence on the LEA for the referral, acceptance, and, in one case, certification of students.

These commonalities make it possible to analyze implementation issues across sites. At the same time, variations within each of the common characteristics provide plausible explanations for different implementation outcomes.

Methodology

The following analyses combine the utilization of first-hand data from one work-oriented program with secondary analysis of several other DOL-sponsored programs. The approach which is used examines issues, one at a time, across programs. It describes and synthesizes various study findings about the selected implementation issues and explores various factors related to them.

The CIP, under evaluation by RMC, provides first-hand source data. These data were gathered through observations of program operations and unstructured interviews with program personnel, students, and community members. Data reported by the other programs were collected through monthly progress reports, site observations, and structured interviews.

II. FACTORS AFFECTING YOUTHS' ENROLLMENT

The option of enrolling in a work-oriented program competes with a number of different alternatives available to disadvantaged youths. These options are not limited to economic ones; they range from continuing present life styles to "making something out of themselves."

Information gleaned from studies of these programs to date indicates that the decision to enroll in work-oriented programs is influenced by six main factors: (a) demographic and sociological characteristics such as race, sex, and family structure; (b) the local labor market; (c) incentives attached to participation in the programs; (d) program eligibility and entrance requirements; and (e) perceptions of the program by potential enrollees and the local community.

Demographic and Sociological Characteristics

National statistics have continually revealed that many economically disadvantaged and minority youths do not complete high school. In 1978, for instance, the dropout rate for 20 and 21 year-old blacks was 25% compared to 15% for whites and 39% for persons of Spanish origin (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979). However, a recent survey of disadvantaged youth[2] done under the Entitlement program revealed that more poor blacks than poor whites remained in high school. Seventy-four percent of disadvantaged blacks were enrolled in school as opposed to only 45% of their white counterparts. Among Hispanics, the rate of enrollment was 51%.

The family structures of disadvantaged youths are different from those of their more advantaged peers. The Entitlement survey found that only 27% lived with both parents while 15% lived with neither parent. The relevance of these family relationships is attested to by the fact that youth who lived with both natural parents were more likely to attend school than those who lived with neither (74% compared to 47%). Strong socialization forces appear to be at work, however, since most high school dropouts (two-thirds) have family heads who never finished high school (Dearman & Plisko, 1979).

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[2] The survey (Barclay, Bottom, Farkas, Stromsdorfer, & Olsen, 1979) was based on a sample of 6,500 disadvantaged youths between 16 and 19 years of age residing in seven sites, six of which were large urban areas and one rural. Disadvantaged youths were defined as those meeting the Entitlement eligibility criteria.

The importance of demographic and sociological characteristics has been felt in the implementation of work-oriented programs. All three programs have had a predominantly black enrollment. In Entitlement, the proportion has been 84%; in the CIP it has ranged from 58 to 99%, depending on site. YCS, which operates in a predominantly white community, has also had a majority of black enrollees (57%). Not surprisingly, there is a higher rate of participation among youth without children than among those with children; thus, while 15.3% of youths eligible for Entitlement had at least one child, only 5.4% of the enrollees had children.

Entitlement reports that only 1% of its participants are heads of household. In comparison, YCS and the CIP each found that approximately 14% of their enrollees belonged to this category.

A significant finding from these three programs is that, although women face greater obstacles to their participation (pregnancy and child care), their enrollment has been slightly larger than that of males. Between 15 and 25% of the female CIP participants had children, necessitating special child care arrangements.

The differential participation rates associated with ethnicity indicate that disadvantaged whites are less likely than blacks to enroll in work-oriented programs. The rather large number of female enrollees, on the other hand, suggests that these programs appeal significantly to women, despite the few supportive services they offer. The very limited participation of household heads under Entitlement but the adequate participation of youths in this category in the CIP and YCS possibly reflects the differential incentives of these programs. These relationships are examined further in subsequent sections.

Local Labor Market Conditions

The impact of labor market forces upon disadvantaged youth has not been systematically studied, but existing data suggest that low income students are more likely to leave school if good jobs are available than where such opportunities do not exist. The Entitlement survey found, for instance, that in a site characterized by an expanding economy, 67% of the disadvantaged students spent fewer than 30 hours per week in school. In contrast, 70% of the disadvantaged students spent more than 30 hours per week in school at a rural site that lacked job opportunities.

The same economic forces that affect students in schools have affected young people in work-oriented programs. CIP interview data showed that in areas with high unemployment but with a demand for cyclical and unskilled jobs, disadvantaged youth do not see education as important for employment and tend to discontinue high school. In Detroit, for instance, out-of-school youths often commented on how easy it is to obtain jobs at the automobile factories and how much money can be made in a few months. Not surprisingly, Detroit was a site where the Entitlement enrollment fell substantially short of its anticipated goal and where the CIP personnel reported the largest disparities between recruitment totals and actual enrollment.

Incentives Attached to Participation in Work-Oriented Programs

In general, findings indicate that regardless of the incentive it is more difficult to attract individuals who have been out of school, and that the longer they have been away from school the more reluctant they are about joining formal or academic settings.

Data from the Entitlement study showed that, while one-third of the eligibles were out-of-school youth, only 8% of those who actually enrolled in the program belonged to this category (Ball, Diaz, Leiman, Mandell, & McNutt, 1979). A possible explanation of this poor response is provided by recent surveys of school dropouts. A needs-assessment study in Baltimore (Dingle Associates, 1978) concluded that there are three basic reasons why students leave high school: (a) nonrelevance of the traditional school curriculum, (b) lack of recognition of individual students' needs, and (c) economic pressures. A survey of school dropouts in nine states (Washington Research Project, 1974) found that the two main reasons given for leaving school were "obstacles" such as pregnancy, economic pressures, and language difficulties (31% of the respondents) and a dislike for school (28%). These findings furnish support for the notion that dropouts do not like the regular high school setting and that financial incentives for them to return to school must be high enough to cover felt economic needs and/or to counterbalance their dislike.

The Entitlement study, in fact, found that the few "dropouts" who enrolled in the program were reluctant to join academic programs. Reportedly, the "vast majority" of the out-of-school youths requested that they not be placed in regular institutions (Ball et al., 1979, p. 48). In consequence, two-thirds of them were placed in GED programs. In some cities where Entitlement has been offered, and where Youth Employment and Training Programs (YETP) are also available, dropouts have preferred to enroll in them because of their greater flexibility in meeting individual needs. Data from the Job Corps provide a parallel finding. Most of the Job Corps enrollees (who by program eligibility criteria were supposed to be school leavers) stated they joined the program because of its job or job-training feature rather than its academic component (U.S. Department of Labor, 1979).

In contrast to Entitlement, the CIP--which offers a combined career-academic orientation--has been able to attract substantial numbers of out-of-school youth, an average of 47% of its enrollment. Part of the CIP success in enrolling out-of-school youth can be attributed to the fact that it is managed by a CBO, but a significant portion of this success can also be explained in terms of the alternative educational setting and the expectation that participants can obtain a high school diploma. (Many young people are aware that the GED does not have the same social value as a high school diploma--"Employers don't bother to talk to you if you have a GED"--and specifically indicate that this diploma is a major objective for them.)

Out-of-school youths do seem to prefer training over an academic setting and they prefer job experiences that allow them to do work tasks compatible with their occupational interests. Data from YCS offer support for this contention. This program--which offers a small amount of training relative to the work experience and which emphasizes a carefully matched job experience--attracted an enrollment of which 35% were out-of-school youth. In contrast, the Entitlement program operating in the same site--which did not offer a very precise match between interests and jobs and which required school attendance--appealed to very few out-of-school youths: only 2% of its enrollees were "dropouts."

Data from the three work-oriented programs showed that non-dropouts were more likely to enroll than dropouts. As noted earlier, 92% of the Entitlement enrollment consisted of students already in school. In the case of the YCS--where the target group were those out of school and out of work--64% of the enrollees either had their high school diploma or were attending high school. In the CIP, 53% of the enrollees had been attending the high school before transferring to the CIP.

There are several plausible explanations for the greater propensity of in-school youths to participate. Unlike out-of-school youths, they do not have to face any problems of reentry into the academic setting. The in-school student also has many peers at school and may still endorse education as a means for personal advancement.

The statistics discussed above suggest that the incentives attached to participation in work-oriented programs are only marginally effective in attracting out-of-school youths back into regular academic settings. They prefer programs that offer them a work experience in line with their interests. The success of the CIP--a combined academic/career setting--in appealing to out-of-school youths indicates, however, that these individuals are willing to return to academic settings provided they are of an alternative nature. Alternative academic/career settings also appear to appeal to many students in traditional school programs.

Program Eligibility and Entrance Requirements

Although eligibility requirements were intended to guarantee that the programs would serve only the target group, they have had negative repercussions among prospective enrollees. Disadvantaged youths who learn about the existence of work-oriented programs and express an initial curiosity about them are easily discouraged. Perceived difficulties with "eligibility requirements," "enrollment procedures," and "testing," can quickly turn them away from the program.

The YCS attracted many applicants, yet, program personnel soon discovered a "serious difficulty" in getting the applicants to attend the initial orientation and that only 45% of the applicants completed it (ACTION, 1979, p. 38). The program also experienced about 8% attrition during the orientation period, even though it lasted only 3.5 days. The CIP also experienced high attrition rates (an average of 42%) between recruitment and pre-admission testing. Attrition rates averaging 29% were also noted between the youths' intake testing and enrollment. These losses were partially attributed to the "group" intakes, but modifications to these procedures could not eliminate a sizable attrition.

Of the work-oriented programs considered here, Entitlement has the most cumbersome eligibility procedures. Enrollees have met at least five requirements prior to enrollment, and all of these have required "documented evidence."[3] As a result, some Entitlement sites experienced three- to four-week turnaround times for verification of eligibility (Ball et al., 1979, p. 227).

Although no attrition rates between recruitment and enrollment have yet been documented for the Entitlement programs, it is known that the Service Mix program--which had similar yet simpler eligibility criteria--encountered a 53% attrition rate.

The need for knowledge development within the YEDPA legislation produced an additional "entry requirement" for disadvantaged youths, namely that they take a long battery of tests and accept the possibility of being placed in control groups. In the CIP experience, many potential candidates were discouraged by the three- to four-hour testing session and simply left during breaks. Further, many did not apply for admission because of the uncertainty associated with being assigned to the "treatment" group even after passing the reading test.

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[3] These criteria included evidence of residency in the target area, citizenship, age, school enrollment, economic disadvantage, and (when applicable) approved participation by juvenile or criminal justice authorities.

In the CIP, the experimental design clearly had a negative impact among the youths placed in the control groups. Many of them perceived such assignment as another instance of the "system's" unfairness. The community-based organization responsible for implementing the CIP also felt that its credibility as a agency was damaged by the need to deny some applicants entry into the program "in the name of science." From the viewpoint of LEA administrators, the formation of control groups created an awkward situation because, in at least some instances, they had identified students and contacted their parents under the assumption that alternative educational treatments would be offered to all of them.

In all, the eligibility and entrance requirements associated with the work-oriented programs have had the effect of decreasing the pool of enrollees. As shown, however, some of the losses have also been due to the fact that these youths themselves are easily discouraged by perceived difficulties.

Program Perception by Enrollees and Community

Current data on the YEDPA programs reveal significant disparities between the proportion of whites and blacks who are eligible for the programs and the proportion of those who enroll. Several reasons may be cited for the differential participation by ethnic groups. As noted earlier, black youths may participate more in work-oriented programs because they realize they need basic skills more than white youths do. Another reason for the larger black enrollment is that these programs carry the social stigma of being known as "poverty programs" or programs for "dropouts" and "troubled youths" (Ball et al., 1979; ACTION, 1979; Treadway, Foat, Fetterman, Stromquist, & Tallmadge, 1979). A third reason is that because these programs serve mostly blacks, white youths may feel out of place in them.

Another major perception affecting youth enrollment has been that connected with the "demonstration" nature of the programs. Many federally sponsored programs have a reputation for being "experiments" that use young people as "guinea pigs." Interview data from the CIP suggest that many residents in the program neighborhood generally distrusted manpower federal programs.

A factor related to the "demonstration" nature of the programs is that they are new to the community and, in consequence, need time to become accepted. CIP data reveal that the original cohorts of youths were small but, as the program started to produce graduates, and enrollees told their peers about the program, greater numbers of youths enrolled in successive cohorts.

Conclusions

This chapter has examined five factors affecting the decision of young people to participate in work-oriented programs. Although apparently removed from the implementation process, these factors play an important role in enabling programs to serve their intended clients.

A significant proportion of disadvantaged youth, particularly those out of school, live with only one parent, alone, or have children of their own. As a result, they need a host of supportive services not adequately provided by present work-oriented programs. Predictably, these programs have encountered difficulties in appealing to out-of-school youth.

Since many young people tend to leave the regular high school because they see it as an oppressive or unsatisfactory environment, the idea of returning to it is not appealing. Entitlement, which sought to motivate out-of-school youths to return to school in exchange for a minimum-wage job, failed to provide an adequate incentive. Dropouts prefer programs that offer them an intensive work experience or an alternative academic setting, as shown by the YCS and the CIP experiences. Students already in school seem more willing to remain if provided a financial incentive. On the other hand, some of them are willing to forego a financial incentive if offered an alternative academic setting, as the CIP has demonstrated.

The decision to enroll in a work-oriented program seems to represent a fragile commitment. Eligibility and entrance requirements have compounded this problem. Although the requirements were designed to ensure that the target population would be served, their mere presence has discouraged a large number of disadvantaged youths from enrolling.

The perception of these work-oriented programs as serving primarily "dropouts" or minorities and as being "experiments" rather than service providers further deters young people from participating.

III. IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES RELATED TO PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION

This chapter examines the second set of forces affecting implementation, namely, those tasks undertaken by program administrators to put their respective programs in place. These comprise start-up and operation activities such as recruitment, the provision of work experiences, relationships with the LEA, coordination with the community, and the role of CBOs. Attendance and retention patterns are also considered.

Recruitment Activities

Recruitment strategies. Study of DOL-sponsored programs has shown that different strategies for recruitment are appropriate for disadvantaged youths, depending on whether they are in or out of school. For in-school youths, recruitment is done more easily since referrals can usually be obtained from feeder schools. In the Entitlement program, schools referred two-thirds of those who enrolled. In the CIP, schools were also the main sources of in-school referrals. LEAs identified most of the potential interns and subsequently made it possible for CIP personnel to recruit students on school premises. The key role of the school in referring potential dropouts was dramatically revealed during the summer months when recruitment was almost impossible. This particular problem plagued Entitlement, the CIP, and the School-to-Work Transition program, all of which initiated their activities out of synchronization with the school calendar.

The recruitment of out-of-school youths has proven considerably more difficult. It was noted that, unlike the in-school youths, dropouts do not have a central, easily accessible gathering place (Ball et al., 1979, p. 44). In consequence, the recruitment of out-of-school youth has required program personnel to go into the streets and canvass places where even small groups might be found. The experience of the CIP was that the process needed the involvement of many staff members, typically on a full-time basis in the initial periods.

The use of mass media for recruitment purposes has had mixed results. In the case of Entitlement it was found that recruitment was more effectively done through personal contact than through mass advertisements. On the other hand, the success of YCS suggests that a comprehensive and intensive advertising effort--including posters, brochures, and T-shirts in addition to radio and TV announcements--can have a substantial impact. YCS reported that a combination of "targeted radio time" and neighborhood advertising generated increased applications (ACTION, 1978, p. 36). A similar experience was registered in the case of one CIP site: when the use of the mass media was widespread and intensive, both in- and out-of-school youth responded.

A similar preference of youth for verbal rather than written communication was observed in the case of the CIP. The best source of referrals was the peer group--either graduates, or participants in the program--or their relatives. The influence of peers was also important in the case of the Entitlement, where friends accounted for one-third of the referrals of the out-of-school youths (Manpower Demonstration Corporation, 1979).

Problems of goal estimates. Regardless of the size of their enrollment goals, the three programs reviewed here failed to meet the anticipated numbers. The causes of this short fall are undoubtedly numerous. On the one hand, there is a cluster of factors discussed above related to the youths' decision to participate or not. On the other hand, there are various factors related to the ability of program implementors to identify potential participants and effectively recruit them. Some of these factors were also mentioned above.

There are other factors that have resulted in overestimation of program enrollments. First, projections of program enrollments are often made on a very simplistic basis--merely by referring to the pool of high school dropouts in the community or the number of unemployed youths in the community. This, for instance, was the way in which both Entitlement and YCS computed their projections.[4]

Second, because of the "demonstration" nature of DOL-sponsored programs, special considerations were taken into account in the determination of enrollment goals. In the case of Entitlement, prime sponsors were encouraged to overestimate the number that would be served in the belief that it would be better to err in that direction than in the opposite (Ball et al., 1979, p. xxii). With CIP, the desire to examine student outcomes led to the specification of enrollment quotas large enough to meet the requirements of the planned statistical analyses.

Third, the presence of various DOL-sponsored programs in several cities led to competition for enrollees among programs. YCS and two of the CIP sites operated in cities where Entitlement and other YETP programs were also offered.

Fourth, both Entitlement and the CIP began operations almost immediately after receiving their DOL contracts. They had little time to plan recruitment strategies and to ensure they had all the necessary personnel. Once they started serving youths, the recruitment task became more difficult as staff attention had to be divided among various other concerns.

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[4] Since the YEDPA programs began implementation in 1977, they faced an additional complication: their basic census data was seven years old.

Fifth, the recruitment of in-school youths suffered because the program and LEA cycles were not in phase with one another. Finally, the LEAs were slow in responding to the programs' needs for cooperation and assistance in recruiting. These last two factors are examined in greater detail below.

Relations with the LEA

Both Entitlement and the CIP depended on LEAs for critical collaboration. Under Entitlement, LEAs were asked to re-enroll out-of-school youths and to arrange for flexible schedules so that these students could perform their jobs at the work sites. In the case of the CIP, the LEAs had to cooperate first by identifying potential dropouts, then by approving the CIP curriculum, and finally by granting academic credits and high school diplomas for work performed in the program.

Administrators in both Entitlement and the CIP were inexperienced in and unprepared for dealing with LEAs, although for different reasons. In the case of Entitlement, the experiences of the prime sponsors in using community resources had been almost exclusively with nonprofit or public agencies and firms. In the case of the CIP, the experience of the disseminators had been limited to one LEA. Given the highly decentralized nature of school governance, this single experience did not prepare them for the many contingencies they later faced.

As a result of the relative inexperience of program administrators and disseminators in dealing with LEAs, several lessons have been learned. The four most significant are discussed below.

Out-of-phase school and program cycles. The lack of congruence between program and LEA schedules created problems for the recruitment, enrollment, and job placement of DOL-program participants. The fact that schools close during the summer posed serious problems for the procurement of referrals and recruitment of students in programs scheduled to begin in September.

Since most high schools determine class schedules in April and May, programs that started in September found difficulties fitting youths into job assignments or career-oriented classes. In the case of Entitlement, several out-of-schools could not enroll in the regular school because they came in during the mid-term. These difficulties were compounded at times by the school administrations' insistence that students be in school for a fixed number of hours each day, which, in some cases, precluded students from participating in concurrent work experiences.

Accountability of student academic performance. Some of the accountability criteria called for in the YEDPA legislation are at odds with normal record keeping in the schools. Entitlement regulations, for example, require participants to meet "minimum academic and attendance standards", but LEA standards in these areas were found to be both subjective and changing. Program administrators discovered that, "problems [of attendance and academic performance] were normally handled on an individual basis between pupil, guidance counselor, and faculty. The requirement in the [YEDPA] guidelines that compliance with Entitlement standards must be verified monthly, in writing, further complicated the problem" (Ball et al., 1979, p. 134).

Another source of conflict between the programs and the LEAs has been the right to establish curriculum requirements and assign credits. Whereas Entitlement prime sponsors were to make "appropriate efforts" to arrange academic credit for work experiences, their responsibility conflicted with LEA authority in this matter. While negotiations were successful in obtaining some academic credit, the amount was determined by each individual LEA and varied considerably from site to site.

Across the four CIP sites, the LEAs have required that staff meet local certification requirements and that the curriculum content match that of the public high schools. While the LEAs have agreed to award credit for work experiences, they have also forced the CIP curriculum into a more traditional mold than might have been desirable.

Incentives for LEA participation. The major incentive for the LEAs is economic. In 8 of the 17 Entitlement sites the LEA has been involved as a co-contractor or subcontractor and funds have been given to the LEA for running the program. Moreover, the LEA has benefitted by receiving state monies for either maintaining or increasing the student rolls. In the case of the CIP, the LEA has profited by increasing student rolls with students not actually attending the high school.

Another incentive for the LEA has been that the programs have filled a need. In the case of School-to-Work, information on careers has been brought to the high school and made available to all students--a service that has been appreciated by school administrators. Several LEA administators reacted positively to the presence of the CIP because, as one admitted, "We don't provide students with a career orientation. We are glad the CIP came along because there's nothing else we could have done for them."

A third incentive has been that teachers seeking new roles in nontraditional instruction have found an outlet to express themselves.

Disincentives for LEA participation. Various characteristics and requirements of DOL-sponsored programs have acted as disincentives for school administrators. These issues have included philosophical differences, practical considerations, and some perceived threats to the status quo of the LEA or its personnel.

There have been three primary philosophical issues. First, some LEAs have felt that the YEDPA eligibility criteria, which limits participation to the economically disadvantaged, conflict with the school tradition of open service to all youths (Dingle Associates, 1978). Second, LEAs have expressed discomfort with the idea of paying students money for remaining in school. Some school administrators have expressed the opinion that paying some students for work experience is not a good idea because the regular students are not equally rewarded (Dingle Associates, 1978, p. 9). Third, many LEAs are not particularly interested in serving "dropouts" again. They feel they do not have appropriate alternative programs for them and that these youths' "ages and attitudes [are] inappropriate to regular schooling" (Ball et al., 1979, p. 148).

Practical considerations have related to the laborious tasks LEA personnel must perform to identify "potential dropouts" (in the case of the CIP) or to verify attendance and academic performance (as mandated by Entitlement). In addition, LEAs have been reluctant to send staff members out of the schools to verify job performance. Another issue is that many LEAs realize these work-oriented programs are subject to very unstable funding. Therefore, they are reluctant to set up programs that may be dismantled in one or two years.

Disincentives that are perceived as affecting the LEA status quo have been small in number but strongly felt by program implementors. One disincentive relates to the fear--both by LEAs and teachers' unions--that a new program will displace teachers (U.S. Employment Service, 1979). LEAs have been willing to supply names of "actual" dropouts but have been somewhat reluctant to provide lists of "potential" dropouts. One school administrator stated, "We gave [the CIP] a list of dropouts. They shouldn't be raiding our school. They should have been doing their own work."

During CIP start-up activities, teacher unions in two of the four sites interferred with the CIP-LEA negotiation because they were concerned with the possibility of teachers' layoffs. The problem was resolved only when the CIP promised to hire union teachers in proportion to the enrollment of in-school students from the LEA.

In the case of other programs, particularly that of Entitlement, there has been no fear of teacher displacement since the youths were supposed to enroll back in the school. Difficulty, if any, emerged because standing LEA-teachers' union agreements made hiring additional personnel (needed to help implement the work-oriented programs) a very slow process.

Another disincentive for the LEAs is their perception of the YEDPA programs as an implicit criticism of the public schools (Dingle Associates, 1978, p. 11). This perception is probably accurate since the YEDPA legislation--by sponsoring alternative delivery agents--implies that the schools and their curricula are not responsive to needs of disadvantaged youths.

CIP experiences suggest initial difficulties in obtaining the cooperation of the LEA can be overcome. The LEAs dealing with the CIP have helped not only by producing student referrals but also by providing supportive services such as transportation, lunches, substitute personnel, facilities for physical education courses, and even limited quantities of textbooks and furniture. Only when the teacher union demanded that no extra help be given to the CIP, was it denied.

The present LEA collaboration in DOL-sponsored programs may depend heavily on the fact that these programs are externally funded. Their high costs and restricted target group would certainly act as disincentives to collaboration should federal funding be reduced or terminated.

Work Placement

A basic objective of the YEDPA legislation is the provision of work experiences that "will lead to meaningful employment opportunities [for youths] after they have completed the program" (P.L. 95-93, 1977, p. 632). DOL's 1977 Knowledge Development Plan further defines a meaningful job as one "having an impact on future careers" (p. 9). Although the available implementation data do not address this linkage, it is generally assumed that the work experience should be matched to youths' interests and preferences, that the pool of job slots should be large enough to permit an interest/work-experience match, and that this experience should be somehow evaluated. These three issues are examined below.

Matching jobs to youths' interests. Data collected so far on these programs indicate that finding the number of jobs needed for the work experience has not been problematic. Entitlement--by far the largest of the programs funded under YEDPA—found that the staff was "able to generate a pool of potential work sponsors with minimal trouble" (Ball et al., 1979, p. xx). CIP and YCS data show that these programs have also been able to find the job slots needed.

While finding job slots has not been difficult, problems have emerged in matching jobs to youths' interests. Two factors have operated. First, the jobs of interest may have existed only in areas of the community not easily accessible to the youth. This has been the case in several large cities where youths have refused some job experiences or attended sporadically because of transportation difficulties.

Second, some jobs--whether because of their nature or previous agreements with respective labor unions--are not available to youths. In the case of accounting, law, and medicine, the high qualifications and confidential nature of the service have precluded youths from access to the actual job experience. Occupations that are relatively dangerous (such as electrician and policeman) or those that require union-sanctioned apprenticeship have also been off limits to participants.

Success in matching youths' interests to jobs has varied among programs. The Entitlement program obliged prime sponsors to provide "appropriate" and "constructive" jobs, yet most job placements have been in areas such as service, sales, clerical, and in aide positions such as recreational leader and program aide. Because these experiences cover a narrow occupational range and are not different from those in previous manpower development programs, there is reason to believe that the occupational interests of many youths have not been satisfied.

Smaller programs (such as the CIP) or those with extensive community participation (such as the YCS) have apparently been able to provide more diversified opportunities. YCS has offered placements calling for greater skill levels, such as construction, home health care, "justice and legal rights," and "specialized transportation systems" (ACTION, 1979).

The Hands-On experience of the CIP has offered placements in occupations ranging from skilled to professional levels. Placements have included carpentry, tractor-driving, modeling, music recording, mechanical engineering, architecture, law, and bookkeeping (Treadway et al., 1979). CIP students have reported satisfaction with their experiences, and interviews with some of them indicate that the contact with "real" work situations has had a very positive impact on their career outlook.

Data from YCS reveal an unintended negative effect derived from the attempt to match youths' interests to jobs. Insistence on a precise interest-job fit can result in few placements which, in turn, can produce attrition among the enrollees. YCS found that only 20% of its first group of participants had succeeded in making an interest-job match. Program administrators proceeded to make improvements by helping youths to become more assertive, helping break the resistance of some project supervisors, and increasing staff supervision of youths during the matching process. With these changes, the successful matches increased to 31% in a two-month period, and to 60% one month later (ACTION, 1979). The fact that a substantial number of youths remained unmatched taught program implementors the need for "lead time to develop a large bank of jobs."

Participation of private and public sectors. The relevance of the distinction between private and public sectors resides in the systematically different work experiences these two sectors offer. The range of occupational choices is greater within the private sector, particularly in profit-making organizations.

After four months of operations, Entitlement reported that two-thirds of its enrollees had been placed in public agencies, one-fourth in non-profit agencies, and only 10% in private, profit-making firms (Manpower Demonstration Corporation, 1979, p. 10). One-third of the placements in public agencies were in public schools where youths performed mainly menial tasks, such as "groundskeeping," "building maintenance," and "repairs" or clerical jobs.

Within both YCS and the CIP, most placements have been in non-profit agencies.[5] However, these placements have been relatively diversified because, in the case of the YCS, there was a precise matching of youth interest to jobs. In the CIP, the fact that the program is run by a well established CBO with business and government contacts in the community facilitated the identification of potential employers. Moreover, the fact that the CBO itself has light industrial and business equipment job resources made it possible to place CIP students in occupations similar to those in private firms, such as accounting, computer programming, welding, and auto mechanics.

In seeking the cooperation of business and industry, implementors have found the overall attitude to be positive, although some organizations declined to participate because they did not want "unproductive teenagers just hanging around" (Treadway et al., 1979) Also, not all firms that initially indicated a willingness to help have delivered. This problem has been experienced not only by prime sponsors but also by CBOs. In the case of several School-to-Work Transition programs administered by the National Urban League, many corporations initially stated a willingness to help but subsequently revealed they had no jobs to offer (National Urban League, 1979). In the case of two CIP sites, the major employers in the community found that they could not accommodate as many youths as promised because union contracts allowed only hired personnel at the work site. Other employers have alluded to the need for additional insurance to cover the youths on site, or have indicated that they could not adequately monitor students' performance.

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[5] It should be pointed out that in the case of YCS, its implementing agency (ACTION) is excluded, by legislative mandate, from using the private, for-profit sector.

Assessment of the work experience. Assessments of the work experience and of youth performance have been carried out somewhat superficially. In the case of Entitlement, there has been minimum monitoring of job attendance and performance, particularly in the large-enrollment sites. This has resulted from the serious logistical problem in large sites where as many as several hundred work sponsors may have been utilized. The diversity of sponsors, in turn, has made it almost impossible for program administrators to ensure adequate supervision (Ball et al., 1979, p. 185).

It does not appear possible--financially at least--to provide very close work monitoring. In the case of the CIP, there have been as many as 15 youths in the Hands-On experience simultaneously. The two career counselors simply could not have monitored their progress. Not only was their presence required at the site, but problems associated with commuting times, distances, and costs would have been insurmountable. Further, the counselor's presence could have inconvenienced the employer. Instead of directly observing, counselors normally telephoned employers for comments about job performance and attendance, and relied on the brief evaluation form filled out by the employer at the end of the experience.

In summary, the work experiences afforded by the DOL-sponsored programs have produced a number of placements sufficient to meet the needs of the enrolled youths. Less satisfactory have been qualitative aspects of the placements such as their relevance to youths' preferences and the degree of monitoring and feedback that has been achieved.

Coordination with the Community

Due to their dependence on agencies and businesses in the community for the provision of work experiences and also because of their reliance on the LEA and community agencies for referrals of disadvantaged youths, the DOL-sponsored programs have necessitated a very extensive network of community contacts.

The three programs examined herein differ greatly in terms of the degree of community access they enjoyed. It is not possible to provide a single description of the community access attained by Entitlement because the program has been administered by many different types of organizations. In the case of several Entitlement prime sponsors, however, community contacts were poor. They had not developed extensive community contacts in the past and short implementation schedules did not give them time to develop such relationships (Ball et al., 1979).

In the case of YCS--which is run by a community board with representation from organized labor, business, local and regional governments, education, community-service organizations, and youth and neighborhood organizations--no significant problems have been reported either in obtaining youth referrals or in finding work sponsors. Partly because of this broad community representation, the work placements within YCS have been more balanced than those of Entitlement.

The experience of the CIP is noteworthy. This program is run by a community-based organization with a good reputation among the black and the business communities. Several CIP staff members were former employees in the community-based organization and brought to the CIP a large number of personal contacts. The staff members' informal knowledge of the community made it possible for them not only to place all the youths in selected Hands-On experiences, but to offer each intern two occupational choices.

The different levels of success achieved by the three work-oriented programs in establishing community contacts reveals that effective community networks are hard to develop in a short time and that they need to be in place prior to program implementation. Entitlement--having limited experience with community groups and dealing only indirectly with business groups--found problems in recruiting out-of-school youths and in providing diversified job slots. In contrast, the CIP--run by an organization familiar with its community--and the YCS--administered by a board with extensive community representation--reported fewer difficulties in these two activities.

Contributions Unique to Community-Based Organizations

Two of the work-oriented programs discussed in this report utilized community-based organizations either as single or co-administrators of programs, or as subcontractors to carry out recruitment and intake activities.

In the case of the CIP, the program was administered by a black CBO with established roots in the community where it operated. The CBO's main contribution in running the program was that it embued the new setting with a strong and distinct philosophy ("We Help Ourselves" is the motto of this CBO). Because of the ethos brought by the organization, the program climate is characterized by a feeling of "family," where both youths and program personnel show a mutual caring beyond that seen in conventional educational programs. Second, the fact that the CBO has been able to hire personnel who had not internalized the norms of the regular high school made it possible for the youths who were alienated from "teachers" and "counselors" to place their trust in the CIP staff. Third, the CBO operated in a separate physical setting. This separation from the regular high school is a positive attribute of the CIP, as enrollees have developed the feeling that the CIP is "very different from the high school."

An additional contribution made by the CBO in the case of the CIP is its ability to gain access and actually appeal to out-of-school youths. The CIP has had a very high out-of-school youth enrollment (47%) compared to other DOL programs. YCS, which has been run by a board with broad community participation, has also attracted out-of-school youths, but to a lesser extent (35% of its enrollees).

It was noted earlier that the Entitlement program appealed to few dropouts (8% of its enrollees). However, data gathered from the Entitlement implementation study show that sites with the highest out-of-school enrollment (up to 13%) were those in which CBOs participated in the recruitment efforts (Ball et al., 1979, p. 63). According to these preliminary data, Entitlement programs run by a government agency, an independent contractor, or an LEA alone were less successful in recruiting out-of-school youths than those administered by a combination of agencies that included a CBO.

Although the data from both CIP and Entitlement suggest that the role played the CBO was a positive one, not all investigators have reached similar conclusions. Observational data gathered during brief field visits to Entitlement and other YEDPA programs led Wurzberg (1979) to conclude that "there is very little to distinguish CBOs from other service deliverers with respect to cost, target penetration, or effectiveness as program deliverers" (p. 42). The same report noted a great variability within CBOs, which led its author to maintain that generalizations about CBOs should be viewed with caution.

Attendance and Retention Patterns

In general, all DOL-sponsored programs have experienced attendance and retention rates much lower than those in the public high schools.

No exact figures or attendance patterns are yet available from either Entitlement or YCS. In the CIP, however, where the setting is small and individualized attention is the norm, absenteeism has been quite high. During the winter months, attendance was as high as 80% in one site, but it decreased to 50% during the summer. In the three other CIP sites, attendance rates have ranged from 40 to 65%. Counselors call and even visit the youths' homes whenever attendance problems are detected. However they report that this very time-demanding activity has met with little success.

In the CIP experience, the attitude toward attendance expressed by the alternative high school is at odds with that demanded from the cooperating LEA. Whereas the CIP seeks to provide students with "a second chance" and, thus, is willing to combine a nurturing approach with a demand for increased attendance, the LEA demands minimal attendance requirements. It remains to be seen how these differences will be reconciled.

Together with high absentee rates, the work-oriented programs have been characterized by substantial dropout rates. In the case of the CIP, the dropout rate has ranged from 27 to 70% over a five-month period.[6] Two programs with smaller dropout rates have been Entitlement, which reports an enrollee loss of 11% within a seven-month period (Ball et al., 1979, p. 87) and YCS, which reported a 14% dropout rate within an identical period (ACTION, 1979, p. 20).

Although there has been a tendency for administrators of the YEDPA legislation to compare attendance and retention rates in these work-oriented programs with those of the high school, such comparisons do not appear appropriate. The youth population in these two settings is quite different. As noted in Chapter II of this report, disadvantaged youths face a number of social and economic conditions distinct from mainstream youths. It would be more appropriate to compare their present attendance with their attendance at the regular high school last attended.

Conclusions

The data examined in this chapter indicate that the recruitment methods used for out-of-school youth must be different from those used for youths still enrolled in regular high schools. The former youths are difficult to contact and require recruitment strategies that are time and labor intensive. The recruitment of in-school students is best accomplished through collaborative arrangements with the LEA, but such arrangements suffer when the schedule of the work-oriented program is out of phase with the regular school calendar. Other factors that are dysfunctional to optimum school-program relationships include the lack of authority prime sponsors and other program administrators have over academic standards, philosophical differences, practical considerations, and perceived threats to the status quo of the LEA and its teachers.

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[6] These figures were derived by comparing those in the third cohort who were invited to enroll in the program with those who were available four to six months later for the mid-term testing. It is not possible at this point to distinguish those who never actually enrolled from those who dropped from the program or from those who had sporadic attendance or those who returned to the high school.

Program implementors have had varying degrees of success in providing work experiences to youths. Large programs without well developed networks of community resources have provided narrow ranges of occupational choice, mostly within public agencies. Small programs with linkages to community resources or moderate-sized programs with extensive community representation have provided more diversified occupational experiences, even though the participation of private firms has been low in all cases. So far, the performance of CBOs seems to be superior to that of prime sponsors and independent contractors.

IV. FACTORS CONDITIONING THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

Efforts to install new programs are never devoid of problems, whether anticipated or unexpected. In the case of the programs examined here, these implementation problems can be traced to the following four main sets of factors: time constraints, inadequate program definition, unanticipated complications, and incompatibilities between service and research demands. Each of these sets of factors is analyzed below.

Time Constraints

Following the signing of the YEDPA legislation in August 1977, DOL sought to have work-oriented programs in place and operating by the following spring. Although, in principle, this afforded a six-month preparation time, in fact it did not, since the interval was shared by organizations operating at three different levels.

Local site administrators had between one and three months to put the necessary human and physical resources in place before providing services to the target youth. The consequence of these time constraints was a lack of planning. The non-unexpected result was that important start-up activities were either incompletely on inadequately carried out.

The brief time available placed heavy demands on the managerial abilities of program administrators. Some administrators, as in the case of YCS, responded to the challenge in a very effective way. Others, most frequently prime sponsors under Entitlement, became overwhelmed by program demands and were not able to correct many of the problems that emerged during initial program implementation.

Ideally, the process of disseminating an innovation should encompass a series of steps beginning with the explicit description of program components, the identification of personnel and other resources needed for the innovation, and the identification of the personnel who will manage the dissemination effort. In the case of Entitlement, one cannot speak of a dissemination process inasmuch as the "program" was really a "policy". Interested sites presented preliminary proposals in September and a final one in December. From their perspective, they had only three months to estimate the pool of potential youths in the community, identify the gamut of work sites in the community, obtain the commitment of agencies and businesses to become work sites, arrange with the LEA for admission of out-of-school youths, and coordinate schedules that would allow program enrollees to combine classes and work experience.

It is now evident that the planning of several Entitlement prime sponsors was both hasty and incomplete. First, some of them failed to expand their staffs, even though it should have been clear that the Entitlement tasks of recruitment, enrollment, identification of job slots, payroll monitoring, and work site management could not be accomplished in the "spare time" of existing staff members. Second, since prime sponsors had to give evidence of commitment from the work sites in order to complete their final application during November, they had no recourse but to use their established networks of public and nonprofit youth sponsors (Ball et al., 1979). This limited the selection of work experiences to those that had traditionally been available (i.e., before Entitlement). The new agencies that *did* agree to cooperate with Entitlement often failed to live up to their promises. The fact that Entitlement grants were awarded competitively had a negative impact as such competition was found to "create powerful incentives for agencies to oversell their abilities to carry out a program" (Ball et al., 1979, p. 27).

Inadequate consideration of the incompatibilities between program DOL and LEA calendars represents a third planning deficiency. DOL-sponsored programs operated under a fiscal year that began on October 1, whereas the LEA fiscal year started either on July 1 or January 1, and its academic year in September. This had serious implications for recruitment, enrollment, arrangement of work experiences, and even program staffing.

The case of the CIP is of significance because this program had been field tested before, and the implementation process called for its replication rather than for "beginning from scratch." The CIP disseminators had been actively involved with the development of the original CIP, but they were also substantially affected by the lack of planning time for implementation in an additional four sites. Officially, the local CBO affiliates (the equivalent of the prime sponsors) had scarcely two weeks to develop their proposals (although some of them too had undertaken exploratory planning). As in the case of Entitlement, the competition for CIP funds also led the CBO affiliates to oversell themselves and to minimize any potential problems in their proposals.

The four CIP winning sites, which received their contracts in December 1977, had then to hire their staff immediately and provide training for them in order to "start operations" in January 1978. Hampered by holidays, the process of getting the staff and physical resources in place at maximum speed led to problems of incomplete or inadequate staff, inadequate development of recruitment strategies, unresolved agreements with the LEAs, and limited knowledge about the program by the community. Several of these problems, particularly recruitment and staffing, were critical and noticeably affected the implementation process.

In contrast to Entitlement and, to a lesser extent, the CIP, the YCS implementation appears to have been characterized by both careful planning and flexibility. Though the program was developed from scratch, YCS administrators conducted a small pilot project before starting full-scale operations. They produced a plan with clear objectives and performance standards, and made provisions for adequate time and personnel to accomplish the anticipated tasks. The YCS success gave strong evidence of the importance of certain key planning activities, particularly staffing, recruitment strategies, start-up schedules, and staggered intakes.

The intense and brief planning period that characterized the YEDPA programs was similar to that experienced by CETA programs in the mid-70s and brought about analogous results (see Snedeken & Snedeken, 1978). The pattern of imposing severe time limits needs to be seriously examined by program administrators at the federal level. Without adequate time for planning and preparation, serious problems seem almost certain to arise. Excessive eagerness to demonstrate that some program works, has a high probability of leading to the opposite outcome.

Inadequate Program Definition

A close examination of the various DOL-sponsored "programs" reveals that not all of these were fully developed programs by the time of their implementation.

Of the three programs examined in this report, the CIP is unique in having detailed specifications regarding the number, qualifications, and roles of staff; the characteristics of its career-exploration experience, its instructional methodology; and its desired program climate. On the other hand, the CIP did not have equally useful specifications for details such as operating procedures among departments and information-processing routines related to transcript reviews, counseling, academic credit records, and class schedules. These deficiencies turned out to be significant and had repercussions on implementation issues such as recruitment, coordination with the LEA, and attendance and retention.

As pointed out earlier, Entitlement was not really a "program" but rather a statement of social/educational goals and the broad means by which they were to be attained. Since each prime sponsor developed its own proposal, there were as many Entitlement "programs" as sites. Given the broad features of the program as expressed in the legislation and the tentative nature of the program at the local level, prime sponsors could give only vague explanations of what the Entitlement program was. Local administrators were heard to describe the program to potential work sponsors as "a year-round SPEDY [Summer Program for Economically Disadvantaged Youth] where the activities are almost wholly work-oriented" (Manpower Demonstration Corporation, 1979, p. 38). Preliminary data from Entitlement indicate that the lack of definition of program features affected recruitment, procurement of appropriate work sites, and coordination with the LEA.

The YCS, which is characterized by detailed personnel qualifications and roles, clear a priori definitions of what the job experience should do for each youth and his or her sponsor, and complete description of performance standards attached to the various program objectives, experienced a very smooth implementation process. A comparison between the CIP and YCS reveals that, whereas both programs had developed their components in detail by the time implementation began, the YCS--unlike the CIP--gave particular attention to staff training in day-to-day operating procedures, including the "establishment of clerical, medical, and legal routines for processing the volunteer applications" (ACTION, 1978, p. 8). It appears that an understanding of proper internal procedures is very important. In the case of the CIP experience, the two sites that reported the greatest implementation problems were also those where personnel were unsure as to their responsibilites for carrying out routine tasks such as class scheduling, attendance records, and maintenance of counseling files.

The implementation experience of these three programs suggests that well-developed programs, with clear components, are easier to implement than those with ambiguous features. The experience also showed, however, that even previously field-tested programs may not have been adequately documented to assure problem-free implementations.

Unanticipated Complications

A recurrent theme in the implementation of the DOL-sponsored programs has been the unanticipated complexity associated with such apparently simple tasks as recruitment, work placement, and coordination with the LEA. These tasks became complex because they involved several community agencies and businesses and were highly dependent on contextual factors. Moreover, they had to be performed under substantial time pressure and demanded constant attention.

Recruitment activities became difficult because (a) the appeal of work-oriented programs to the target youths was overestimated, (b) the existence of competitive programs was not fully anticipated, (c) out-of-school youths were more difficult to contact than had been expected, and (d) obtaining referrals of disadvantaged youths required the cooperation of numerous individuals in many agencies.

Like recruitment, work-placement activities needed an active network of community agencies and businesses, capable of offering different work experiences. In addition, this network had to be composed of firms and agencies willing to provide the work experience to the target youths and to offer some form of monitoring. Since the organizations in this network operated mainly on a voluntary basis, program administrators could not enforce compliance. Their only means to obtain work sites was through persuasion, and this demanded time.

Entitlement and the CIP, the two programs that depended on LEA collaboration for both in-school youth referrals and program operations, lacked adequate experience in dealing with the LEA. In the case of Entitlement, program administrators at the national level made unrealistic demands of the LEA, asking it to provide attendance and performance monitoring on a monthly basis of youths that traditionally were not a high priority concern of the school. It is evident that Entitlement administrators did not consider the time and effort the LEA would have to contribute to meet these excessive demands.

For the CIP, the task of coordination with the LEA became complex basically because, in two of the four sites, the CIP administrators did not fully understand the needs and priorities of the LEA while the LEA administrators lacked a similar understanding of the CIP. The situations at the four replication sites differed so much from that at the prototype site, that what was learned there was inapplicable and of little use. Agreement on issues such as credit award, referrals of students, and recording of grades took time to implement in two sites, in part because the leadership was inadequate but in part, too, because the staff was unsure as to "what to do." Compounding the problem was the fact that the LEA was unfamiliar with alternative programs and, consequently, required considerable time to determine how the work experience would be credited, what criteria would be used for identifying students, and what arrangements would have to be made so that CIP students could receive high school diplomas while the LEA continued to receive state funds for these youths. Dealing with the LEA was facilitated in cases where the LEA had had prior experience with alternative programs, where the CIP leadership was resourceful, and where conditions such as over-crowded schools made it in the best interest of the LEA to cooperate with the CIP.

Incompatibilities between Service and Research Demands

The YEDPA legislation sought to fulfill two, at least partially incompatible purposes, namely (a) to provide a solution (work-oriented programs) to a major social problem (youth unemployment) and (b) to test whether the solution was effective. The Act identified as the purpose of the new programs "to employ and increase the future employability of young persons...and to test different approaches in solving the employment problems of youths" (Youth Programs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, 1977 p. 46728) [emphasis added].

It was the need to provide a service that prodded DOL into requesting that program administrators at the local level start serving youths immediately, despite the fact that several sites were ill prepared to undertake this task. It was also largely because of the service need that DOL was firm in requesting that sites honor "contractual obligations" by enrolling as many students as stated in the enrollment projections. (The CIP was an exception to this general "rule". Because of its small size, enrollment quotas had to be met so that statistically reliable impact assessments could be made.)

The pressure to meet enrollment quotas seriously affected the operation of some programs, and had repercussions for both service and research functions. One of the reasons Entitlement did not enroll many out-of-school youths was that the severe time pressures encouraged prime sponsors to concentrate on in-school youths since they were easier to approach. The failure to meet the enrollment targets by the CIP led to threats of program termination by DOL, which seriously affected staff morale and program operations. The establishment of fixed quotas with deadlines not only resulted in temporary paralysis of the program but also forced staff members to recruit and enroll what they termed "a disproportionate number [of youths] who are probably not suited for the program."

In the case of Entitlement, it was soon discovered that the demand for "generation and collection of standardized, disciplined data from the sites...challenged [the prime sponsors'] management and affected implementation" (Ball et al., 1979, pp. 7-8). Many of these data-gathering efforts related to the process of "reverification," which forced program administrators to engage in a laborious process of checking whether enrollees continued to be eligible for the program. Evaluation pressures also affected implementation of the CIP. Initial evaluation procedures called for group testing and discrete student intakes (i.e., cohorts to begin at specific times) as opposed to open entry or staggered intakes into the program. Delays between recruitment and testing and between testing and intake had the effect of reducing the number of enrollees. To be sure, evaluation procedures were not the sole factors responsible for attrition, but they played a salient role.

Data from the CIP in particular provide evidence of the difficulty of "evaluating" a program before it is allowed to establish itself as a "service" for the community. DOL wanted to determine whether the CIP could show positive outcomes within a two-year demonstration period. On the other hand, the very fact that the program operated as a demonstration created a climate of instability for both by program staff and the communities in which the CIPs operated.

Experience with these work-oriented programs indicates that it is difficult to implement programs that seek both to offer a service and operate as experiments. These two objectives tend to make incompatible demands on program implementors, and to compound whatever other difficulties may arise. It is not the case that concurrent service delivery and research programs are inherently impossible to establish; nevertheless, the task should be recognized as a difficult one that requires careful planning, close cooperation, and open communications.

An interesting characteristic of the four sets of factors examined in this section is that they are primarily "structural problems," which Duke (1977) defines as those that are built into the process by which innovations are funded and that implementors are rarely free to alter. The restrictive timelines, the need for collaborative agreements, the limited clarity of program definition and the conflicting service and research needs of the programs were major problems for program implementors at the local level.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Data from the DOL-sponsored programs are still preliminary and are derived from interim reports based on a few cases. Nonetheless, the findings presented in this report make it possible to draw some highly plausible inferences with respect to three implementation concerns stated in the 1977 DOL Knowledge Development Plan.

The Feasibility of New Institutional Arrangements for the Provision of Work Experience

Three different institutional arrangements were tried during the implementation of the DOL-sponsored programs selected: an alternative educational delivery agency run by a CBO in the case of the CIP, an approach based on broad community participation in the case of YCS, and the predominant utilization of the existing manpower agencies and other government units in the case of Entitlement.

Findings reveal that, while all three institutional arrangements are possible, some appear to have advantages over others. Programs with well-developed community networks tend to perform better in gaining access to disadvantaged and, particularly, out-of-school youths. They also show superior performance in obtaining diversified jobs matched to youths' interests.

The cooperation of the LEA in the identification of potential enrollees, awarding academic credit, and even granting high school diplomas is possible, though obtaining this cooperation is likely to be a time-consuming and laborious process in most communities. On the other hand, it is clear that LEAs face a number of philosophical, practical, and political disincentives in collaborating with DOL-sponsored programs. The fact that they have collaborated is a testament to the powerful incentive afforded by external funding. It appears unlikely that LEAs will adopt these programs once federal support is cut off.

The performance of prime sponsors as organizers of work experiences has been rather poor, but no conclusive statements can be made about their capabilities, as these agencies were subject to severe time constraints during the implementation process. Also, they were assigned tasks relatively unfamiliar to them--the establishment of relations with the LEA and with numerous businesses and agencies in the community. It remains to be tested whether the knowledge gained from the current experience has rendered prime sponsors more proficient.

The Provision of "Meaningful" Work Experiences

In general, programs seeking to serve large numbers of youths have not been able to provide work experiences carefully matched to youths' preferences. Programs of a smaller size and those of a medium size that include broad community participation seem capable, through counseling and individualized attention, of providing youths with more satisfactory and satisfying work experiences.

Assessing the quality of work experiences is difficult even in the case of small programs. The nature of the experience--which may involve only one youth per job site--poses logistical problems not likely to be resolved without major increases in personnel and funds for monitoring purposes.

The provision of work experience for disadvantaged youths has faced one problem also encountered by disadvantaged adults, namely that their dependence on public transportation limits accessibility to preferred work experience locations.

The participation of private, particularly profit-making firms, in the provision of work experience remains an elusive objective. Despite the wage subsidies present in some programs, relatively few private businesses have made job opportunities available. On the other hand, programs run either by CBOs or by groups with broad community representation seem capable of securing the support of diverse employers in the community.

The Appeal of Current Delivery Programs

Several factors influence youths' decision to enroll in work-oriented programs. It is not possible, at this time, to measure the relative impact of these factors on the youths' choices, but it is evident that, either singly or in combination, they are responsible for the large disparity between the pool of potential program participants and those who ultimately enroll. Two of the factors--demographic/ sociological characteristics, and local labor conditions--operate beyond the ability of program administrators to manipulate them. But the remaining four--incentives offered by work-oriented programs, competition with alternative programs, program eligibility and entrance requirements, and youths' perception of the program--are amenable to program design and planning efforts.

Out-of-school youths are not attracted by programs that require their return to the traditional high school. Their experience with the public schools has been negative and they are more interested in alternative educational settings, particularly those that offer individualized attention. On the other hand, out-of-school youths are interested in joining programs that allow them to engage in concrete, individually tailored work experiences.

Among youths currently attending school there is a willingness to remain in school when offered a stipend, but for some of them, attending an alternative school setting, even if not remunerated, is much more attractive.

Because of the apparent hierarchy in preferences, it seems that programs that (a) offer either a precise interest-job match or an an alternative academic environment, (b) provide a host of auxiliary services, and (c) offer a financial incentive have more appeal than programs that incorporate only one of these features.

Other Implementation Lessons

In addition to the preliminary hypotheses presented above, the experience of implementing work-oriented programs has provided a number of lessons that should increase our understanding about specific implementation activities. These lessons can be summarized as follows:

- Recruitment of disadvantaged youths requires differential approaches with out-of- and in-school youths; in particular, recruitment of out-of-school youths is labor intensive and demands personal contact with these youths.
- Projections of program enrollment are presently derived from a weak technology that tends to overestimate the pool of potential enrollees; holding implementors responsible for meeting unrealistic enrollment targets aggravates the situation because it diverts staff attention from ongoing program operations.
- Eligibility requirements and entrance tests--though intended to assure that the intended target population is that which is served--have the negative effect of deterring a substantial number of youths from participation.
- Activities that require the participation of the LEA must be carefully synchronized with the LEA academic and, where applicable, fiscal calendars.
- Adequate incentives remain to be developed to secure the participation of private, for-profit firms in providing work experiences; employing youths with subsidized wages does not appeal to many commercial and industrial firms.

- Well established CBOs appear to have significant advantages in the areas of recruitment and provision of work experiences over most prime sponsors.

Finally, the implementation experience has disclosed a basic but unfortunately too frequently encountered phenomenon in social programs. There is a gross underestimation by program developers and implementors of the complexity of the tasks involved and of the time required for adequate completion. Implementation activities are rarely preceded by proper planning and training of program implementors. As acute observers of the implementation process have remarked, individuals fail to "appreciate how difficult it is to make the ordinary happen" (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973, p. xii).

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THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM:
AN EXPERIMENT IN CAREER EDUCATION THAT WORKED

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INTRODUCTION

This report is written for the educator or school board member interested in a program combining basic and career education for high school youth who are not succeeding in regular schools. Technical aspects of the evaluation design, a description of the instruments used, and a discussion of the data analysis procedures are covered in a separate technical appendix. Those who want more information on the instruments used or wish to study the array of basic data in depth may find such material of interest. Nonetheless, reading this report will be easier if the reader understands its context in time and the evaluation design on which data summarized in the report are based.

TIME LINE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND EVALUATION OF THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM (CIP)

Although the Career Intern Program offered service to youth in the fall of 1972, the systematic linking of program development and evaluation began with support from the National Institute of Education in December 1973. As work progressed and tentative conclusions were reached on the time required to develop CIP and evaluate its results, time blocks were created, each with a major focus. This report is based on data collected during the last of the time blocks listed below.

- December 1973 - August 1974: Program development work continued; evaluation to facilitate program development (formative evaluation) and to make a preliminary assessment of major program results (summative evaluation) begun.
- September 1974 - February 1975: Program more fully developed; evaluation used to facilitate the "fit" between the program as implemented and the reaction of interns and staff to the program.
- March 1975 - February 1976: Program developed and implemented; evaluation to assess major results, to provide data to staff on the quality of their implementation efforts, and to document how the program was completed.

OVERVIEW OF THE EVALUATION DESIGN

An evaluation procedure was developed, using a lottery process to determine which students were to be admitted to the program and which ones were not. The lottery process controls for the possible bias which might be present if students who volunteered for the program were compared with the students who did not. The students chosen by lottery to enter the Career Intern Program constituted the experimental group; those not admitted, the control group.

The lottery was held for applicants who had completed interviews, taken achievement and attitude tests, and otherwise completed the pre-enrollment procedures. No applicant knew whether she or he would be in the experimental or control group at the time the entry-level data were collected. Applicants who did not complete the pre-enrollment procedures were not included in the lottery. The experimental nature of the program and the use of the lottery were explained to all applicants and their parents during the pre-enrollment process.

Students were enrolled (and control groups formed) at three times during the period covered in this report: January 1974, June 1974 (CIP operated for a summer semester) and February 1975. Most of these students (called "interns" by the program) completed the program by February, 1976.

Follow-up studies were initiated on as many interns as possible who had completed the program prior to December 1975 and on the control group. These studies were conducted to elicit some data on what graduates did after leaving CIP with respect to jobs held and post-high school vocational or general educational training pursued. The groups from whom data were collected are identified in the report along with other descriptive information.

One other facet of the evaluation needs to be explained--the problem of the changing sample size (i.e., number of students from whom data were collected) reported in the text as different evaluation questions are addressed.

The reader will note, for example, that in Chapter Four the sample size used is sometimes 498, 490, or 404 (reported as N = 498, N = 490, etc.). The sample size varies depending on the number of individuals who completed the particular interviews or tests which supplied data pertinent to the question. Some Ns reflect usable demographic data from the total applicant pool for the January 1974, June 1974 and February 1975 admissions (before the lottery was held). Other Ns reflect the number of students from the applicant pool who completed the tests. All applicants completed the pre-enrollment interview during which the purpose of CIP was explained. At this point, some decided that CIP was not for them or that they did not want to face another test. This action, or comparable actions, resulted in a larger sample size for personal background information or educational aspirations than for reading scores--primarily since the reading and math tests followed the pre-enrollment interview.

The reasons for the changing sample size are usually clear from the test. Unlike some studies, this study does not have a constant sample size. Several reasons contribute to a shrinking sample size. Control group students, who are not attending CIP, may not have an incentive to return information. Interns may be absent on days tests are given, or they may return to their former schools or take a job. Sometimes data were too incomplete to be usable. Sometimes despite efforts of CIP staff and evaluators, youths on the intern group could not be located at all for post-testing. All of these factors reduce the number of suable data sets and hence the same size.

We have tried to generalize to the appropriate sample as the N's changed, so that the conclusions are valid for that group. However, the reader should be alerted to the need for caution in recalling whether a particular finding was for all applicants, all applicants who took the relevant test, or other sub-groups within the population. Differences in basic characteristics that might affect outcomes are noted where the sample size decreases.

One question that may arise in reading almost any research report is how believable are the findings. Notes on methodology in the Appendix examine several issues related to believability, outlining rival hypotheses and the evidence relevant to these. The findings reported in the test are those on which the evaluators are ready to stake their professional reputations as believable.

The reader might be interested in knowing that the findings are based on a design which has been said to be difficult to achieve in action research: a study involving three separate cohorts of applicants, with participants and non-participants chosen at random from the applicant pool.

The design contributes to believability in two ways. First the replication of findings across three separate groups suggests that whatever is happening, is not a one-time, one group event. Second the true experimental and control groups permit strong inference that whatever is happening is due to the internship experience, rather than to changes which would probably have occurred without OIC.

CHAPTER ONE

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

On Thursday, October 5, 1972, the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin reported:

> "The eyes of the nation are upon you, Rev. Sullivan,' U.S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Sidney Marland said yesterday afternoon after he helped dedicate Rev. Leon Sullivan's new educational center for high school dropouts in Germantown. . . .
>
> "Called the Urban Career Education Center, Dr. Sullivan's new organization will work with Germantown High School pupils who have already dropped out or seem about to.
>
> "I cannot emphasize strongly enough that this is not simply more vocational education for blacks, something that has properly been **attacked** in the past as tending to segregate blacks into semi-skilled occupations, reserving college for the white middle class,' Marland said."

The Reverend Dr. Leon Sullivan, founder and chairman of the board of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OICs/A), pointed out another dimension of the Urban Career Education Center when he wrote:

> "We want to improve the capability of elementary and secondary schools in order to make them meet the needs of disadvantaged youth. It is not sufficient just to supply quality education, as important as that is: a component like OIC is needed to use its prestige and its contacts in the business community to guarantee that disadvantaged young people have promising opportunities."

In the sense of opening the doors at 62 West Harvey Street to youth and their families, October 5, 1972, was the beginning of the Urban Career Education Center (UCEC) and of its largest component, the Career Intern Program (CIP).

In another sense, the origins of the CIP go further back to the 1960s' problems of apparent dropouts from the American Dream.

DROPPING OUT IN AMERICA

A free public education through high school did not become part of the American Dream until recently. As long as apprenticeships, indenturing or child labor busied almost all youth, education past the sixth grade was limited to children of affluence. Not until the 1930's when adults competed for jobs usually held by youth was legislation requiring full-time school attendance up to age 16 or more enforced.

To parents of the 1960's, some of whom were among the first generation for whom a universal high school education was available, and grandparents to whom a high school diploma was often only a dream, the phenomenon of high school dropouts was incomprehensible. To educational planners, dropouts were part of a pattern including drugs, vandalism, gangs, pregnancy, and fighting in the high schools. To a certain extent, it was thought that problems in high schools would be reduced when alienated youth took their problems elsewhere.

At first, the high dropout rates, particularly among black men, was widely viewed as a cause for alarm. It was feared that dropouts could not find work, would contribute disproportionately to crime, and would indeed only take their problems elsewhere.

These concerns were somewhat soothed by a rise of skepticism concerning the effectiveness of education generally in reducing the gap between rich and poor in America, and by studies suggesting high school completion did not matter that much.

Wholesome as these revisionist studies were in shifting some of the burden of social reform away from schools, the facts suggest that failure to complete high school is a problem for the individual and society.

IT HURTS

Failure to complete high school hurts in a least five ways: ability to find a job, upward mobility, income, work satisfaction, quality of life, and satisfaction with personal development. Two qualifications should be remembered in considering the data. First, although the personal and social costs of dropping out are high on the average, not all dropouts fail vocationally and personally. Many are as satisfied, happy, and productive as their friends who have completed more education.

Second, dropping out (leaving school and not returning to complete an educational step) is what hurts. Stopping out (leaving school for a while, then returning to complete training) apparently is less of a problem.

o Finding a job: Despite the assets possessed by many dropouts, the hard fact is that as a group, they have more difficult time finding a job than their high school graduate peers. Dropouts were more adversely affected by increased competition for jobs in 1974 than were high school graduates. The unemployment rate of dropouts rose almost twice as much (by 4 percent) as it did for high school graduates.

According to the U. S. Department of Labor, 20% of high school dropouts between the ages of 16 and 24 were unemployed in 1974, compared to 10% of the high school graduates. With over 3 million dropouts in the labor force, the number of youth affected is large---close to 600,000 persons between 16 and 24 years of age.

When dropout employment rates are compared by race, youth from black and minority races are doubly disadvantaged. About 16% of white youth without high school diplomas between the ages of 16 and 24 were unemployed in 1974; 32% of dropout youth from black and other minority races wanted jobs and could not find them.

o Upward Mobility: Whether one is a dropout or a graduate, getting a job is not the whole story. To the extent that higher pay and status are valued, being a dropout hurts. Employment rates within occupations vary---to the disadvantage of the dropout. Employed dropouts in the 16 to 21 age group generally do not find work in the more skilled, high paying jobs when compared with high school graduates. For example, in 1973, 55% of employed women high school graduates but only 20% of employed women dropouts held clerical jobs while only 15% of employed women graduates but 28% of employed dropouts were service workers. Among men the differences were less dramatic but, consistently, dropouts more frequently found lower paying, lower status jobs.

o Work satisfaction: The relationship between job satisfaction looks like a stair with wide treads, not an inclined plane. Completing a degree---high school or baccalaurate---is associated with a big jump in job satisfaction, but adding another year without the degree, has little effect. Perhaps it shouldn't be this way, but it largely is. If job satisfaction is important, there is little payoff in getting more education unless one completes a credential. Particularly as one gets older, workers who have not completed high school are more satisfied with their jobs than workers who have not.

- Quality of Working Life: An index of quality of employment (comfort, challenge, and financial resources) was constructed for a 1973 national sample. The results showed a stronger relationship between education quality or employment, with the stair steps very clear: a year is not a year is not a year. Increments in quality of employment came only at those points (high school or college) where educational credentials are conferred. "Little is gained in quality of employment by going from grade school to obtaining some high school education but no diploma." (Quinn et al., p. 34).

- At 30, Satisfaction with Educational Development: Looking backward, respondents in a recent follow-up survey of a national sample of youth of the 50's felt considerable satisfaction with many aspects of their lives: their family, their friends, their work, their community. One area stood out: regret at the missed opportunities in their educational development. While high school and college graduates weren't immune to such regret, those who started---but never completed---their education hurt worst.

These, and other data, add up to the conclusion that for most youth, getting a high school diploma has been and will continue to be important for their lives after high school. The diploma will not be the golden key it might have been for their grandparents, or the silver key for their parents, but it may be a necessary key for them and their children.

HOW MANY

In 1972, 25 percent of U. S. high school students did not graduate from high school at the same time as their age mates---approximately 1,000,000 students in all.[10] The Philadelphia School District reported an overall dropout rate of 15% in 1974 based on students who notified the District that they were leaving school. Many students dropout without such notification. These students would not be counted in the official dropout rate. Even so, at least 9,500 students dropped out of Philadelphia Schools in 1974. Tenth grade, the critical school leaving grade in Philadelphia, when youth reach 16 and are no longer required to attend, accounts for over 50 percent of students dropping out.

Little is known about how many of these youth are only stopping out. There are few data on how many youth return to high school before they are too old legally to receive free public education. Even less is known about the number who will enroll in high school equivalency examination training, will complete such training, will take the General Equivalency Diploma examination, or will pass it.

Dropping out is culturally selective. It hits hardest at families of lower socio-economic status. For both whites and non-whites, the higher the educational level of parents, for example, the lower the chances of a male youth from that family dropping out. Moreover, more non-white youth came from poorer homes, so dropouts come disproportionately from minority youth. In 1973, for example, there were almost twice as many black men and women dropouts among 14 to 24 years olds (18% and 19%, respectively) as white men and women (10% and 11%, respectively).

The data presented document what many inner city students, teachers and parents know---if you are poor, black and if you do not have a basic education which will help you find a job or continue your education, your future is bleak.

Yet, most high schools have not been successful in increasing retention rates through improved or special programs. The problem is more complex than simply keeping youth out of the labor market and in school longer. Few want to force youth to stay in a classroom by increasing the minimum school leaving age to 18 or 21 when many are voting with their feet to get out. Alternative work-study, cooperative learning and community service programs seem to offer meaningful ways of helping youth learn and earn between 16 and 25, but these reach only a few and seem to attract more affluent youth. Improving schools, expanding options, and creating youth service/learning alternatives all are being tried. According to Geisinger (1973),

> "Proposed and mostly unproved innovative practices include a variety of counseling programs, prevention ideas, replacement of the general high school curriculum with the career curriculum, performance contracting, changes in teacher practices, cooperative community approaches, non-graded organization and multiple courses instead of repeating a grade, for students who have difficulty adjusting to school, changes in curricular practices including short units, content in skills training (English, mathematics and reading) that is relevant to the life of the student, replacement of the continual stream of negative reinforcements given students with positive reinforcements (focus on success, individuals, rather than failure) and supplementation of the 'fact school' with a 'value school." (p.21)

While Geisinger concludes that "...some schools do seem to have helped many of their students", his review suggests that there are more ideas tried out on a small scale than approaches tested long enough and hard enough to offer reasonable assurance of their value. (See also Weisbrod, 1965 and Millsap, 1969) Interestingly, many of the successful innovations (e.g., Massimo, 1969) have emphasized career counseling and development of adaptive skills: punctuality, getting along with others and problem-

> solving. Career information, particulary for non-white youth, has emerged from a recent economic analysis (Hill, 1975) as a public policy alternative to increase school retention where this is desirable."

The Career Intern Program has its origins in these concerns, as a possible solution for the often hard-to-reach youth from very low income, multi-problem families.

THE STORY OF OICs/A

One of the first battles won by community action in the long, bitter and continuing fight for racial equalityin employment took place in Philadelphia in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Four hundred black clergymen, outraged at the failure of gradualism, led the boycott of businesses which practiced racial discrimination in employment opportunities. The boycott was called the Selective Patronage Program. One of the initial targets of the Program was the Tasty Baking Company. After three months of the boycott of Tasty's products, the company agreed to hire black workers. As the Tasty Baking Company acquiesced to the demands of the Selective Patronage Program, other businesses followed suit.

Once black workers were allowed to seek employment opportunities, however, most were placed in unskilled jobs because of their lack of training and education. Thus, providing education and training for blacks and other minorities became the motivation for establishing the first Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) in an old jailhouse in Philadelphia.

Today, it is often easy to forget the courage and dedication of these clergymen who demanded that jobs at all levels be open to all applicants, regardless of race. The Reverend Dr. Leon Sullivan, pastor of the Zion Baptist Church on Broad and Venange Streets in Philadelphia, was their leader. The first Opportunities Industrialization Center was founded in Philadelphia by Dr. Sullivan, who was concerned over how few minority workers were qualified to fill the newly available jobs.

By 1974, the local OIC programs sponsored by the national organization (OICs/A) had spread to over 100 cities and had trained about 195,000 persons. The Wall Street Journal described OIC as one of the most successful manpower programs in operation. In April 1974, Thomas Bray worte:

> "As founder and National Director of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Dr. Sullivan has made a career out of self-help for blacks and other minorities. The OIC program began 10 years ago

> in an abandoned police station (sic) in the North Philadelphia slums and has since grown into a network of more than 100 job-training centers across the nation. Over 150,000 disadvantaged and unskilled workers have been trained and placed in jobs ranging from brickworking to court reporting, and labor experts praise the OIC as one of the most successful and efficient manpower programs going."

Until 1972, the OIC programs served mostly out-of-school youth and adults (18 years and over) and emphasized preparation and training for a good job. The Reverend Dr. Sullivan became increasingly concerned, however, with younger people; with youth who might, with a better education, earn a better chance in life. CIP was the result.

CAREER EDUCATION

The interest of OICs/A leadership in preventing adult unemployability through improved education coincided with U. S. Commissioner of Education Sidney Marland's development of the career education concept. As Marland wrote in 1972:

> "Career education is a systematic way to acquaint students with the world of work in the elementary and junior high ears to prepare them in high school and college to enter and advance in a career field carefully chosen from among many. For adults it is a way to reenter formal education and upgrade their skills in their established career fields or to enter a new field. Career education intends to equip the individual to get a useful and self-respecting job."

A career education program for youth

- merges academic and career preparation;
- emphasizes career exploration, expanding options choices;
- provides an in-depth knowledge of how the economic system operates, and what the world of work is like from a wide variety of viewpoints; and
- prepares youth for the continuing education required to enter the career of their choice, for apprenticeship or technical training, or for entry directly into the world of work.

Several factors influenced the formation of the UCEC and the CIP. First, the success of OIC programs in training unemployed adults had resulted in know-how among OICs/A personnel in the difficult area of adult training. Dr. Sullivan's concern with urban youth who were out of school and out of work was a second factor. Could not the OICs/A concern and training expertise help them as well? The final element needed was the concept of combining general and career education for youth. This was provided by Dr. Marland and his staff at the U. S. Office of Education.

BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER

In 1970, Dr. Marland met with the Reverend Dr. Sullivan at the Seventh Annual OICs/A Convocation in Seattle, Washington. From this meeting came an Office of Education commitment to create an innovative partnership: OICs/A would bring its know-how in training low-income adults, its community-based support, its access to business and industry, and the OICs/A spirit of belief in achievement to the educational needs of inner-city youth, while the Office of Education (OE) would bring not only the money for the first program, but also the support of its staff and their consultants in developing, testing, and disseminating this experimental approach to career education.

The OICs/A leadership envisioned one program, the Urban Career Education Center, with three components: The Career Intern Program (CIP), the Community Career Program (CCP), and the Career Orientation Program (COP). In the spring of 1972 a grant was awarded to OICs/A by the Office of Education to plan and begin initial operation of such a program. OICs/A, in turn, subcontracted with the OIC of Philadelphia (POIC) to operate the program.

In August 1972, the National Institute of Education (NIE) was formed. In February 1973, officials of OE and NIE agreed that the Office of Education program would be responsible for the CCP and COP, while NIE's Career Education Program would be responsible for the CIP. On December 17, 1973, the NIE awarded OICs/A a contract to continue the development of CIP. A second award was made in September 1974 for 18 months to complete program development and evaluation. An interim report (June 1975) described the middle months of a new partnership and a new educational opportunity. The early planning period and the first 12 months of program operation were recalled but not documented. This report deals with the last 18 months of development when the challenges, the disappointments, and the painfully achieved progress of the early months, will, it is hoped, have had their greatest payoff.

The CIP represents an attempt to get at the root of serious urban problems. This objective is reflected in the statement of purpose included in the proposal submitted by OICs/A to NIE in December 1973: "To provide career education and career opportunities for urban youth to prepare them to lead full, productive lives."

Along with other experienced educators, the CIP staff realizes that no one truly understands the problems of urban youth who have dropped out or about to, or knows fully what to do about them. But CIP is putting some of its ideas into action, checking closely on the results achieved, and learning how to help.

To meet this objective, CIP is trying to provide a vital general education to youth, many of whom have not had this opportunity. CIP is also trying to provide a balanced career education program, and to create a personal, supportive school atmosphere.

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CHAPTER TWO

WHAT IS THE CIP LIKE?

Unlike many dreams, the Reverend Dr. Sullivan's dream became a reality. The journey from dream to reality, from idea to working program, was long, often discouraging, sometimes exhilarating, and full of surprises. The following is a recounting of that journey, undertaken collaboratively by OICs/A and the Philadelphia School District.

CIP IN OPERATION

The need for a program like CIP was apparent. Too many students were being turned off by urban high schools. Large numbers of students were dropping out before graduation. Statistics showed their chances of getting satisfying jobs were poorer than for graduates. Many still in school could be identified as potential dropouts, with poor attendance records and little skill in math and reading. They had not acquired career information, nor did they know how to find useful job opportunities. They were becoming increasingly alienated.

The Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OICs/A), with its experience in manpower training programs, not only felt a need for a program to help these students, but saw it as basic to what it was trying to accomplish for its adult constitutency. Programs directed at training adults for the job market, or at bringing employers to the inner city, solved part of the problem. Another problem seemed to lie in the schools. While many schools were helping students, others were turning students off by providing realistic studies. A new kind of school was needed--one which succeeded in instilling usable skills and attitudes in such a way that students' interests were maintained and their dignity enhanced.

Designing a program to solve this problem, however, demanded clearing a number of hurdles. Such a school would have to meet diverse requirements: For example, it would have to be a respectable educational institution, with state-approved diplomas, in order to enlist the active support of the community. The curriculum would have to be different from that of public schools so that it was relevant to the lives of the students, while at the same time, it had to instill the basic skills needed to compete with high school graduates in the job market. A special kind of instructor was called for--one with imagination, idealism, and sense of reality, who was able to operate without a ready-made educational model. Furthermore, in addition to assuring academic respectability, practical curricula, and dedicated teachers, this school would have to find ways to attract and motivate students with a history of failure.

Calling upon the expertise of its staff, OICs/A found the resources to design and implement such a program. A prototype was ready for implementation by November 1972. During most of 1973 and 1974 the preliminary course materials were revised with the help of counsultants working with CIP staff. Between September 1974 and February 1975, program leadership, structure, and content stabilized. By January 1975, CIP was ready to get the summative evaluation year underway. The program, as sketched below, was designed not only to meet the requirements discussed above, but also to be consistent with the OICs/A philosophy of "focusing upon the needs of the people in a personalized manner."

The Context of the CIP

The Career Intern Program is one element of the Urban Career Education Center concept. UCEC offers a coordinated program to deal with the problems urban youth encounter in seeking meaningful careers. It attacks the problems on three fronts. One component of UCEC, the Career Orientation Program (COP), is designed to serve selected elementary, middle, and junior high schools. It attempts to demonstrate that from effective planning, guidance, and cooperation between UCEC and the school district will lead to a successful career education program in regular schools. The primary concern of COP is to find a way by which career education can be integrated into academic education in traditional public schools.

Another componet of the UCEC is designed to help parents in the community, particularly parents of interns in the Career Intern Program. This component, the Community Career Program (CCP), aids parents in obtaining legal and medical help, housing, and other community services. It involves parents in the education of their children, by making them aware of the school's programs and problems. Furthermore, CCP provides opportunities for these parents to get job training and placement in better jobs.

The Career Intern Program is the third component in the Urban Career Education Center. The CIP completes the approach of UCEC to the career problem. It is concerned with young people who drop out of public schools and who face severe problems in finding jobs. As part of the UCEC, CIP is vital aspect of the OICs/A effort to develop a community-centered attack on the problems of urban employment.

The UCEC program is only part of the context important to the CIP. Its relationship to the public school system is crucial. The ensure a continuing source of interns and a continuing association with the public schools, CIP developed a special relationship to Germantown and other high schools in Philadelphia. Germantown was designated the primary feeder school for the program. Upon graduation, interns are awarded a diploma from Germantown or from the school previously attended by the CIP student. Germantown High School was chosen initially because it typifies the kinds of problems that are dealt with by the CIP, and is located in the same neighborhood as UCEC. School counselors from the sending schools reported a general pessimism on the part of many students respecting their post-high school prospects. The liaison between the sending schools and CIP is primarily the responsibility of the CIP School District Coordinator (an employee of the Philadelphia School System) and, to some extent, that of the CCP. The roles of the coordinator and CCP in recruitment will be discussed in more detail later.

Progression through the CIP

Each year CIP enrolls about 250 students in grades ten through twelve who are not succeeding in their "home" high school. Students are placed within CIP based on credits previously earned. Darla, for example, with earned credit for the tenth grade English would be placed in English Level 2 (see Figure 1); Larry, who has no science credit but who has successfully passed eleventh grade English, would be enrolled in general science or biology and English Level 3. This initial placement on the appropriate rungs of the CIP curriculum latter recognizes past success, addresses academic deficiences, and reflects an early expression of CIP's desire to create a more personalized environment for learning. (Other efforts to personalize learning, such as the use of individual learning packets, will be discussed later.) How long it takes to complete CIP depends on the number of credits needed by the student to earn a high school diploma. Some students may be in CIP for only one semester; others for one or two years. CIP operates on a two semester plan, offering academic and career ducation experiences over the three grade levels of the typical senior high school (see Figure 1).

Administrative Structure

The primary administrative slots in the Career Intern Program are the UCEC Director, the Instructional Supervisor, and the Counseling Supervisor. The relationship among these various slots is shown in Figure 2, the CIP Table of Organization.

The Director of UCEC is charged with general policy making and overall administration of the entire Center. The Director's primary role is leadership: clarifying CIP's objectives, enlisting the support of staff and outside resources to accomplish these objectives, and building morale to sustain both students and staff efforts. In addition, the Director is the operational head of CIP. These functions include coordinating activities of the CIP units, making decisions affecting policy and practice, and facilitating communication among staff. Furthermore, given the relationship between CIP and OICs/A, the Director serves as a primary channel for communication between the CIP staff and the larger organiation.

The Instructional supervisor is responsible for curriculum development, in-service education, and the Resource Center (library). The Instructional Department is composed of eight teachers. The basic responsibility of this Department is the instruction of interns in the four academic subjects (English, Social Studies, Mathematics, and Science) and in a number of electives. The Resource Center houses information relevant to course materials and independent study. It is designed as a clearinghouse for all materials used by interns, counselors, and staff. It is also a place where interns gather to read, or to pass their leisure time, and is available for independent study assignements.

The Counseling supervisor is responsible for the counseling staff whose work embraces personal and career guidance. The four personal counselors and four job developers help students with their personal problems, assist them to plan and apply for post-high school education, and support students' career development planning.

Job developers also locate work exploration opportunities, guide students through Hands-On experiences (Hands-On will be described in a latter section of this chapter) and evaluate the interns' performance during placement.

In summary, the operational Career Intern Program consists of two departments: An Instructional Department charged with classroom teaching and providing resource materials to teachers and students, and a Counseling Department charged with guiding students through the program, dealing with their personal problems, preparing the interns' individual Career Development Plan, making career information available, and supervising the two-weeks long Hands-On experiences. The structure was devised to provide a firm academic foundation, maximum individualized attention for interns' personal and career problems, and to infuse academic, elective and club activities with career education.

General Program Processes. Four key program features will be discussed here which were designed to provide the kind of education envisioned in the CIP concept. These are: recruitment and intake, the Career Development Plan, intern assessment, and placement of interns.

Recruitment and Intake. Through contacts with the counselors at the sending schools, the CIP School District Coordinator knows who are school dropouts, or who were identified by the counselors as potential dropouts. Potential dropouts are those who have expressed disillusionment with the school, who have a consistent pattern of poor attendance, or who have serious academic problems. Sometimes after the names of potential and actual dropouts are received, the School Coordinator goes to the schools and reviews their records. From these records and from discussions with the school counselors, the School Coordinator decides whether or not a given student might benefit from attending CIP. Following this, a check is made to see if program-entry requirements are met--that is, no major disciplinary problems, and a minimum of a tenth grade education. The School Coordinator then submits the names of qualified individuals to the CCP Program Specialist.

An additional source of names is walk-ins: youth and their parents who have heard of CIP, walk in, and want to enroll. Referrals from sources in addition to the school is a third, and large, source of applicants.

After the applicant list is developed, the Program Specialists send a letter to the parents of the interns and requests that they telephone for an interview at CIP. Home visits are made in an attempt to locate parents who did not respond or whose letters were returned unopened.

The next formal contact prospective CIP applicants and their parents have with the Career Intern Program occurs after parents or applicants notify CIP of their interest. This interaction, called the "intake interview," is conducted by a member of the Counseling Department and a member of the external evaluation team. The objective of the interview, involving both applicant and parent(s), is to explain the nature of the Career Intern Program and the benefit that could be derived by the applicant's enrollment.

Immediately following the interview, while still at UCEC, the prospective applicant is asked to take the reading section of the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT), Advanced Battery, to determine an entry level reading ability. If the score is at the fifth grade level or higher, the minimum entry requirements are met and the applicant is asked to take a battery of additional tests.[*]

From the intake interviews and the testing procedures a pool of potential interns, roughly twice the size of the entering class, is identified. The entering class is chosen from this pool by lottery. Those admitted constituted the experimental group, and those not admitted are the control group. Each group is notified by letter, and those selected to enroll in the program are instructed to report to the school on a given day to begin their formal affiliation with the program.

The Career Development Plan. A second important program feature vital to each intern's participation is the Career Development Plan (CDP). Career Development Plans are written records of the interns' career plans which profile their aptitudes and include the strengths and weaknesses that have emerged from the testing. The CDP also records their Hands-On experience and reactions; indicates the kinds of academic credit they had gained and what's still needed to reach their career goals; and lists post-CIP options they might be interested in pursuing. The primary responsibility for the preparation of the CIP lies with the counselors, who work in conjunction with the students, soliciting input from teachers, job developers and parents. The counselors also obtain additional information from such sources as their own records, test scores, and intake interviews. As the intern continues, the CDP is adjusted to reflect changes in career interest. This flexible plan proveds the framework within which the intern works for the remainder of the Career Intern Program experience.

The CDP serves two fundamental curriculum-instructional purposes. First, it individualizes students' curriculum within CIP by relating their interests and abilities to the CIP resources. Second, it provides a vehicle to bring together teachers and counselors in adapting the general CIP program in a way which makes sense for each student. The major features of the CDP are described below.

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[*] The tests included the SAT math and reading tests, Raven's Standard Progessive Matrices (test of non-verbal reasoning test), Rotter's Internal-External Scale, Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory, and Super's Career Development Inventory. Entrace into the program was not predicated upon test scores. The tests and inventories provided a baseline for assessing later intern achievement and attitude change in comparison with a control group. In the operational program, these are not necessary, nor would it be necessary to select interns by lottery, should the number of applicants exceed the available openings.

The general counselor sets up the first meeting on the plan, coordinates the work of all staff involved in its development and later monitors its implementation, incorporating any necessary changes into the plan.

Each student makes a first and second choice of possible careers. The CDP provides a road map of how to get from where the intern is to where he or she wants to go. CIP courses are selected, the student's previous academic history is reviewed, summary comments noted in the CDP, the reason for the later choices are given, and the roster is completed for the CIP work to be done. The student's progress is continuously notedon his/her CDP, so staff can troubleshoot problems before they get serious enough to impede the student's progress. The CDP provides the most complete cumulative record for each student, showing the educational objectives, a plan to reach the objectives, personal and academic background, any changes made in the CDP, and the reason for these changes. Frequent review of the CDP is important in encouraging both internsand staff to keep moving, and to avoid an intern being "locked" into a plan which no long serves her/his purpose.

Intern Assessment. Assessing the progress of interns presents problems. Interns in the program are individuals who have had problems with traditional schools. Furthermore, the goals of the program and the career objectives of the interns do not lend themselves easily to assessment by routine procedures. Since both counselors and instructors play important roles in the growth and development of interns, both have to coordinate their work with respect to the assessment of intern progress. In order for interns to have a realistic set of career ambitions, an accurate assessment of capabilities and potential is essential.

Formal assessment procedures are established at various points in the intern's progress through the program.

The first assessment which takes place is diagnostic testing which occurs within the first two weeks of each intern's enrollment into the CIP. This testing is conducted by each instructor to ascertain intern levels in terms of academic and career knowledge and proficiency.

Mid-term and Final Assessments are conducted to measure intern progress, to ascertain intern problems, to assign intern grades, and to determine intern qualifications for graduation and entry into the next level of activity in intern career ladder progressions.

Disposition conferences are conducted periodically to discuss problems/progress in relation to each intern and to ascertain strategies to continue to assist intern achievement. At the end of each semester students are assigned grades for the academic courses they have taken. These grades are assigned primarily by instructors, but counselors do have an input, particularly when there are mitigating circumstances, such as prolonged absences. The instructors and counselors try to arrive at fair grade for the interns. Although a grade is assigned, credit (necessary for graduation) is either given or denied for the Hands-On experience. An intern who fails to receive a satisfactory grade on one of the Fused Academics courses might be asked to repeat the course.

Assessment procedures are designed to be consistent with the CIP curriculum. Since the curriculum is based upon individualized instruction and an innovative approach to Fused Academics, rigid criteria are inappropriate. Instructors and counselors, therefore, depend upon their close association with students, the weekly counseling sessions, classroom participation, quizzes, and individual study performance to provide information for making judgments. This approach requires cooperation among counselors, instructors, and job developers.

Placement of Interns. Successfully placing graduates in either jobs or post-high school education is a major goal of the CIP. In the original design the procedural details were not delineated. The general charge to the counseling and career staff is to rely on the services and experiences of the larger OICs/A organization. Indeed, as the first group of interns finished their program, it was apparent that job placement was one area where the resources, reputation, and contacts of OICs/A and the Philadelphia OIC were invaluable assets.

The general procedure envisioned in the proposal relied heavily upon the counseling staff and upon a successful Hands-On experience. If the intern was happy with a Hands-On placement and the employer with whom the intern worked was satisfied, CIP would arrange for the intern to continue in on-the-job training in the same position. Most employers were willing to do this as OICs/A paid the intern's salary.

Thus, where financial assistance was needed to help an intern make the transition from CIP to a job, CIP was flexible and supportive. For some employers (e.g., the Prudential Insurance Company, the University of Pennsylvania or Hahnemann Hospital), no CIP financial aid was needed. Some employers could pay enough to cover almost all expenses, so the graduate needed help only with carfare or lunch money. Some employers could offer a small stipend but not enough for a worker to live on: CIP might pay up to 50% of the graduates' salary. In a few instances, CIP would subsidize employment during the transition period.

The majority of interns found their first job through this procedure, which was intended to provide an effective means of transition from the CIP to the working world. Many of the Hands-On placements and subsequent on-the-job training programs were carried out in actual OIC programs. In some instances a graduate who were not immediately employed used CIP-learned skills to pursue jobs on their own.

For interns interested in college or advanced technical training, the Counseling Department was a resource. One counselor was designated as the college counselor whose job was to know what kinds of programs were available, to assist interns in making applications, and to arrange school interviews for interns.

The degree of success in graduate placement is shown by the employment and college enrollment statistics presented in Chapter Nine.

THE PROGRAM AS IT DEVELOPED: THE HURDLES

The preceding section described the CIP as it now operates. This section looks backward, and describes the development stages. The obstacles in translating the original plan into a working school were formidable. Most of them stemmed from the innovative and complex nature of the program. These problems and the solutions found will be mentioned here because they were important in determining the "final" shape of the CIP.

Administration

One of the most difficult tasks was working out procedures to administer the program. While the formal lines of authority and responsibility were clearly drawn on paper, they did not reflect the real demands placed upon administrators in serving several "masters." Administrators felt a number of conflicting pressures. There were the demands of the basic OICs/A ethos to provide help to all who needed it, which sometimes conflicted with the demands of the evaluation design. Administrators were often confronted with the choice of appearing inflexible in the face of a request for an exception to the experimental design or of compromising the assignment of students to the experimental or control groups on the basis of a lottery.

For example, one afternoon the School Coordinator called the external evaluation office about an intern who had dropped out of CIP to go into military service. He failed the army physical and applied for readmission to the program. His re-entry under those abnormal conditions would have risked skewing the experimental evaluation design. The School Coordinator, concerned with helping the intern, found himself helpless and frustrated in his attempt to do what he saw was his job.

In another case an applicant failed badly on the reading test and under normal circumstances would have been dropped from further consideration. However, investigation revealed that he lived in a home for boys and would have to be sent to a detention center if denied admission to a school. Again, the question had to be faced: "Can the program 'bend' to accommodate those whom (in the eyes of the program staff) it is designed to serve?" In both these instances the issues were resolved in favor of admitting the intern.

The demands for academic excellence and administrative efficiency had to be balanced against the realities of urban life and humanistic concerns. This conflict was couched in questions like: "Do we hire certified teachers although others are better qualified to understand the unique problems of inner-city kids?" "Because an applicant cannot read at a fifth grade level, do we keep that person from entering when she or he desperately needs and wants an education?" "Do we hire only qualified people for whom there is already a slot, or do we hire needy people and either train them or change the program to accommodate them?" These questions were posed repeatedly in many forms and demanded administrative decisions.

There were other conflicting demands felt by the administration--pressures to make the program look good to observers; pressures to maintain the students' motivation and interest, and at the same time bring up their scores on standardized tests; pressures to use curricula developed (in part) by consultants, and at the same time adapt it to the problems of the CIP classrooms.

In virtually every case, these decisions had to involve skillful compromises. For example, resisting the temptation simply to make cosmetic changes in response to observer criticism, while at the same time recognizing the importance of a "good press," OICs/A assigned staff to draw up and monitor action plans to ensure needed change. Classes in test sophistication were introduced both to help interns develop skills related to taking standardized tests and to aid them in overcoming the anxiety which most seemed to feel when confronted by such instruments. The problem of implementing curricula was solved by conducting intensive workshops which brought consultants and staff together.

Dealing with these pressures required not only a workable administrative structure and clear administrative policy, but an administrative staff equal to the demands. Such personnel had to meet several requirements. They had to have a clear philosophy of administration-knowing how to use pressures, when to buffer staff from pressures, and so forth; they needed a feel for and a conviction about the overriding goals of the program; they had to be imaginative and able to work without role-models; and they had to feel secure about their abilities.

In the early stages the program encountered serious problems in finding qualified people and groped for proper procedures. The causes were many but were mainly related to the undefined nature of the roles and duties of staff personnel. For example, was it the duty of the counselors to give grades in courses, since they were most intimately involved with the interns? How much personal counseling should the instructors undertake, given the de jure role of counselors? What did these considerations mean when it came to looking at credentials for hiring? These problems were compounded both by the newness of the program, and OICs/A's consequent lack of experience in hiring educational personnel able to function in innovative contexts.

The result was a general air of confusion concerning who was to do what, an unclear notion of how decisions were to be made, a pervasive attitude of defensiveness, generally poor staff morale, and a high staff turnover rate. This situation was reflected in the data and in the recommendations of the first formative evaluation report.

Happily, many of the administrative problems were solved. Simply getting through the shake-down period--during which roles, duties and lines of communication were defined--led to solutions to some of the problems. The informal evaluation reports provided insights and ideas which the administrators used in making staffing decisions, and focused staff attention on underlying problems. As a result, an action plan was drawn up and implemented. The evaluators provided information to the CIP staff on the extent to which this corrective action plan was carried out.

Modeling

A second serious problem was that of developing a program without a suitable precedent to follow. This problem showed itself in a number of ways. There were no established criteria for hiring staff-especially instructors, counselors, and job developers. Attempts were made to obtain people with experience in related areas--such as adult career education, OICs/A manpower training programs, public school counseling, or other alternative schools; however, the demands of their previous jobs did not coincide with the requirements at CIP.

New roles had to evolve. The immediate result was confusion, lack of coordination, and tension as each individual attempted to defend his or her approach.

For example, a Director was hired with experience in a program where there were few external controls and little experimental evaluation. As a result, the Director felt frustrated over apparent infringements on decision-making responsbilities. A career counselor was hired from an adult career program and did not understand the necessity for establishing a relationship between untrained youth and career information. A teacher was hired who though well versed in the academic nature of a particular discipline, had little understanding of the life of the students.

The lack of a guide was also evident in the area of student assessment. CIP attempted to do away with the effects of the standard grading system. The Fused Academics approach used at the program tried to give equal weight to academic progress, improvement of self-image and other affective concerns as well as to the development of career strategies and the acquisition of usable career information. Yet there was no available common denominator for assessing these aspects of intern growth.

The lack of a tested model raised a number of other important questions. What kinds of curricula should be developed for a program like this? How does one make sure that the careers being taught are, in fact, viable for the interns? How can interns be convinced that the program is going to serve their interests and will not leave them short changed? What behaviors are appropriate for interns in this context? What can they get away with? What are the unspoken roles of the game?

While these problems are by no means completely solved, a number of mechanisms have been developed to deal with them, and these have generated some solutions. Attempts have been made to increase communication among the staff by instituting inter-departmental workshops and staff meetings focusing on specific issues. Classes taught jointly by counselors, instructors, and career experts are now being offered. Less reliance is being placed on external consultants and more on the use of internal staff, who have a better grasp of the unique problems of the program. Several changes have also been made in the curriculum. For instance, the two-week Development and Motivation section which was a "motivational" course included in the original program design has been spread over the entire first semester and is team-taught by instructors, counselors, and job developers as a Career Counseling Seminar. The number of careers to which interns are exposed has been reduced to those that are applicable. The successes generated have instilled a new confidence within the staff and have led to program and role definition.

In addition to these problems several others of lesser scope had to be confronted. They are problems of built-in structural conflict between instructors and counselors in the school; of intern motivation which shows up most dramatically in absenteeism; and of intern recruitment and program image.

Instructors Versus Counselors

The first of these problems stemmed from an attempt to deal with the lack of individual attention interns experienced prior to entry in the CIP. To fill this need, a counseling program was designed with a staff size allowing for frequent contact between interns and counselors. Counseling was made co-equal with teaching, and counselors were given many of the functions normally assigned to teachers in traditional schools. They were charged with handling all personal problems of interns, as well as with ensuring their affective growth. Teachers, on the other hand, were to deal only with academic matters and with cognitive development.

While this concern to treat personalproblems and affective development as paramount makes sense given the problems interns face, the solution posed serious problems of its own. First, given the lack of a model, definitions of responsibilities of counselors and instructors were a problem. If a student, for example, was doing poorly in math and the counselor was convinced the reason was not lack of ability but family problems, who should deal with the problem, and how? Interns were encouraged to seek out counselors for help with their problems. Since it is often impossible to sort out personal from academic problems, counselors found themselves giving advice in areas that instructors thought impinged on their own areas of expertise and interest. As a result, a feeling of resentment built up, expressing themselves in attitudes of competition that hindered the cooperation a program of this kind requires. Relatively simple questions, like "Who has the responsibility to dismiss students from class?" became major problems. Interns would go to counselors and explain that they had to attend to personal obligations; the counselors, being sympathetic, frequently granted permission to be away. Thus, instructors not only felt frustrated about the definitions of their roles, but also felt that they had lost control of the factors contributing most to the success of their teaching.

This conflict between counselors and instructors also created difficulties with assessment of interns. Since counselors based their assessment upon different criteria from that of teachers, there was often a discrepancy. Integrity or professional judgment was called into question, requiring a third-party decision. Fruthermore, since counselors were judging the quality of affective growth, they found the number or letter grades of teachers unusable; and finding a common denominator became a serious stumbling block.

As a result of these conflicts, a number of changes were made. A series of workshops was held, attended by both counselors and instructors, so that problems could be discussed. Formal lines of communication were established between the two departments. The curriculum was changed so that instructors and counselors together could teach some of the courses. Intern Disposition Review Conferences, where teachers, counselors, and career advisors can sit down together and discuss specific students, were designed.

Absenteeism

Many interns appeared, in the past, to take a very casual attitude toward classes, with the result that absenteeism of over 50% was not unusual. This had a negative effect on intern progress, on lesson continuity, and on staff morale. The causes were difficult to isolate. One underlying cause, however, was the pattern of behavior developed in the public schools and carried over into the Career Intern Program. Another factor was the admission of students with poor motivation. Further, the CIP is often initially perceived by interns as a way to get through high school with as little bother as possible. In addition, poor attendance may also be the direct result of personal and home problems.

While the problem has not been entirely solved, several steps have been taken to alleviate it. The changes in counseling procedures, with counselors and instructors working together helped. Recruitment and intake procedures guide those who were not sufficiently motivated away from the program, and have made responsbilities clear to those who do enter the program. A series of micro-teaching workshops was instituted to upgrade the quality of instruction. The curricula have been completely revised to offer courses that are relevant, interesting, and individualized. The result has been a marked decrease in absentee rates.

Intern Recruitment and the Program Image

A final unforeseen problem became apparent in attempts to recruit interns. The problem had two faces, the first being the difficulty of getting enough qualified applicants, and the second, defining the goals of the program.

The difficulty in getting enough applicants stems from several sources. In the early history of the program (before January 1974) there were no limitations on either the number of interns or their qualifications. Virtually anyone who applied was accepted. When the experimental design was instituted, several new factors were introduced into the recruitment process. First, only students with a minimum fifth grade reading level were admitted. In addition, the design called for a specific number of admissions, plus a large pool of qualified applicants to constitute a control group. Thus, the sheer number of applicants had to be significantly larger than before. Furthermore, admission under the new design required a full day of interviewing and testing with no guarantee that an applicant would be chosen, even though qualified to enter the school. This had a discouraging effect on potential interns.

The major mechanism for recruitment was the contact of the School District Coordinator with counselors in the designated feeder schools. Since the public school counselors were never quite sure what the CIP was all about, they tended to send students without reference to an explicit set of criteria. When their records were reviewed by the School District Coordinator, many were judged to be unqualified for admission.

While the net result was that there were not enough qualified applicants, the implications were more far reaching. First, it was obvious that additional recruitment mechanisms would have to be developed. Second, it was apparent that public school administrators were confused as to the purpose and goals of the CIP.

The question came up in a staff meeting early in the summer in the form of a heated discussion as to whether CIP should project iteself as "an alternative school for anyone who was unhappy with the public schools;" should stress the "remedial nature of its orientation and thus appeal to those identified as poor students;" or whether "the emphasis on career training should be pushed,". In any case, the effect on recruitment and the possibilities for publicizing the program would be affected.

Several important steps have been taken toward resolving the difficulties associated with recruitment. In January 1974, in response to the immediate problem of getting enough applicants for the first class, several staff members were instructed to recruit students via telephone or door-to-door solicitation. This technique proved both time consuming and unwieldy, though it did increase the number of prospective students.

As a result of the recruitment problem, the School District Coordinator began a stepped-up campaign to advertise the program in feeder schools. He scheduled student body assemblies, combed student records, and intensified his contacts with school counselors. Furthermore, the number of feeder schools was greatly expanded to cover the entire city. Descriptive literature was sent to the principals and counselors of virtually every city high school.

As the Career Intern Program becomes more clearly defined and better organized, the staff believes it can accept an increasingly larger student body. This means that greater numbers of students must be identified. The problem appears to be solved. For one thing, people are hearing about the program by word of mouth, and the number of people who apply is increasing rapidly. For another, the intake procedures have been streamlined to reduce the total time for interviews and testing. Thus, they are less onerous to potential applicants.

In summary, the above were the major problems faced in the early stages of CIP development. Basic, of course, are the problems resulting from the innovative nature of the program. These include development of a viable administrative structure and a set of administrative procedures, plus the job of creating a program for which there were few antecedents. Beyond this, there were a number of problems of lesser scope which had to be dealt with--the unforeseen structural conflict between counseling and instruction, the high absentee rates, and the problem of intern recruitment.

THE PROGRAM AS IT DEVELOPED: SOME CHANGES

The net result of these processes has been the creation of a program which is in some respects different from the one orginally proposed, but which is representative of the basic idea of the Reverend Dr. Sullivan and the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America. The result is not a compromise or a dilution of the original dream. Indeed, in many respects it is more exciting and responsive to intern needs than had been imagined.

This section reviews the changes that have taken place since the program's design and inception. No effort is made to describe again the basic structure of the school, which has remained much as originally planned. What has changed are mainly roles, emphases, and program processes. These major changes are in administration, instruction/counseling, and program development and review.

Administration

Perhaps the most significant administrative change has been in the hiring of a Director with a background of experience in teaching, school administration, and innovative educational program development. In addition to the improved morale resulting from this appointment, the new Director has instituted a number of administrative procedures that have significantly altered the shape of the program. Department heads are now required to prepare and submit to the Director bi-weekly reports of their activities. Each report is sent on to OICs/A and is circulated among the other department heads so that all administrators are kept abreast of every major development in the program.

Efforts on the part of the administration have been made to increase the quality and effectiveness of communication among staff. Instead of weekly general staff meetings, frequent staff seminars are held which focus on specific issues, and regular, individualized intern assessment conferences are conducted, bringing together instructors, job developers, and counselors. Furthermore, in keeping with the effort to enhance staff communication, the results of the ongoing evaluation are made available to staff both as written reports, channeled through the Program Manager and UCEC Director, and as oral briefings to the entire staff by the evaluators. This immediate evaluation feedback permits quick response and implementation of suggestions on the part of the staff.

In addition to this administrative change, a number of others have been made which, while less basic to the operation of the program, have nonetheless made a noticeable difference in ambience. For example, the office of the head of Educational Services has been moved to the Resource Center, greatly increasing this individual's interaction with staff and interns, and the title of the position has been changed to Curriculum Liaison/Resource Center Specialist. As a full-fledged department, Educational Services has been eliminated, because the bulk of one of its major functions--the development of a basic curriculum for a new and innovative program--has largely been accomplished. This has been the one major structural change to take place (see Figure 2).

A comprehensive action plan has been formulated to ensure that the recommendations of the formative evaluation are carried out. Department heads have been granted a great deal of autonomy in doing their jobs within the framework of the general program policy. At the same time, they have been made accountable through the required bi-weekly reports.

In summary, the present administrative structure has been streamlined; qualified people have gradually emerged in key staff positions; procedures for effective communication have been and are being developed and implemented; a general administrative policy based upon respect for individual staff expertise has been articulated; and stress has been placed upon regular staff-staff and staff-intern interaction.

Instruction/Counseling

The above administrative changes have had important effects on the processes of instruction and counseling. One change has been that the tendency to separate teaching and counseling functions (which was never intended in the original design) has been reversed. The current emphasis is upon cooperation between instructors and counselors, which occurs in several ways. A Career Counseling Seminar is offered, taught by a team of counselors, teachers, and career advisors. In addition, regular Intern Formalized Assessment Conferences and periodic Intern Disposition Review Conferences are conducted and attended by all staff involved in an intern's program. Preliminary data relating to the effectiveness of such cooperation indicate that teachers and counselors have begun to see each other as equal partners in a joint enterprise.

New procedures have been developed to ensure successful Hands-On experiences. These procedures are designed to make sure interns' experiences are useful and relevant to their interests. In the new procedure, an intern's counselors keeps a careful record of the intern's progress in the program. Sometime during Phase I, after the Career Development Plan has been formulated, an Intern Disposition Conference is held, at which time the intern along with her/his counselor, instructors, and career advisor settle upon two career choices. When the intern completes the Career Counseling Seminar, his/her counselor sends a transmittal memo to the Career department indicating that the intern is ready for Hands-On and naming the two careers of interest to the intern. The Career department then arranges for the Hands-On experiences.

Curriculum

Attempts are being made to enhance the quality of instruction in two ways. First, new curriculum packets (to be described below) have been developed and are being used. These are designed to permit individualized instruction that answers the needs of the particular intern, and to fuse academic and career information. Secondly, teacher workshops are conducted by the head of the Instructional Department, the outside curriculum consultant, and other outside specialists. These are designed to facilitate implementation of the new curriculum. A series of micro-teaching workshops has been held using videotaping as a means of getting teachers to evaluate their own classroom behaviors.

In addition to the changes in courses and counseling, the program today features a large number of non-classroom activities. A successful career fair was held at the end of the summer for which interns studied various careers, designed visual displays, and made themselves available to discuss the careers with other interested interns. Excursions to various cultural centers--museums, the zoo, theaters, and so on--have been conducted, and more are planned. These all represent efforts to enrich the educational experiences of interns.

In summary, new procedures have been introduced to enhance the quality of career advising and to integrate instruction and counseling. High quality instruction is a constant concern and is being ensured through the use of updated curriculum packets supplemented by reular teacher workshops.

Basic Subjects in the Curriculum

CIP is committed to a personalized program. This commitment led to the development of personalized curriculum materials based on the following assumptions:

1. A teacher able to interact on a personal level with each student is essential. Curriculum materials should facilitate such interaction, not take the place of it.

2. The ability to work independently and learn autonomously will vary significantly with each individual. The curricula will have to help the intern make the transition from dependent, teacher-directed learning to independent, autonomous learning.

3. Interns vary in their readiness for learning. The materials should provide a variety of learning activities.

4. The materials should help the intern recognize the need for the information which they contain; should specify learning objectives; and should provide frequent feedback about learning.

The packets were also designed to remedy two weaknesses in earlier versions of the curriculum: Information overload--students were burdened with too much career-related information; and too little emphasis on processing information--students were not helped to think analytically about careers and to develop a means for finding and using appropriate career information.

More About Curricula: The Counseling Seminar

The Career Counseling Seminar (CCS) assists students to understand career information, develop self-awareness, explore career possibilities, and cope more successfully with diverse social situations. Most interns are street wise. The seminar helps them become school wise and work wise. The seminar, meeting for one period daily for 22 weeks, is required of all students. The seminar also deliberately integrates the efforts of teachers and counselors who constitute the teaching team.

Curriculum materials consist of learning packets written on a fifth grade level. A list of all packets is given in the appendix. Illustrative topics include;

o Carrer Information Processing

  1. Identifying present career interests
  2. Expanding present interests into new horizons
  3. Choosing a career study
  4. Deciding on career information needed
  5. Locating print resources
  6. Interviewing career specialists
  7. Using community agencies
  8. Evaluating career resources
  9. Recording career information
  10. Writing the career report
  11. Sharing career information

o Decision Making process

  1. Rational decision making
  2. The trouble with superstition
  3. Brainstorming options and choices
  4. Whom can you trust? The use of authority.
  5. Predicting consequences
  6. Learning from experience
  7. Keeping the options open
  8. When to follow your hunches?
  9. When to listen to other people?
  10. What kind of decider are you?

Academics and Career Education

These studies (English, Social Studies, Mathematics and Science) relate senior high school subjects (grades 10 through 12) and career education content. Ninety-seven packets in English, social studies, and science have been developed, plus 43 lessons in mathematics. Each packet contains four to eight lessons, a pre-and post-test covering packet content, a series of readings and activities, and a list of optional enrichment activities.

The units for the first level of English, each unit serving as a focus for a learning packet, illustrate the integration of career, academic and other content within a separte-subjects curriculum design.

- English II

Career:	The Job Interview Communication Problems and Job Success Career Focusing
Academic:	Speaking and Listening Writing Better Sentences Writing Better Paragraphs Hope - the Afro-American Soul in Literature Flight and Fear in Literature
Self:	You, Your Language, and Careers
Community:	Communication in the Community

The packets were developed by outside consultants working with the CIP staff. Packet content was designed to appeal to students who were not motivated (or experienced) in working on their own and who had some difficulty with academic content. A student who used only packet material could master at least the basic content, although going beyond the basics is encouraged. Teachers use the packets in a way which best fits their teaching style, and are encouraged to supplement the packet content with "...active, experiential learning" to avoid a workbook-drill approach in teaching.

Hands-On

Interns are recommended for Hands-On experiences which are designed to provide exposures to the primary labor market in their last semester at CIP. If interns' attendance is satisfactory, if interns are doing well in their courses, and if their teachers and counselors feel they are ready, the general counselor submits interns' names to the Job Developer. The Job Developers, who are advised of the interns' first and second career choices, find appropriate placements. Each intern is required to have two Hand-On placements of one week each. Work in Hands-On is evaluated both by the supervisor at the business placement and by the CIP Job Developer.

Hands-on is an experience in CIP whose importance may seem surprising since almost all interns work by necessity or choice. Their jobs are, however, typically in the secondary labor market of low-paying, high-turnover youth jobs. Few interns have had access to the higher paying, primary labor market world of suburban firms, downtown businesses, and professional and skilled trades. For most students, Hands-On represents their first exposure to conditions and people in primary labor market work, selected with their interests and needs in mind. Typical Hands-On placements involved students observing/working* in the positions described in the composite portraits which are listed below:

- Lila, putting together her record as the fastest (and most accurate) figurer at CIP and her interest in data rather than people, spent a week as an actuarial clerk in a suburban insurance firm. Her performance was so remarkable, the firm offered her a traineeship in actuarial statistics.

- Rupert, whose street occupation had involved both relating to people and handling considerable sums, worked with a teller in a downtown bank. Initially ill-at-ease in the acres of marble, he gained both knowledge of the range of banking services available to him and how his money sense and reliability could fit into the work of bank employees.

- Gene had a little interest in a lot of careers but no great interest in any. His abilities were similarly dispersed rather than concentrated. A week with a computer technologist in a downtown Marine Corps Supply Center helped him understand the diversity of occupations available within an employer such as the Marine Corps-and helped also rule out computer technology as a possible career.

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* Sometimes safety considerations or other rules preclude actual work by students.

- Merle spent his hands-on with a building contractor in the city, literally hands-on as a carpenter-for-a week. Added attractions were the opportunities to observe close-up the variety of other skilled crafts and trades working on the construction site.

- Earlyne's first hands-on choice, working with a nurse, did not come through. Reluctantly she agreed to spend a week with a parole officer in the city corrections department. It was a week that has influenced, and perhaps changed, her life. The officer who was her monitor was committed to making parole work, and showed Earlyne a fuller range of challenges, opportunities and rewards - as well as disappointments, some risk, and frustration than her second hands-on (which was nursing) could offer.

- Other hands-on placements have included social work in a local community action project, chef in a suburban motor lodge, dental assistant in a city clinic, nurse in a home for the elderly, and journalist with the city newspaper.

Doris' (an actual student) experiences illustrate a number of the effects Hands-on have on intern attitudes toward careers. On her CDP she had indicated that her first choice of career was in the area of computers and her second was to be an X-ray technician. Her Hands-on experience made her change her mind.

> "After I had, you know, gone on that Hands-On experience with the computer, I didn't like it too much...I just didn't like it because...you got to go to school. I don't want to go back to school a long time just to get into that...I'll probably go back to school in about a year, I want to go to a training school or something."

She really liked the X-ray technician experience, however. Her reasons for liking it probably reflect the kinds of considerations that ultimately go into a satisfying career.

> "...I just like the taking of X-rays of people and watching how they develop through the machine and stuff... the people I worked with were really nice. Lynne and Eric, that was their names. They showed me a lot when they weren't working and I was registering patients and stuff and then Eric showed me how to run the machine a little bit."

For Doris, as for many of the interns, Hands-on gave her a clearer idea of what a realistic career goal was for her, of how to go about attaining it and convinced that she could succeed if she worked at it.

In some cases, the Hands-on experiences have unexpected effects on the attitudes of interns. One intern, for example, wanted to become a dental assistant. When she got to the site and discovered how much schooling the career required and what the work was like, she realized that she would not want to do it. However, she discovered what the duties of a medical receptionist were while at her Hands-on. She decided this was something she could do, and came back determined to get more information various openings for receptionists.

Electives

Elective subjects broaden the curriculum, contributing to the "you-are-important" atmosphere CIP tries to maintain. Electives offered by CIP include cultural arts (clarifies the concept of culture and helps students explore their own and other cultures); basic typing for personal use; graphics (perspective, form and their communication through drawings, provide insight into a related career), consumer mathematics, and humanities (artistic expression in painting, music, films, and literature).

Program Development and Review

Even after four years of development, the Career Intern Program is not static. Procedures have been introduced to ensure that it remains flexible and responsive to the changing needs of interns and of the community it serves. Existing programs and practices are constantly under review.

The mechanism for effecting change and for monitoring the program includes the Office of the Operations Planning Assistant of the OICs/A who works with the Program Manager, reviews all program reports, and maintains continuous on-site contact with the program and with the external evaluators. Based on the information received, the Operations Planning Assistance makes recommendations to the UCEC Director.

A second important mechanism for review has been the external evaluation team. On-site fieldworkers monitor the ongoing program and regularly report their observations to the Program Manager. Thus, they are able to evaluate the effectiveness of change.

In Instructional Curriculum Supervisor is constantly searching out and reviewing new instructional materials and is actively producing in-house materials and methods.

Various instructors and counselors have been assigned the task of organizing and supervising extra-curricular group activities, which will add to interns' knowledge and give them a wider range of school experiences. For example, a Student Counseling Committee has been formed to provide a means for interns to discuss personal and school problems with other interns; a Progressive Student Association has been organized to give interns a voice in the program; and several activity groups meet regularly.

A new, streamlined procedure for intake interviews, using a slide show which can be shown to a number of parents and interns at the same time, has been developed and is being tried out.

Conclusion

The picture that emerges is that of an exciting and changing experiment in education. Some of the changes described above are a confession of failure. Some of the new programs and activities may prove ineffective and require further change. More importantly, however, the program has proven itself capable of meeting challenges and of dealing with its own imperfections. CIP appears well on the way to meeting its original goal: to prove "the hope of productive futures for urban youth."

CHAPTER THREE

THE INTERN AND CIP: FOUR CASE STUDIES

The interns whose experiences are described here under fictitious names are selected on two bases. First, they represent a sampling of various student feelings about the Career Intern Program; and second, they exhibit the range of social characteristics typical of entering interns. Included are two men and two women, high school dropouts and non-dropouts, one who has finished CIP, two who are midway through their programs, and one whose graduation is still sometime off. One of the interns is white, and three are black. They come from a variety of home contexts and a number of different high schools. They range from good students to very poor. Taken together, they provide an accurate composite of typical intern experiences.

No attempt is made to describe the entire life history of any one intern. Rather, using their words and assuming their perspective, this chapter tires to describe what they find significant and interesting about the program. Each intern reveals the special personal meaning the program holds for her or him.

Eddie: "I needed a diploma."

Eddie's story tells of the obstacles some public school students meet in trying to get a diploma. Eddie had a pretty good idea what he wanted to do with his life, but the problem was that he had been unable to obtain the pass-key,in all his years in public school. Without the diploma, Eddie feared that he would have to take whatever he could get on the street and he had seen too many frightening endings out there to want to settle for that alternative. Here is Eddie's story.

When his family moved from West Philadelphia to Germantown, Eddie breathed a sigh of relief. He had been dodging gang members in the old neighborhood for two years and he was glad to leave the scene of the battle. In a new neighborhood and new school, Eddie found himself in a different scene, but fighting the same battle. There were new gangs to deal with and he was not doing much better at the new high school than he had at the old. He refused to enter the gang scene which he knew would lead to his dropping out of school. At the same time, he could not be a part of the successful student scene. In describing the social context of the high school, Eddie characterizes his own dilemma.

> "If you're a hoodlum (gang member), you're cool. If you're not a hoodlum, you're 'iced' (snubbed). If you're a "bookworm,' they call you a dummy."

Eddie needed to find a place where he could be himself, and where he could get the understanding and help to finish high school.

CIP was less than a block away from his high school and Eddie wandered over there occasionally to check it out.

> "If you walk into a regular school, everybody stares at you like you're...somebody from a different planet or something...over here (CIP) I found the school was together. They don't give you any hassles about what you're doing in here and how you got in here."

So the first thing about CIP that appealed to Eddie was the atmosphere of openness. Eddie was admitted to CIP in January, 1974. Before long he began to endear himself to teachers and counselors, taking an active role in student activities. He was handsome and a stylish dresser who loved to flirt with the girls or spend an afternoon rapping with a teacher. He became involved in the Progressive Student Association, a student initiated group set up as a voice for interns in the school and for planning student social activities. As a member of the group Eddie participated in planning dances and organizing basketball games between students and staff. During second semester at CIP, another intern wrote and directed a play in which Eddie had a major part.

Eddie related to adults especially well, forming close friendships with many of his teachers and other staff members. As a result of his easy relationship with CIP staff, they tended to entrust him with responsibilities, like relaying messages between staff members or helping teachers carry books from the resource center.

Soon just about everybody knew Eddie. His classmates respected him for his efforts in their behalf, and his teachers and counselors saw him as special. He had found the place he was looking for at CIP.

Because of his reading problems however, it took him much longer to get through the program than many of the interns who entered CIP when he did. He had been in high school for five years before coming to CIP and had made it only as far as the 11th grade. Like many students in the large high schools, Eddie's slow pace is probably attributable to his never having admitted or dealt with his reading deficiencies. At the same time, no one was paying much attention to the fact that after so many years he had accumulated so few credits. Eventually he would either have dropped out or he would have been dropped from the rolls.

But in the supportive atmosphere at CIP, Eddie had a chance to admit his problems, to seek and to get the help he needed to improve. Eddie saw the CIP teachers were different. . .

> ". . .they take time to explain what's happening. They really take time to understand you, to see how you get along with other people in the classroom. The teachers here don't have the attitude they have at High School, you know, 'if he doesn't get his education, I don't care, it doesn't have anything to do with me, I'm still getting my money.' But teachers here don't feel like that, they feel that we all have to survive, so they can't turn their back on you when they know they can help you make that change."

This comment of Eddie's is typical of many interns' analysis of the difference in attitude of teachers. That difference fills a need that Eddie and other interns like him felt strongly.

Eddie not only feels that teachers at CIP care about him in a personal way, but also that school in general has become more personally meaningful to him. When he refers to his courses at CIP, for example, he doesn't only use course names but refers to them in terms of what he is learning about. Here he is talking about one of his favorite classes and the issues discussed that have impressed him deeply.

> ". . .the work seems like fun, not boring. You can't go to sleep in classes because we do things. Like in my Social Studies class, we're learning about ourselves, like our racial self and prejudice. Everybody gets a chance to act out what prejudice is. Some people say prejudice is like not liking string beans. But that's not prejudice and you learn what prejudice is really about."

In his last semester at CIP, Eddie was taking only one course because he had completed everything else he needed. He had had to repeat his English course once, but by this time, Eddie was reading adequately. One aspect of the school he complained about in his last semester was the packets teachers were using in the classrooms.

His dissatisfaction is mixed with an understanding of their intent and the value of doing them. Somehow, his mixed feelings represent the movement Eddie had made toward an understanding of the value of school and toward increased self-awareness.

> ". . .I couldn't stand the packets. . .they ask you the same questions through the whole packet. You finish one question and turn the page and you see the same question in a different form. . .maybe they do it to check you out, to see whether you're rushing through or whether you're taking your time to think about the answers. . .We do them individually because everybody says something different . . .I always wanted to catch the guy that made up those packets. I always wanted to catch him. . .We had one of them called 'How do you feel about yourself'. Well, quite naturally, you're going to exaggerate to make yourself look good. But then if you look at it, you say, 'Well, how do I feel about myself?' And if you really sit back and think of all the wrong things you've done, you'd have to put down something different from what you first wrote down. Or how do you feel at this particular moment? Nervous? So you really can't just put down anything off the top of your head. You have to really sit back, read it, and then think about what it asks you, and then write it down. It made you think. It was sickening. But, I guess to a certain extent they were alright."

Unlike many of his fellow interns, Eddie knew what he wanted to be for a long time. He looked into other careers when he was at CIP and had six hands-on experiences during his stay, but his first love was electronics.

> "When I was about eight years old, my father brought me a radio--I took that radio apart and he told me. . .he beat me first, and then he told me, 'That radio better be working!'. I got the crystals back in that radio and that radio was working. That's what got me into it. Then I started dealing with a little bit of everything. It's fascinating. You take a radio that's a good twelve, thirteen years old and you say, "Wow, I'm going to fix this radio.' You sit down and get to pulling those tubes out and testing them and seeing which ones are no good and you put new tubes in and you might take the cord off cause the cord had a break in it. You know, you can get a short circuit because of that. You take the cord off and you put another one in there, slap it in the wall and the radio come on. Wow, you see what happened. That's a trip".

Recalling his favorite hands-on experience, Eddie tells about working with an electrician for two weeks as he went from job to job in the city.

> "I thought I knew a lot about being an electrician. I thought electrician and electronics were just about the same thing. Until I went on that hands-on. First of all, I didn't really think about all the things electricians do and how they work. I thought to myself, 'I'm really more interested in building things, electrical things,' So I talked to that electrician and he showed me some other stuff he was working on, on his own time. It made me think about that career in a different way, but I knew I still wanted to work with electronics."

Eddie never entertained any ideas about going to school beyond high school. His major goal was to get a high school diploma. A diploma, to him, symbolized a clean break from the street scene that constantly lured him but that he so diligently tried to avoid.

> "I really wanted to get a high school diploma. I know what it's like out there and I want to get a better job than just what I could pick up on the street. I really go to find out what I would have missed if I had dropped out. What opportunities I would have had. And that's why I'm glad I came over here. The people I see down town, I feel sorry for them. You see them sitting on the corner or sleeping in the street and you say, 'Damn, will you look at that!' I feel sorry for them. But really, if you sit back and think about it, you know, they can get it, they can do it. Maybe it's because they feel sorry for themselves, like if other people don't try for them, they're not going to try themselves. I'm not going to end up like that."

With the help of his counselor, Eddie looked into opportunities for getting into electronics. He finally decided he was going to go into the Air Force, and applied even before he graduated.

At the CIP graduation ceremoney in August, Eddie received an award for perfect attendance. The contrast of this award with his past school behavior is striking. Had Eddie not found a place where he could be himself, which gave him the support and patience to work on his reading skills, he probably would never have graduated from high school.

Darla: "I had to get myself together."

Darla sheepishly walked into the classroom building at 9:45 one morning, a half hour late for the Career Counseling Seminar.

Instead of going upstairs to class, she went to her counselor's office to explain why she was late and to get the necessary paper work done so she would be considered present in school that day.

> "You know, it takes me so long to get here all the way from South Philly, and, anyway, I wasn't feeling too good this morning."

Appearing disappointed, her counselor looked hard at Darla, as if waiting for Darla to add something.

> "I know. It's my own fault, really. I just could have started out earlier and I wouldn't have been so late. But do I have to go to the Career Seminar today?"

Darla dropped out of high school early in her second time around in 12th grade. After a few months of doing nothing, she decided to phone the local OIC for information on clerical skills training programs. Since she had been out of high school for only a short time, the OIC representative advised her to apply to CIP. She started attending classes at CIP in February of 1975, ready to wipe the slate clean and start afresh.

She'd had a couple of new starts before, but each time failed to live up to expectations. She had been an exceptional student in junior high school. When she started high school she was offered admission to a special program for the top students. Darla was interested in secretarial work, so she was put into the 'Co-op' program, an accelerated commercial course which simulated the work environment. She did fairly well her first two years in the program, but during her senior year, she began to have problems. When she first came to CIP she blamed her failure at the old high school on family problems, on teachers' lack of understanding or on some of her classmates' attitudes.

> ". . .I guess when my mother and father broke up, it tore me up. I took it hard. . .Anyway, I didn't like being in a classroom full of girls, and I wouldn't dress the way my teachers told me to dress, I didn't see any point in getting dressed up when I'm looking at a bunch of women all the time. I had top English, but that English teacher and me couldn't hit it off for nothing, cause all she would do was talk about literature-not English. Then there was this one girl who used to try to out do me in everything. She thought she was 'Miss Cutie', but she wasn't."

Darla failed every subject in her senior year. She returned the following year, and the teachers and her counselor at the old high school were willing to give her a second chance in the Co-op program. But Darla began cutting classes again, eventually ran out of excuses and dropped out. Darla saw CIP as a chance to begin in a new environment, with new people, and with renewed determination.

When she first came to CIP, Darla was bubbling over with enthusiasm. Believing that she had failed at the other high school because of problems with her family, teachers and classmates, she was convinced that things would be different at CIP. Because she was already in 12th grade, she could graduate in only one semester and she was gung ho to beat her younger sister to a diploma. There were several reasons for her "high" at the beginning of her CIP experience. For one thing, she liked her teachers and felt the subject matter was relevant to her. Darla noticed that she was gaining interest in school again. She was gaining the self-confidence to express herself in class. When she thought about it, the biggest difference between the teaching at the old high school and the teaching at CIP had to do with attitude.

> "Here they come at you on an adult basis. You don't just have to take the teacher's word, they want you to judge for yourselves."

Darla stressed how important being treated like an adult was to her. It was not only her teachers, but her classmates who interacted with her as an adult. Darla tells about an incident which she feels exemplifies interns' interactions with each other.

> ". . .there are some childish ones over here, but there's one thing I notice, if you do something wrong--everybody is on your back. . .This one girl, loud-talked me one day out in the street. I told the rest of the students and they got on her back and said, 'Hey, why did you do that? That's not right, you are suppose to be an adult so start carrying yourself like one.' There was no argument, it was just. . .she just took it because nobody was trying to make her look bad or anything, they were just putting her in her place. That's what I like about this school."

Another reason for Darla's enthusiasm at the beginning was an arrangement her counselor made for her to work as a secretary each afternoon in the Career Department. This arrangement furthered her clerical skills training and also served as her hands-on experience. Getting the job also underlined Darla's feeling that she was being given a chance to act like an adult. Here she reveals her excitement at being hired.

> "I came over there and interviewed and I filled out these papers. He told me I had the job...boy, was I tickled pink! Boy, I told my mother. She was glad too, cause like she was having hard times, and like at the time, I was spending .90¢ for carfare and a dollar for lunch, sometimes more. It was hard on my mother, because she had my sister in her last year (of high school), plus she has my little brother, plus she has the house and everything to pay for. She said I didn't have to give her anything just as long as I put twenty dollars in the bank; she didn't want anything from me, just as long as I had some money in the bank... They pay me a hundred dollars every two weeks."

In the Career Counseling Seminar, Darla decided to do her career report on becoming an executive secretary. She learned about the speciality while reading some general reference materials in the resource center. The glamour of the executive secretary's job caught Darl's imagination. She had once entertained thoughts of going into fashion design, but felt it was too impractical a career to pursue. Becoming an executive secretary represented a good compromise between glamour and practicality.

As the semester wore on, Darla's high wore off. She began to have problems in school and with her job. She was arriving late and cutting several of her classes.

Her attendance at the Career Counseling Seminar suffered because it was first thing in the morning. The more she missed it, the less she wanted to go. Soon she found herself cutting other classes and a pattern was emerging. Darla would begin to feel down on herself, but she would rationalize her behavior by blaming outside forces--illness, the distance she had to travel or home problems. Eventually, her job suffered too. She blamed her boss. Either he didn't understand her, or he expected too much of her. She began to make excuses to leave early in the afternoon, and sometimes she wouldn't show up at all.

> "Like when he give me something, I freeze-up all the time, and then just mess up half the time. I didn't even care if I got to work. And I'd come in late. Half the time, I couldn't come in cause I was either sick or I had to go somewhere--to clinic or I might have to go somewhere else."

At mid-term, the results were in and things did not look good. Darla was failing every one of her courses simply because she was missing class too often. Her English teacher's comment typifies the frustration her teachers felt.

> "Darla is a girl with a sweet smile, beautiful interpersonal skills, and she's flunking. Her attendance is sporadic...50 or 60%. When she comes, she does pretty good work. If she came she'd pass. I mean, her scores were all like 70's and just a few 70's doesn't get you passed."

Darla's counselor talked to her every day, urging her to come to school, and talking with her about personal problems Darla perceived herself to be having. Her teachers explained to Darla exactly what she would have to do in order to pass their courses. Her enthusiasm welled up again and by the end of the semester, Darla had passed all of her courses except the Career Counseling Seminar. This meant she could not graduate.

A noticeable shift occurred in the way she viewed her own behavior that semester, however. Where before she blamed everyone and everything for her problems in school, she was now beginning to see that it was she who had primary responsibility for her school success. She recognized her behavior pattern of messing up, feeling bad, and running away or avoiding the issues.

> "I started getting--I got real lazy, and I started fooling around. And that's how I flunked, because I fooled around and everything. I would miss class a lot. You used to see me in the recreation room all the time, cutting classes...This is the same thing that happened at the other school. I was in the same bag I was in before."

The opening scene in the counselor's office took place in Darla's second semester at CIP. She was taking the Career Counseling Seminar which she had failed the semester before. On that day, Darla was late. She started off blaming her lateness on outside forces. Her counselor waited to hear if Darla would be satisfied with her rationalizations. But Darla had begun to recognize the pattern in her behavior, and, to her counselor's satisfaction, added that it was her own fault for being late. From this perspective, her failure to graduate could not be blamed on the teachers, the weather or her friends. At CIP, her teachers', counselor's, and classmates' support were ideal. She realized that all along there was a crucial element she had been missing in trying to explain her past failures--herself.

> "I had been feeling down, but now I'm starting--I'm anxious to go to school now. I'm going to start getting stuff together...I have to, you know, I'll be 20 years old. I'm going on 20...it's nobody's fault but my own that I didn't graduate. My sister teases me, I always used to tease her that I'll be getting out of school this year and she'll still be in there. Now she teases me. But I know now that I'm never going to graduate unless I get myself together."

For Darla, the CIP experience was more than choosing and working toward a career goal - - more than getting high school diploma. For her it was a chance to learn an important lesson about herself. By seeing her own behavior against an ideal school setting, she realized it was she who was preventing herself from accomplishing her goals. Getting through high school was one thing, but, unchecked, the pattern Darla exhibited would have affected her in any working situation she might enter. Interestingly enough, the feature of CIP that Darla liked so much--being treated as an adult-was the very thing that she found she could not live up to. At CIP, she learned something fundamental about herself and her own problems in dealing with the responsibilities of the adult she so much wanted to become. It provided a chance for her to test herself before going out into the work of work.

A postscript to Darla's story is encouraging. She was accepted to a secretarial training school. After graduating from CIP, she began attending classes there in January 1976. So far, she has been doing well and is looking forward to succeeding in a job.

Sherry: "I don't think I could do it."

> "I figured that if I got a diploma I would get a different job. I didn't know what I wanted to do, but definitely change jobs. I wanted to come back to school because of my kids too. So I could help them when they begin to get hard work in school. I didn't want to be embarrassed in front of my kids and not be able to help them."

Sherry had been out of school for six years before coming to CIP. She dropped out after tenth grade because she was pregnant and never went back. In the meantime, she had two more children. Sherry applied to CIP because she wanted to get a diploma and a better job. She did not consider going to college or any other kind of post-high school program because she did not think that she had either the ability or the time, given the burden of three young children.

Sherry is a young-looking 23 year old, who, despite her age, blended in with the other interns at CIP. The only really distinctive quality Sherry displayed was a maturity marked by her dependability and perserverence. From the beginning her teachers noted that Sherry was one of their most diligent, conscientious students. Less than six months after she started attending CIP, Sherry was seriously considering going to college to become a social worker. What happened to her at CIP to change her aspirations is the subject of this study.

For one thing, Sherry found herself to be an extremely bright woman who enjoyed learning and excelled in school. Only a few weeks after classes started, Sherry's math teacher made this comment. . .

> "she is a very good student. The best I have. She's a straight 'A' student. A beautiful girl. Does all her homework on time, is very bright, very quick to grasp things. There is nothing wrong, nothing I can say against her, no minuses--all plus. Attendance? Every day! She is a gem of a student."

Sherry impressed her teachers with her ability and her motivation. Her English teacher commented that Sherry was an aggressive student in the sense that she was trying to learn as much as she could.

> "Even when assignments she has been given have been done she invariably comes to me to ask for more work. And of course her concern does not seem to be that of just trying to be impressive, I think she seems to be genuinely concerned about work..."

When her mid-term grades came out, Sherry had earned all 'A's. It was the first time in her life that she had done well in school. Her 10th year grades had been well below average. It had been several years, however, since she had tried her hand in a school situation. In musing about the reasons for her academic success at CIP, Sherry's renewed self-confidence reveals itself.

> "I knew I could do it all the time, but, you know, I just really had my mind more at ease now. I feel it's something I really want to do. My teachers tell me that I should study harder and that I should think about going to college because they say I'm really doing pretty well. Just about everybody has told me that."

As Sherry realized her capabilities as a student she began to entertain career possibilities she had never considered. She gained information about careers through the Career Counseling

Seminar and her hands-on experiences. At intake Sherry indicated that she wanted to become a secretary. She stayed with this goal at first, signing up for the typing course at CIP. In the Career Seminar, while working on her career report, she began to look into various specialties in the secretarial field and became interested in courtroom stenography. She learned that courtroom stenography required post-high school training. Her new self-confidence led her to believe that she could do it and that the payoff was probably worth the effort involved.

In the seminar, she was encouraged to analyze her personal reason for choosing courtroom stenography which was being in the courtroom.

> "I always wanted to be in the courtroom somehow. I guess the thing that appealed to me about being a courtroom stenographer was that you could be helping in an important way. I always wanted to work with people to help in any way I can, so I think that courtroom reporting is more than just being someone's secretary and it gets you involved with people."

Sherry continued to impress her teachers and her counselor with her excellent academic performance and her mature attitude. Her teachers began encouraging her to think about college and other possible careers. Sherry had vaguely considered becoming a parole officer or social worker. She knew very little about social work, but decided to request hands-on experiences in this field.

In her second semester, Sherry was assigned to work with a city probation worker who specialized in working with alcoholics. Sherry's eyes opened for the first time about what the career entailed and how different it was from being a courtroom reporter.

> "I never realized how complicated being a parole officer was...I think I also realized for the first time what a courtroom reporter does. I'd rather become a probation officer because they really work more closely with people and they can really make a difference."

As Sherry made that decision, she realized that she was committing herself to going to college after she graduated. Her view of her family responsibilities had been a source of conflict. Even though her husband had encouraged her to go back to school, and was helping her in every way he could while she was attending CIP, she had never seen herself in the role of a professional woman. The changes she was going through with respect to school and career aspirations, however, contributed to her being able to see things in a new way. She knew she had the ability to succeed and she had a goal that motivated her to find a way.

> "What really helped me decide that I wanted to go to college it--well, I first thought I shouldn't go because all my children weren't in school. I wanted to get them first in there, I then thought I could do what I wanted to do. I figured that by then all I would have to do is get somebody to pick them up or either I could pick them up. But one of my teachers told me, 'Look, Sherry, you can go to college and plus you can get your home situation taken care of. Because my wife went to college, and I watched the two kids while she went. I know it's hard, but you can do it.' And I'm not the only one I see that is still thinking about college or going somewhere, and they're doing it--older than I am. They have children and they're trying."

Jack: "I go to be me..."or "I try to deal with life in a realistic way."

Jack could outtalk anybody at CIP. A wiry, energetic young man, Jack love to expound on social or philosophical topics to anyone who would listen--and his intensity was so engaging, he was rarely without an audience. Jack like the feeling of being different, of taking unusual stands on issues and he always commanded attention with his verbal agility. He liked the attention he got, using it to his advantage wherever possible. Thus, if he hadn't read the assignment, he could always make a good show by picking up the gist of the reading in class discussion and talking around it. In his history class one day, Mr._____was asking the class to explain what capitalism was. Here's one of Jack's speeches.

> "...See, government and politics, this is why I say that this is a very capitalistic country. The United States capitalizes on every situation. Now, for example, the Arabs. At the height of this oil embargo and stuff, this is where some people made $21 million from it. See how they capitalize on that? See how SEPTA (Philadelphia's transporation authority) capitalized on buses. SEPTA drivers make five something an hour, and it doesn't require education to ride a bus, you can be almost illiterate to ride a bus. But yet they are hurting the people in their community that are going to school..."

At intake, Jack indicated that he expected to become a skilled laborer of some sort, although when asked what he would be if he could do anything he wanted, he indicated that he wanted to get a law school degree and go into public relations. When he actually started classes at CIP, Jack told everyone that he wanted to be a journalist. Knowing that his obvious talent was expressing himself, and enjoying it as he did, Jack saw journalism as a logical choice. Being identified with that career also fulfilled Jack's need to be considered exceptional, creative and just a little different from the crowd.

> "...a lot of people just like to hear me talk. They say I have a gift of gab. And I can't help it..When I'm not in class, they miss me, that's what they say. They tell me they miss me in the classroom because, you know, when I wasn't there they wouldn't have any exorbitant discussions, probably if I was there it would have happened. I'm the type of person who just wants to be respected, that's all. That's why I want to go into journalism. I'd like to be a television anchorman. Just get up and tell people about the news and, you know, tell people about what happens in the world, because I've always been able to make a way with words. I try to speak very well, I write very well, I communicate very well."

Jack's outer confidence and his way with words belied his own inner self-doubts as revealed by the order of his career choices at the intake interview. On his career development filled out a few weeks after he started attending classes at CIP, Jack indicated that his second career choice was to become a welder, a substantially different goal than journalism. Although he initially indicated a desire to become a skilled laborer, later he decided to adopt the pose of planning for a more glamorous but elusive career. At CIP, however, people believed his front of self-confidence. No one challenged him directly about his chances to succeed in journalism. He was allowed to feel it out, to experiment with his goals and dreams, and possibly to develop within himself the belief that he could make them a reality.

To a large extent, Jack was a lot like his father. A supervisor in the water department, Jack's father was a good provider. At a conference with Jack's teachers after midterm grades came out, Jack's father enraptured the teachers by a humorous but insightful speech about Jack, schooling and life in general. One could see that Jack admired his father, one person who could certainly not be snowed by Jack's speechmaking. Jack's father was concerned about his math grade. Jack's ability counted, Jack shone, but in math, where Jack's talents afforded him no advantage, he was failing. Jack's math teacher commented:

> "...I know he has the ability to do math. If he would just stop talking about it, and sit still long enough to concentrate he could be my best student."

Before Jack came to CIP, he had fared poorly in school. His problem then too was not being able to sit still. He cut classes most of the time, easily giving in to friends who influenced him to go drinking or carousing.

> "I used to walk to school and run into a couple of my buddies, friends over there, and they would influence me to do something that wasn't constructive that was destructive. They were just drinking wine everyday. They're just going to get cirrhosis of the liver and kill themselves."

As a result of absences and lateness, Jack failed 11th grade. Feeling that he had to escape the influence of his friends he applied to CIP. At CIP, his classmates exerted a positive influence on him.

> "...Most of the students here come in with a positive attitude--they want to learn something. This is what their purpose is here, to learn something, to go on to higher goals, higher education. Maybe they want to go to college, some just want to get jobs."

Jack attended regularly at CIP and he was beginning to enjoy school. He was receiving the attention and encouragement that he craved. In terms of his career goals, Jack was concerned with discovering what was realistic to expect of himself. He couldn't decide whether he was really capable of going to college and pursuing a career in journalism or whether he should try a less ambitious career, one that required less education and risk. He was particularly susceptible to the positive value placed on going to college by CIP teachers and counselors. His concern with realism and his own ambition is expressed in the following comment Jack made about the Career Counseling Seminar.

> "It has made me deal with life, look at things in a more realistic way. When I came here, I found that the teachers try to push you forward. They stress the importance of education, of getting this knowledge, that it's of vital importance. If you don't, you're looked down upon when you fill out a job application or something. No diploma, you're not going to get that job. I think what this school represents is reality. Most of the people who come here have failed somewhere else, right? When we come here, the teachers, the counselors, everyone tries to motivate us."

In his second semester at CIP, Jack went on his first hands-on. Because of the availability of placements, Jack's placement for his first hands-on was in his second choice, as a welder. He was extremely enthusiastic about the experience and began rationalizing the possibility that he would reject his dreams in favor of a career as a welder.

> "...I feel like this, if a man can use his hands along with his head, then he's got something. But if a man uses his head too much and can't use his hands, then he's lost. There are a lot of people with doctor's degrees who can't even get a job out there, but if you have a skill like welding you can always get a job."

Also as a result of his hands-on, Jack realized how important math was to a welder, who has to be concerned with angles and measurements. He redoubled his efforts to do well in math, and signed up for a drafting course offered as a math elective.

Jack's second hands-on was scheduled to be a local newspaper. In the meantime, he had come to weigh his ambitions on the scale of realism. He had learned that journalism was a difficult field to break into, requiring discipline and patience to develop one's talents and to gain recognition for them. He was also becoming more comfortable thinking of himself as having a career as a welder, like his brother. He has not made up his mind yet, but he has had the opportunity to try two very different careers on for size. It is likely that whatever his decision, his experience at CIP will have had a part in this feeling satisfied with his choice.

More to consider. The cases described here depict the experiences of Interns who stayed with the program, and their success is at least in part as a result of CIP being able to meet their personal, academic or career needs. For others, CIP did not work. For those, extreme personal problems, expectations which were not met, and numerous other and complex reasons led to their decisions to drop out.

- Stella is one example. She was doing well at CIP in her first few months until suddenly she found herself in the position of having to be the breadwinner for a family of five younger brotherss and sisters. Shy and private, she rejected her counselor's attempts to talk with her, and she began to miss school. She fell behind and finally decided to drop out that semester.

She returned the following fall, but her counselor had left CIP and she could not open up to the new one. Her problems mounted again, and with no one at CIP who could reach her, she dropped out -- this time for good.

- Tim another former intern, complained that he didn't feel he was learning anything in his classes at CIP. He preferred a more traditional approach to school and insisted that he would have liked to be able to return to his old high school. His teachers at CIP either could not remember having seen him in class at all, or commented that the few times he did attend, he was extremely quiet and reluctant to participate. He stopped coming to school only a few weeks after the semester began, and eventually decided he would not continue at CIP. After he left, he got a job in a restaurant, and talked about trying to get a high school diploma elsehwere. Eight months later, he was out of a job and no closer to a diploma.

- Lynn possessed one of the highest I.Q.'s of any entering intern. At first, she seemed to fulfill her promise and became known as one of the best students in the program; but she was shaken and disillusioned when in the second month of her tenure her favorite teachers was transferred. As the first semester continued, she became increasingly discouraged, spending less and less time in class.

  Frustrated by what she saw as an ever-changing program and disappointed with her career curriculum--since she had come primarily to get a diploma as quickly as possible--she began to feel betrayed. Finally, toward the end of the summer, when it became apparent that her graduation would be delayed for at least another semester, she left in disgust to go to Virginia and live with a sister while continuing in another school.

- There is also Roland, who came to the school before the present experimental program was instituted. He had dropped out because gang involvement in high school led to serious trouble with the authorities. After half a semester in the Career Intern Program, he dropped out and went to work as a short-order cook because of family pressures. Later on, he realized this was not the life he wanted, so he quit his job and went back to school. He is presently working to prepare himself for a career in fashion design.

These interns had less contact with teachers and/or counselors than the interns described earlier. Once they had fallen behind, they tended to give up, reluctant to face teachers and counselors. On the other hand, there are examples of interns for whom the above statements are also true but who did succeed. One intern who dropped out in this first semester, returned and graduated the following semester.

In addition, there are a number of outstanding, success stories. For instance, there is the story of Mitchell, who attended CIP when it was just getting started. In conversations, he tells how the class used to gather in front of a church each morning until they found out where the school would be conducted that day, usually in one of the local churches. He, too, had been a dropout from high school and is now working as a disc jockey at a local radio station while pursuing a university degree in communications.

Conclusion

The brief life histories presented above characterize intern experiences at CIP. The uniqueness of this program is found in its apparent ability to speak to the varied needs of so many different kinds of individuals, though perhaps not always successfully.

The emerging picture is not one of a group of cowed students who see nothing wrong with the school. They see it as exhibiting its share of injustices, unfairness, and needless political hassles. They are as frustrated, as scared, and as resentful of what they consider to be bad teaching as students in any school. However, again and again they reveal themselves as feeling personally responsible for seeing to it that changes are made. They are almost unanimous in their belief that while imperfect, CIP is better than anything they have experienced before.

The four cases presented in this chapter demonstrate the various ways in which CIP meets the needs of individuals and brings about change in their lives. For some, CIP is the only practical way to a high school diploma. For others, the CIP experience helps them to come to grips with personal realities, teaching them that the responsibility for personal growth and school or career success is their own. CIP serves others by widening their awareness of careers and helps them to make their own best choices. Each successful intern changes in one or more of these ways through their CIP experience.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHAT ARE INTERNS LIKE WHEN THEY ENTER THE CIP?

Jan is 18; if she were in the grade expected for her age, she would be a senior in Germantown High School. But Jan is not a senior.[1] A bright, eager student from the first eight years of school, she dropped out of high school when she was 16, after a long history of poor attendance, "being fresh," and getting into one minor scrape after another. She reads at the eighth grade level; her math ability tested much lower, however--at the sixth grade level. This means Jan can read most newspapers easily but could not quickly and accurately make change, or apply arithmetic to problem solving. As far as people can tell from the way Jan describes herself, she is independent, self-confident in personal relationships, but unsure of her ability to learn enough to earn her own living. Since she wants to leave home, get her own apartment, and be independent, finishing high school and getting a good job are high on her list--she wants to care for herself and for her one-year old daughter.

Carl is 16. Tall, dressed in the latest fashion, and well-coordinated, he looks as if he were 21. Carl is a sophomore--just barely. According to his school records and his achievement tests, Carl is bright, competent, and able to do almost anything he would like. But he is unclear about future plans. He "doesn't like school," and rarely attends. He has no fixed interests and, apparently, little sense of direction. Despite his physical appearance, he feels uncomfortable with adults, unsure of himself around the young men and women older than he, but bored with what kids of 16 can offer. Carl has worked off and on at various jobs since he was about 12--a few weeks here and there, but never leaving behind much of a welcome if he wants to return. He is not sure what he wants from the Career Intern Program, except that it sounds different from Germantown High and he'd like to try it. His parents, both white collar workers and increasingly concerned that Carl may "go wrong," are even more eager.

Jesse, at 18, is in his senior year, but 1 credit short of the 12 required for graduation. It does not look as if he is going to make it. Jesse has been passed on from year to year, apparently because he seems to be trying and makes no trouble. His reading scores are barely at the fifth grade level, at the threshold of literacy, and his math performance is not much better. These are the upper limits of Jesse's skills in most circumstances: he can barely comprehend a newspaper article, and his writing skills are, at best, elementary. Jesse's guardians have less than an eighth grade education and are employed as service workers. Despite their concern for Jesse, they have had little time to visit his school, to work with him at night, or to be his advocates for better educational support. Jesse sees himself as at the mercy of whatever luck--good or bad--comes along; he does not believe that what he does will make much difference in his life. He is an applicant for CIP mainly because of his school counselor, afraid Jesse will not be able to graduate and seeing little future for him even if he does, he has urged Jesse to try the Career Intern Program. His guardians are at best neutral. They are unsure of what CIP can offer and, since Jesse has not gotten into trouble, wonder if it will be too permissive for a youth accustomed to the fairly structured situation at Germantown.

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[1] Jan, Carl and Jesse are composites from CIP data and case studies.

Each of the 502 students who have applied and the 310 interns admitted to CIP is, like Jan, Carl, and Jesse, an individual with distinctive hopes, abilities, and problems. Some look as if they would probably do well in almost any situation. Some would present challenges to the most successful of schools. What they have in common is a history of failure in school.

This chapter presents a profile of the students who applied to CIP. It is important to keep in mind the complex individuals represented in the findings. In later reports, data will be analyzed to describe in more detail how subgroups of individual students may be alike.

WHO ARE THEY? AGE, STATUS, AND SEX OF APPLICANTS

The applicants range in age from 14 years (1 out of 502 students who applied to CIP between January 1, 1974, and December 1975) to 24 years of age (4 applicants). Over half of all applicants (250) are 17 or younger. For the most part, they're at an age where they'd be thought of as high school students.

Of the 502 applicants, 40% had dropped out of the public school system. Twenty percent more were still enrolled in high school when they applied for the Career Intern Program, but had such poor attendance records, they had in effect dropped out. Thus, approximately 301 of the applicants (60%) either were not participating in some kind of formal education or were participating only minimally.

As Figure 1 shows, age and status are related: most of the applicants 17 or younger were still enrolled in high school, while all of those 18 and older had dropped out.

If applicants had made normal progress, of the 502, 78 or 16% would have been in the tenth grade; 275, or 55%, would have been in the eleventh grade; and 149 or 30%, would have been in the twelfth grade.

The dropouts were not, by and large, attending some alternative school. One hundred seventy were working or actively looking for a job, and 34 were just "staying at home." Of the 34 applicants at home, 25 were women, and 8 of these had children. Only 17 were either participating in or waiting for admission into other programs.

Overall, slightly more of the applicants were men. Of the 305 applicants still in school, 154 were men; and of the 197 not enrolled in a high school 100 were males. Thus, men were slightly more likely to apply to the program than women. However, this difference is not reliable.

HOW WERE THE APPLICANTS DOING IN SCHOOL?

Many alternative schools are believed to attract applicants who would probably be successful almost anywhere. Were the CIP applicants, dropouts or not, having trouble at school? And if so, why?

There are several ways of answering this question: grade-point averages, how many credits the students were lacking for graduation, performance on measures of academic achievement, and statements of parents, counselors, and students themselves. Taking these all together, the answer seems to be that almost all the applicants were in serious academic difficulty because they lacked the ability to learn.

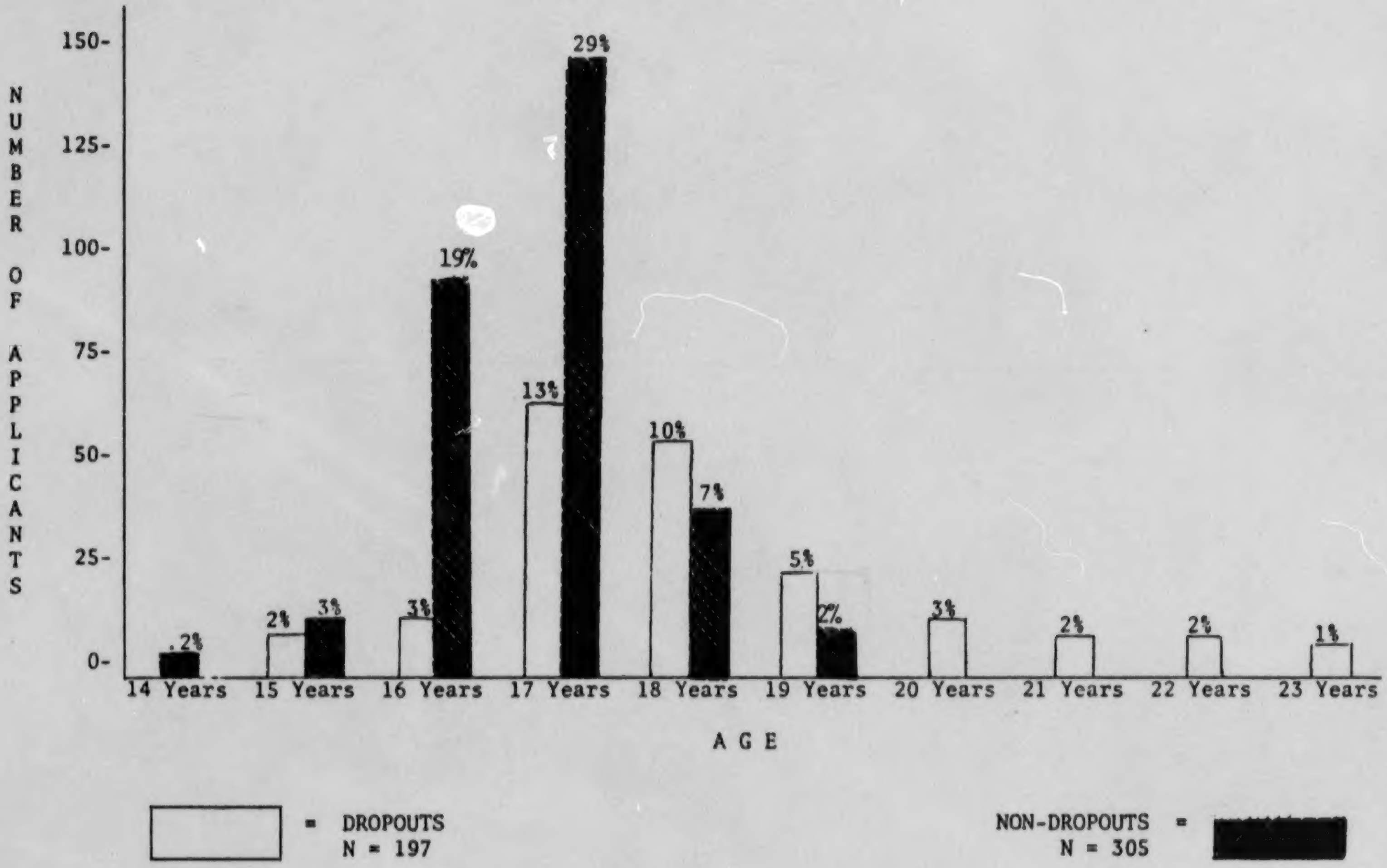
Grade Point Averages

In the Philadelphia schools, a grade of D or less is failing; a grade of C or more is passing; and grades of B or A are considered academically superior. Most (65%) of the CIP applicants (326 out of 502) either were failing during the semester before they dropped out or were failing before they applied. Some (25%) were passing, but with C averages. A few (10%) had academic averages suggesting superior performance.

FIGURE 1

AGES OF DROPOUTS AND NON-DROPOUTS APPLYING TO CIP

N = 502



Credit Deficits

A student needs 12 Carnegie units to graduate from high school in Philadelphia. At an average rate of four units per year, this means a junior should have completed four units, and a senior eight units at the beginning of eleventh and twelfth grades, respectively. The credit deficit is the difference between what the student is normally expected to have and the credits actually completed. The larger deficit, the further behind the student would be for her/his age and grade level.

Virtually all CIP applicants have credit deficits. On the average, applicants to the Career Intern Program are deficient by four units, or one year, though some are as much as seven units behind. Few of the applicants seem likely to graduate with their class. The situation for the dropouts showed distributions almost as discouraging, although the group was older and might have been expected to have completed more credits.

Performance on Achievement Tests

Achievement tests yield scores that describe the grade-level attainment of a student relative to what other students at that grade level can do. If, for example, almost all students at the beginning of the tenth grade can correctly solve the problem, "What should be Dick's change? He gave the clerk $5.00 to pay for a ball that costs $1.50 and a flashlight that costs 97¢," and a given student correctly answers that question as well as others like it but fails questions most other students in tenth grade fail, the student would probably receive a grade-equivalent score of 10.0.

Table I shows the distribution of grade-equivalent scores in reading for the 498 applicants taking the test,[1] while Table II indicates the distribution in mathematics achievement for the 500 applicants taking that test.[2] (The reader is referred to Volume II for the raw score distributions of the reading and mathematics tests.)

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[1] With regard to the 5.0 grade equivalent score in reading mentioned earlier as a base requirement for admission, in practice, a 4.5 grade equivalent score was used as a cut-off point, since this figure is still within one standard error of measurement for this instrument. Thus, 1.4% rather than 8.5% of the applicants initially were denied admission to CIP because of their reading scores.

[2] Not all applicants took all tests for several reasons. Some decided that the program was not for them; some left in the middle of testing without explanation; still others made intial application but never returned for formal interviews and testing.

TABLE I

APPLICANT READING ACHIEVEMENT[1]

N = 498

GRADE EQUIVALENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
Below - 4.9	70	14%
5.0 - 5.9	119	24%
6.0 - 6.9	84	17%
7.0 - 7.9	88	18%
8.0 - 8.9	50	10%
9.0 - 9.9	15	3%
10.0 -10.9	28	6%
11.0 -11.9	26	5%
Above -12.0	18	4%

Average Grade Equivalent for Group = 7.1

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[1] Stanford Reading Achievement Test, Form A

TABLE II

APPLICANT MATHEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT[1]

N = 500

GRADE EQUIVALENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
Below - 4.9	68	14%
5.0 - 5.9	43	9%
6.0 - 6.9	126	25%
7.0 - 7.9	89	18%
8.0 - 8.9	85	17%
9.0 - 9.9	40	8%
10.0 - 10.9	19	4%
11.0 - 11.9	13	3%
Above - 12.0	17	3%

Average Grade Equivalent for Group = 7.3

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[1] Stanford Mathematics Achievement Test, Form A

These tables, along with data from feeder schools,[1] indicated seven points:

1. Most of the applicants to CIP (84% of whom should have been in the eleventh or twelfth grade) were substantially behind the performance of average eleventh grade students nationwide in reading and mathematics achievement.

2. The average reading achievement (7.1 grade level) was slightly lower than the average mathematics achievement (7.3 grade level). Both levels were an average of four years below the national norm for students in the eleventh grade.

3. Fifty-five percent of the applicants tested at the low end of the scale (6.9 grade level or lower) in reading, and 47% were on the low end of the scale in mathematics. If these skills are important to later academic or life success, the students were seriously deficient.

4. In an absolute sense, lack of basic skills appears to be serious enough to account for previous school failure for most applicants. This turns out not to be the case.

5. They are behind. This is true whether their performance is compared with their actual grade in school (average, 10th grade) or where they should be if they had not fallen behind (11th grade). However, applicants' performance on these tests was not significantly different from that of all students in the city high schools in their age groups.[1]

6. This means that the students who applied to CIP were not less academically able than students who stayed in school, which in turn suggests they were not leaving the school because of academic deficiencies per se.

7. Finally, some applicants had high achievement scores in reading. About 9% were at grade level or above nationwide in reading. One implication is that the CIP program must meet the needs of students varying widely in basic academic skills.

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[1] Feeder school averages are based on (1) an examination of a large sample of feeder school student records; (2) achievement data published in the Philadelphia Inquirer, February 15, 1975; and (3) personal communication with research personnel in the office of the School District of Philadelphia.

These test results are not synonymous with intellectual potential or ability. That is, they are not to be construed as reflections of ability to learn reading or mathematics. Rather, achievement tests assess performance, which in turn reflects learning ability, motivation, and educational opportunity. The wide apread of performance, but overall low scores, indicate that the applicants are a diverse group even though many are well behind the national norms for their grade level.

Performance on Measures of Ability to Learn

Cognitive ability may be roughly defined as skills by which we gain knowledge of ideas, or as our ability to learn from experience, to think, and to reason. This capacity can be measured in several ways. Most frequently, "I.Q." tests are used. Of these, one of the most frequently administered is the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC). While the term "I.Q." has gained currency as a descriptor of individual potential, the traits constituting the "intelligence quotient"remain open to disagreement among test developers, researchers, and educators

In assessing the cognitive or intellectual potential of minority individuals, the notion of I.Q. has generated considerable controversy. I.Q. is essentially a ratio of how much one has learned to one's age. If everyone's opportunities to learn were equal, the I.Q. would be a good indicator of inborn ability to learn from experience. But learning opportunities are decidedly unequal; so many contend that the tests commonly used to measure intelligence fail to yield high scores in minority populations because such tests are biased in favor of the majority culture.

The average score on most intelligence tests is 100, which indicates average learning for average age. The test items from which scores are computed usually reflect the experience of majority, middle-income culture. To reduce such bias, applicants to the Career Intern Program were given a test of non-verbal reasoning. That is, the test does not contain verbal problems (believed to be the most biased) but does require much thought and reasoning about relationships between the pictured model and other pictures, all of which closely resemble the model. For each of the 60 items in the test, applicants were asked to pick from six or eight choices the one most closely related to the model.

Table III indicates that of the 404 applicants taking this test, 262 or 65% of the group, scored average or better than what most high school students score. Further, an average score is roughly equivalent to an I.Q. of 100 and equal to 100 on the WISC.

Of the group of students applying for CIP, well over half performed as well as or better than most people their age on this measure of ability, and about one quarter performed at levels usually indicating well above average ability to learn. Fifty-five interns, or 13%, however, performed at levels suggesting low motivation, slow learning or perhaps severe lack of opportunity to learn. (Volume II for raw score distributions on Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices.)

TABLE III

APPLICANT NON-VERBAL REASONING[1]

N = 404

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very low	13	3%
Low	42	10%
Below Average	87	22%
Average	160	40%
Above average	97	24%
High	5	1%

These results are consistent with observations and results of other studies. In the opinion of teachers and counselors from the sending schools, for example, CIP applicants could do well if they wanted to.

"Mark was doing well, he was one of the class leaders then for some reason he just stopped coming."

"Angelica wasn't what I would call an outstanding student but she did alright, when she applied herself. She never seemed to get her homework done though and just sort of fell behind."

"Tom's another case. He just could never settle down. He didn't have any trouble with his work but he was always causing trouble. It seemed like he was bored and just wanted attention."

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[1] Raven Standard Progressive Matrices Test.

In one study, Geisinger (1975) found 381 employed Philadelphia dropouts were average or above in intelligence. He cites a larger survey of 21,000 dropouts in three states which reported that 50 percent had scores in the average range (90-109 I.Q.) and 11 percent were in the 110 I.Q. range or higher, a distribution similar to that of CIP applicants.

What has been learned so far? First, that the applicants are having academic problems, and second, that lack of ability to learn is not a problem for most. Why, then are these young people dropouts or potential dropouts? There are several possibilities: problems at home, problems in the schools, problems with other teenagers, or problems within the students themselves--e.g., little self-confidence or not believing that hard work *can* make a difference. For most applicants, all the above *may* be true to varying degrees. Below, each possibility is discussed for the group as a whole.

WHAT ARE THE APPLICANTS LIKE?

For the most part, CIP applicants have average or above average learning potential, but, in many cases, they lag far behind the national norms in their mastery of critical reading and mathematics skills. That is, the majority of applicants did not achieve at a level commensurate with their abilities.

The reasons underlying the divergence between ability and performance may be as diverse as the pool of students applying for the program, but one hunch has been that the problem is motivation. That is, people who believe they cannot succeed will not succeed; those who believe they are victims of external forces will not attempt to direct the course of their own lives.

At issue here is not that these perceptions are inaccurate reflections of reality; rather, that negative perceptions regarding oneself and one's ability to control one's environonment are harmful to success in school and in later life. This is the conclusion drawn by OICs/A and has been supported, in part by earlier research. Much of the structure and curriculum of CIP has been based on the assumption that motivation is the lock and that individualized instruction and a great deal of contact with caring adults in a "You *must* succeed" atmosphere is the key.

Do Applicants Feels They Control Their Own Destiny?

Historically, Americans have believed that through hard work people can succeed and, further, can control the course of their own lives: "It is what you are, not who you know." For children growing up in minority cultures, however, this sense of individual control may be lacking. In the classic study of inequality in American education, for example, James Coleman et al., (1966) found that students from low-income homes tend to feel an inability to control what happens to them: they feel who you know, and luck, are what really make a difference. Coleman also found that low-income youth who believed they could make a difference did well on measures of verbal and mathematical achievement, while self-esteem had no association with achievement. For higher income students, the reverse was true. Middle class students who had a high sense of self-worth had high scores, while internality or externality of control was unrelated to test performance.

On the basis of this finding, a substantial body of programs has grown up aimed at increasing the low-income person's belief that what one does makes a difference. One of the basic assumptions of OICs/A is that this belief is the beginning of successful career education.

It would be expected, by this line of reasoning, that many CIP applicants may have a sense of external (luck/influence) rather than internal (my abilities and energy) control. Table IV indicates that about one-third of the applicants to the Career Intern Program fall within such a category. About 30% of the students indicated they felt control rested within themselves. They indicated this by agreeing with statements such as, "Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action," or, "What happens to me is my own doing." About 40% of the students' view of society was not one where anyone can succeed through hard work, but one where individuals could exercise at least some, albeit limited influence on the course of their lives.

Thus, typical applicants to the CIP neither fit the popular stereotype of minority kids (feeling almost unable to control what happens to them) nor do they go to the other extreme and feel that they have the world by the tail. For the most part, they tend to believe that their opportunities are indeed limited but that at the same time there is some room to maneuver; that given half a chance they can make it--that's why they are applying--but their faith in the world is not very high. (See Volume II for the raw score distributions for Rotter's Internal-External Scale and derivation of categories.)

One of the beliefs of the Career Intern Program is that students served by the program need to be "turned around," or remotivated to realize they are or can be in control of their own destinies. For at least a third of the students applying to CIP this assumption seems valid. While these applicants may, and probably do, have other problems contributing to their difficulties in school, their belief that they cannot control their destinies appears to be one of the largest problems the Career Intern Program has to overcome.

About one-third of the applicants indicated by their test scores a belief that they do in fact control what happens to them. For these individuals, particularly, one must pose other ideas which might throw light on their lack of success in school. Such factors as family relationships, relationships with friends, and self-image for example, may provide explanations for school-related problems.

TABLE IV

APPLICANT LOCUS OF CONTROL[1]

N = 402

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Internal	40	10%
Internal	80	20%
Non-differentiated	163	41%
External	109	27%
Very External	10	2%

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[1] Rotter Internality-Externality Scale

Do CIP Applicants Tend to Have Trouble With Their Families?

Applicants indicated their general feelings regarding family and home by responding "like Me" or Unlike Me" to items such as "My parents and I have a lot of fun together," and "My parents expect too much of me."

Data presented in Table V indicate that, by and large, applicants do not report trouble with their families. Rather, they feel good about their relationships to the parents and siblings. They claim to enjoy doing things together, feel their parents are supportive without being unreasonably demanding, and are willing to do their share to shoulder any economic burdens. Despite the fact that they are poor, they don't feel their parents are personal failures but are instead proud that they have been able to accomplish what they have, given the circumstances of life. (See Volume II for raw score distributions, Data presented in these tables are based on Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory.) About two-thirds of these students tended to view their family relationships positively, and almost one-third viewed these relationships very positively. Only about one-third of the students assessed family relationships negatively, but more of these felt only slightly negative, with a small minority of 7%, or 27 students, rating relationships to home and family very negatively.

TABLE V

APPLICANTS' FEELINGS ABOUT FAMILY

N = 404

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Negative	27	7%
Negative	127	31%
Positive	128	32%
Very Positive	122	30%

The fact that, for the most part, responses were positive does not mean CIP applicants never have family-related problems. According to additional data collected through individual interviews, many applicants have experienced family-related problems which may well be connected with their previous school performance. Such problems include: assuming responsibility for a large number of younger brothers and sisters, working because the family needs the extra money, coping with the economic problems associated with women who are the breadwinners of the family, and coping with the economic problems associated with low family incomes.

Of the total pool of 502, most CIP applicants come from families with at least two younger children. The applicants--by and large still children themselves--must assume at least partial responsibility for rearing them. While they may feel very positively about their brothers and sisters, as previous data have shown, the fact remains that the need to care for younger children affects the amount of energy and time a student realistically can make available for school-related activities. As one applicant said,

> "Look, man, before I can even think about coming to school in the morning, I got to feed and dress four younger brothers and get them to school. Then, when I get home, I got to take care of them 'til 7:00 or 8:00 at night. I don't have time for school."

Much has been written in recent years about job discrimination encountered by women. One of the worst aspects of such discrimination is the lower wages paid to women for jobs performed by both sexes. An overwhelming 75% of applicants to the the program come from homes in which a female parent or guardian is the primary source of income. Further, the jobs held by heads of households for this student population are low-paying and/or seasonal in nature: 40% of the CIP applicants live in families in which the wage earner does manual labor. Less than 5% have parents who are in high-status occupations, such as the professions or management positions. Only one percent have parents who have professions in medicine, law, education, or accounting. About a quarter of the breadwinners in applicants' families were unemployed.

Thus, a chronic shortage of money would seem to be a recurring problem for most of these applicants. Not only do most of the jobs held by heads of households tend to fall on the lower end of the economic scale, but since more breadwinners are female, their wages may be lower than could be expected for men holding similar positions. Because of this, 65% of the applicants report the need for at least a part-time job while in school in order to help support their families.

Do the Applicants Like Themselves?

Most of the applicants who took the tests felt they were not in complete control of their lives. One might infer, therefore, that as a group the applicants would have a negative self-image.

How well you like yourself may be more important than how much other people like you. It is widely believed that one of the saddest and most debilitating outcomes of poor educational experiences is children who do not feel they are worth very much, who feel they are not smart, pretty, fun to be with, or worth caring about. (The extreme converse, "I'm perfect;

just ask me," is believed to be over-compensation and not particularly desirable.)

But, contrary to expectations, data presented in Table VI show that most of the applicants were in fact positive when assessing their self-worth. They indicated this by responding "Unlike Me" to statements such as, "I often wish I were someone else," and "I can't be depended on." While the remainder saw themselves in a less positive light, few scored in the lowest category of the self-esteem scale. This suggests that, while applicants' perceptions of themselves differed from individual to individual, from highly positive to slightly negative, few considered themselves lacking individual worth.

TABLE VI

APPLICANTS' GENERAL SELF-ESTEEM[1]

N = 403

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very low	35	9%
Low	97	24%
Average	155	39%
High	107	27%
Very High	9	2%

How the applicants described themselves on the test was consistent with other perceptions. When asked in an interview whether they had been well thought of in previous schools, approximately 98% of the interviewees responded "yes". Applicants in these interviews appear to have pretty good feelings about themselves. There is little evidence that they blame their school problems on their own shortcomings. They tended to see themselves as being well liked by others, not exceptionally dumb or smart, fun to be with and generally worth caring about. This does not mean they don't feel they have been dealt a "bad deal". In many cases they feel this way, but they haven't let this destroy their sense of self worth.

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[1] As measured by the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory

Thus, the picture of these applicants is that they seemed to like themselves. Apparently, whatever negative experiences they may have endured, either in previous schooling or within a family situation, had not weakened their self-esteem.

Most Popular, No, But I've Got Plenty of Friends.

One might suppose that, since relationships with one's peers are a crucial element of any school situation, these applicants may have experienced problems in relating with other students and therefore, their sense of social self-esteem might be low. Do the data support such a possibility? To the contrary, as Table VII indicates, 83% of the applicants felt sure about themselves in a social context. They illustrated this by saying "yes" to such questions as, "I always know what to say to people," and "I'm popular with kids my own age." Observations show most interns are gregarious and outgoing, giving ample evidence of enjoying the company of others. While they would not describe themselves as "the most popular person I know", they do say, "but I have lots of friends." Not only do applicants feel good about their families and generally happy about themselves, they also perceive themselves to be well adjusted socially.

TABLE VII

APPLICANTS' FEELINGS TOWARD FRIENDS[1]

N = 403

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Negative	8	2%
Negative	59	15%
Positive	219	54%
Very Positive	117	29%

What Were Their Former High Schools Like?

So far, it seems that whatever the causes of applicants' problems in school, these were not associated with difficulty in getting along with other people, nor were they related to doubts about self-worth. To find out what the problems were, one must turn to different areas.

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[1] As measured by the Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory

One likely place to look might be the applicants' original high schools. Within such schools one might begin to identify contexts, if not causes, which provided the soil where school-related problems took root.

Two major feeder schools from which prospective students come to CIP are Germantown and Roxborough High Schools. These schools have student populations of 3,100 and 2,700 respectively. In each school six counselors are available to assist the entire student population. The student population of Germantown is predominantly black, while that of Roxborough is mostly white. These are large, urban high schools, serving twice as many students as they were designed to accommodate. With few counselors plus overcrowded classes, they are unable to give students the individual time and attention wanted. As several of the applicants to CIP have stated during interviews:

> "The relationship that can be attained here (at CIP) between staff and students seem much closer, whereas in high school there is really only time for the much brighter students."
>
> "(Another) high school doesn't give you much help. The people don't seem as friendly (as at CIP)."
>
> "(The) classes were so overcrowded."
>
> "Other schools try to give you a hard way to go... as if you were in prison..."
>
> "...in high school you are treated as a class; here it seems to be on a personal basis."

These are representative of statements made by a majority of the students applying to CIP. One gets an impression of students somehow unable to cope with the size of their schools or with the consequent lack of personal attention they wanted but did not receive. Given these perceptions, it is interesting that as a group these students were not particularly hostile about their high schools. A large majority (82%) said that they felt they got along reasonably well with their teachers and that they were fairly treated; most (74%) also indicated that, given the size of the student bodies, the schools were being run as well as possible.

What, then, were the consequences of having attended schools such as those described above? For one thing, most of the students (63%) said they just "grew tired" of what seemed an oppressive atmosphere. Most of the applicants were not getting good grades (the mean grade point average of this population was 1.2 out of a possible 4 points), and most had attendance problems. Certainly, given a student population with family and economic problems, an "oppressive" and "impersonal" school atmosphere could contribute to fostering additional problems.

How Did They Perceive of Themselves as Students?

Given the conditions described above, one could ask, "Might not a school experience with which students have had little reason to feel successful contribute to a negative image of oneself as a student?"

The data overwhelmingtly indicate "yes ." Table VIII shows that 40% of the students perceived themselves very negatively, and 38% negatively, as shown by their answers to statements such as: "I find it very hard to talk in front of the class," and I'm proud of my school work." Conversely, only 3% of the group expressed very positive feelings about their "academic" self, and less than a fifth of the group expressed positive feelings.

As a group, the applicants perceived themselves as unsuccessful students. They are willing to admit they are not good students, and tend to attribute this to personality problems ("I don't like to talk in front of class") or to teacher attitudes (They're always coming down on me"). One may conclude then, that as a group they do not expect to succeed in school. Given a past history of failure such feelings are hardly surprising.

TABLE VIII

APPLICANTS' FEELINGS ABOUT THEMSELVES AS STUDENTS[1]

N = 403

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Negative	161	40%
Negative	153	38%
Positive	78	19%
Very Positive	11	3%

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[1] As measured by The Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory

Neighborhood Problems

Are there any other problems not related directly to either school or home which help to characterize these applicants? There appear to be several which may be defined as "neighborhood-related" problems, such as gangs (along with the fear and danger they generate), and drugs.

How severe is the gang problem? Applicants are reluctant to discuss gangs at all, and if pressed during an interview, they will vigorously deny gangs cause any problems at all for them. Parents and guardians, however, frequently cite gangs as areas of concern. Within the Germantown area there are approximately 35 gangs, although the number of active fighting gangs fluctuates from day to day. Several gang-related concerns do affect the CIP applicant's school experience both in the public schools and in the Career Intern Program.

Virtually all the area of Philadelphia served by the CIP has been sub-divided into turfs by the gang organizations. The question of gang membership becomes a real concern for children in early adolescence, since the children are forced to become involved. As the children enter junior high school and, later, high school, they become accustomed to sporadic school related gang fights and perhaps take part in a few themselves. They learn which neighborhoods to avoid, and may be forced to take numerous detours in getting to school. At times, they may not be able to leave home at all.

One of the frequent inquiries made by parents during the intake sessions concerns the turf on which the Urban Career Education Center is situated. Many were relieved to find that UCEC is neutral territory, although the surrounding area is considered Haines Street gang turf. Such things as these not only create attendance problems, but gang obligations, conflicts, and pressures go with the student into the classroom, and can seriously affect school performance.

Gangs, then, are a fact of life in the school community. Their very presence suggests intimidating forces with which many of the students have to cope on a daily basis.

What about the problem of drugs? All one can say is that drugs are in abundant supply, and that the peer pressure brought to bear on these students to "get high" is enormous.

> "Hell, I get up in the morning and my brother's already high; I come to school and pass my friends on the way, and they're stoned. How can you avoid it?"

The combination of gangs and the fear of physical violence, on the one hand, and of drugs and the mental disorientation produced on the other, presents a series of problems and potential problems which lessen the likelihood of school success.

In Summary

- For the most part, applicants do not have a firm sense that their actions and choices will determine what happens to them.
- In general, the applicants feel good about themselves and their worth as people.
- They are very positive about their relationships with their families.
- Nonetheless they tend to have family-related problems, such as the care of younger brothers and sisters or the need to help support their families. This can affect their performance in school.
- They feel good about their relationships with friends.
- Overwhelmingly, they have negative feelings about themselves as students.

ARE THE STUDENTS READY TO UNDERTAKE CAREER EDUCATION?

So far, certain factors have been discussed, such as academic performance intelligence, and self-esteem, which may in part account for the previous lack of academic success. While a knowledge of such factors is essential to a description of Career Intern Program applicants, it is not sufficient in helping the program administrators judge readiness for career exploration. Since the Career Intern Program is, by definition, an educational experience seeking to help young people "turn on" to careers, it is essential to know if the applicant group is ready fo such an experience. While the term "readiness" is difficult to define, a start can be made by asking four related questions: (1) Are these individuals motivated to undertake such an experience? (2) Do they have the capacity to integrate career information by making long-range career plans? (3) Are they likely to use outside resources in making career plans? (4) How much accurate career knowledge do they currently have?

Are They Motivated?

This is a difficult question to answer, for the notion of motivation has many facets. In a sense, the term encompasses many of the school-related difficulties cited earlier in this section, such as poor grades, and low reading and mathematics achievement levels. If these are taken as criteria by which motivation is to be judged, then as a group the applicants to CIP are not well motivated to succeed in school. This chapter has also discussed several other factors which may contribute to a lack of previous success in school. Family-related problems, economic problems, problems with neighborhood gangs, with drugs, and with child-rearing, all are potential explanations for a lack of previous success in school. Such problems may not be simply ascribed to "low motivation." Certainly, their previous school experiences have not led these applicants to believe that schools can help them overcome these problems. In this sense, then, the motivation of these applicants may be described as low.

The evidence supporting the conclusion of low motivation is historical. It is based upon previous attendance problems, previous grades, previous experience. While this evidence is not to be taken lightly, the fact that these students were seeking admission to the program may indicate that, at the time of application, their motivation was relatively high. Applicants were sufficiently motivated to make an initial visit to the program and to submit themselves to lengthy interviewing and testing--all with the knowledge that, having completed the application process, they still might not get into the program because of the lottery procedures. This suggests that, as a group, applicants are motivated to the extent that they wish to make a major change in their lives.

In light of negative experiences with school, why did applicants who had dropped out apply to the Career Intern Program, thereby giving education a "second chance"? Most indicated during their intake interviews that they realized some of them after trying unsuccessfully to obtain jobs the need for additional education and viewed CIP as an alternative means of acquiring it.

In talking with them it is clear that they feel a kind of quiet desperation. Many of them have been out in the world trying to make a living. All of them have friends who have tried to "make it" without a high school diploma. Most have experienced first hand, either personally or through their parents, the frustration of having doors shut due to the lack of an education. There's little doubt they're willing to try. If they fail, it won't be because they lack motivation. They want a diploma and they want good jobs.

Do They Make Use of Resources?

One way of finding out how prone the applicants would be to use career resources in the future would be to ask, "How extensively have these applicants used career resources which may have been available to them in the past?" The data presented in Table IX show the group had used extensively whatever sources were available. High scores on this test meant applicants had talked to people in the world of business, or to teachers and/or school counselors, and had consulted books or audio-visual aids in obtaining information. (See Volume II for the raw score distributions and the derivation of categories used. These tables are based on Super's Career Development Inventory.)

TABLE IX

APPLICANTS' USE OF RESOURCES FOR CAREER EXPLORATION

N = 400

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Low	6	2%
Low	17	4%
Below Average	73	18%
Average	120	30%
Above Average	106	27%
High	59	14%
Very High	19	5%

The average score for the group of CIP applicants in this case was higher than the average score for students taking the test in general. That is, as a group, the applicants to the Career Intern Program took greater advantage of the resources open to them than did other students around the country who took this test.

This being the case, a question springs to mind. If students are able to exploit career and job resources available to them, why do they drop out of school or stop attending when high school graduates have the best chances of getting into good careers? The contradiction is only apparent. Virtually all of the dropouts were already failing when they left school.

From their viewpoint there was no realistic possibility that they would ever get a diploma anyway. Therefore, to stay in school would have been tantamount to passing up the chance to at least do something with their lives, as limited as this might be, while staying in school would have meant simply spinning one's wheels. Even dropping out, under certain conditions, can be seen as the best use of available resources.

Although these students may have either dropped out of school or may have been considering such an action, they were still concerned about their futures. While they may have been uncertain as to the best means for getting where they wanted to go, they did have a destination in mind; and in choosing that destination, they had solicited information from a large array of sources.

While about three quarters of the applicants did make use of a number of outside resources, about a quarter of the group did not. This may mean that such applicants were not aware of the resources available to them, that they did not respect the judgments of others, or that they did not find it necessary to consult external sources when making career plans. It does not mean, however, that this sub-group--given a rich and pertinent array of decision-making information--would not take advantage of it.

Little is known about the quality of the resources utilized by most of the applicant group. Career information received from outside sources may have been correct, or it may have been completely erroneous. In addition, resources consulted may or may not have taken into account the aptitudes and abilities of the applicants. Regardless of the quality of the resources used, however, these applicants as a group described themselves as taking advantage of career resources available to them. This tendancy to remain open and to explore various sources of information is important to the program, for it means that applicants have not closed themselves off before the fact and will tend to use information sources made available by the program.

Do They Possess Accurate Career Information?

Ability to use career resources to one's advantage is, of course, not a very valuable skill unless there are resources available. An equally important question is, "How much did applicants really know about careers and jobs?" On this score, CIP applicants did not fare so well, as the table presented below indicates. Their information turned out to be very limited and in many cases seriously inaccurate. Not unexpectedly, they knew very little about what it takes to become a doctor or lawyer, what kinds of things people in the professions or white-collar jobs really do, what the relationship was between specific school subjects or academic skills and job requirements nor what it takes to get into the higher status occupations.

The average score for the group was 13, a full standard deviation below the nationwide average of 17, indicating that these applicants possessed far less actual career information than most other students around the country. This suggests that while the applicants had made extensive use of available resources, the latter tended to be scanty and/or misinformed. It further suggests that in making their career plans, these applicants did not, as a group, use accurate sources of information.

TABLE X

APPLICANTS' CAREER INFORMATION[1]

N = 407

CATEGORIES	NUMBERS	PERCENT
Very Low	35	9%
Low	90	22%
Below Average	140	34%
Average	91	22%
Above Average	41	10%
High	8	2%
Very High	2	0%

The preceding generalizations are true for about two-thirds of the group who completed this instrument, or 265 people. About one-third of the group, however, possessed enough information about careers to score at or above the national average.

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[1] Super Career Development Inventory

Given the range of educational problems described earlier, it is not surprising that, by and large, applicants do not possess accurate career information. Moreover, in terms of traits as critical as the possession of actual career information--such as willingness to seek out external resources--these applicants were not at all deficient. Given appropriate information, the applicants, as a group, would probably use it and integrate it into long-range plans, according to their self-descriptions on the inventory, to be discussed in the section which follows.

Because of the importance of this finding, more details about the measure used seem important. Low scores on this instrument indicate students are unable to respond accurately to questions concerning the "fit" between certain abstract personality traits (i.e., "liking to do your homework alone") and the demands of certain job situations. It is likely that most of the students in this country who achieved high scores on this test are exposed for long periods of time to individuals who hold jobs within a broad spectrum of occupations. The average middle-class child, for example, is probably exposed to a large amount of career information. Such a child matures in an atmosphere (both at school and at home) filled with adults from most, if not all, of the common professions. She/he attends school from kindergarten onward with the children of professionals from many fields. Due to such prolonged exposure, these children are constantly confronted by social, economic, and career-related values important to the predominant beliefs of middle class culture in the United States. While children from lower-income families, such as applicants to the Career Intern Program, are also exposed to various careers, in all likelihood such career-exposure is not analagous to that experienced by the middle-class children.

Only 1% of all interns' parents interviewed had professional occupations such as medicine, law, accounting, education, and the like; about 25% were unemployed (versus a national average of about 5.5% as of August 1974), and over 40% were employed in manual labor. Furthermore, less than 5% of all parents were employed in any of the higher status occupations, including both professional and managerial. It can be concluded that the applicants to this program did not grow up with a working knowledge of a broad range of middle-class careers. This helps to explain why many of the applicant group possessed so little information about the careers included in this inventory.

How Mature Are the Applicants in Their Ability to Plan for a Career?

Data presented in Table XI indicate that, by and large, these individuals were able to utilize career information in the formulation of plans for their future. This means that most of the people tested were able to relate information about specific careers to their individual aptitudes and interests. The average, or mean score of the applicants who completed the instrument measuring ability to plan was less than the national average score, but this difference is not educationally meaningful on this inventory.

TABLE XI

APPLICANTS' PLANNING ABILITY[1]

N = 397

CATEGORIES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Very Low	10	3%
Low	32	8%
Below Average	85	21%
Average	121	30%
Above Average	99	25%
High	33	8%
Very High	17	4%

Slightly more than a third of the group scored above the national average, while a little less than a third scored below the average. In terms of ability to plan for a career, the pool of applicants to the Career Intern Program falls into three almost equal groups: those who cannot plan very well, those who can plan reasonably well, and those who can plan very well.

Previous discussions have stressed the scope and depth of the problems affecting the lives of these individuals when they applied to CIP. In the context of these problems, it is noteworthy that those who completed the inventory showed on the whole, such a high degree of maturity.

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[1] As measured by the Super Career Development Inventory.

FIGURE 2

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF CIP APPLICANTS
AND PARENTS AND GUARDIANS FOR CIP APPLICANTS

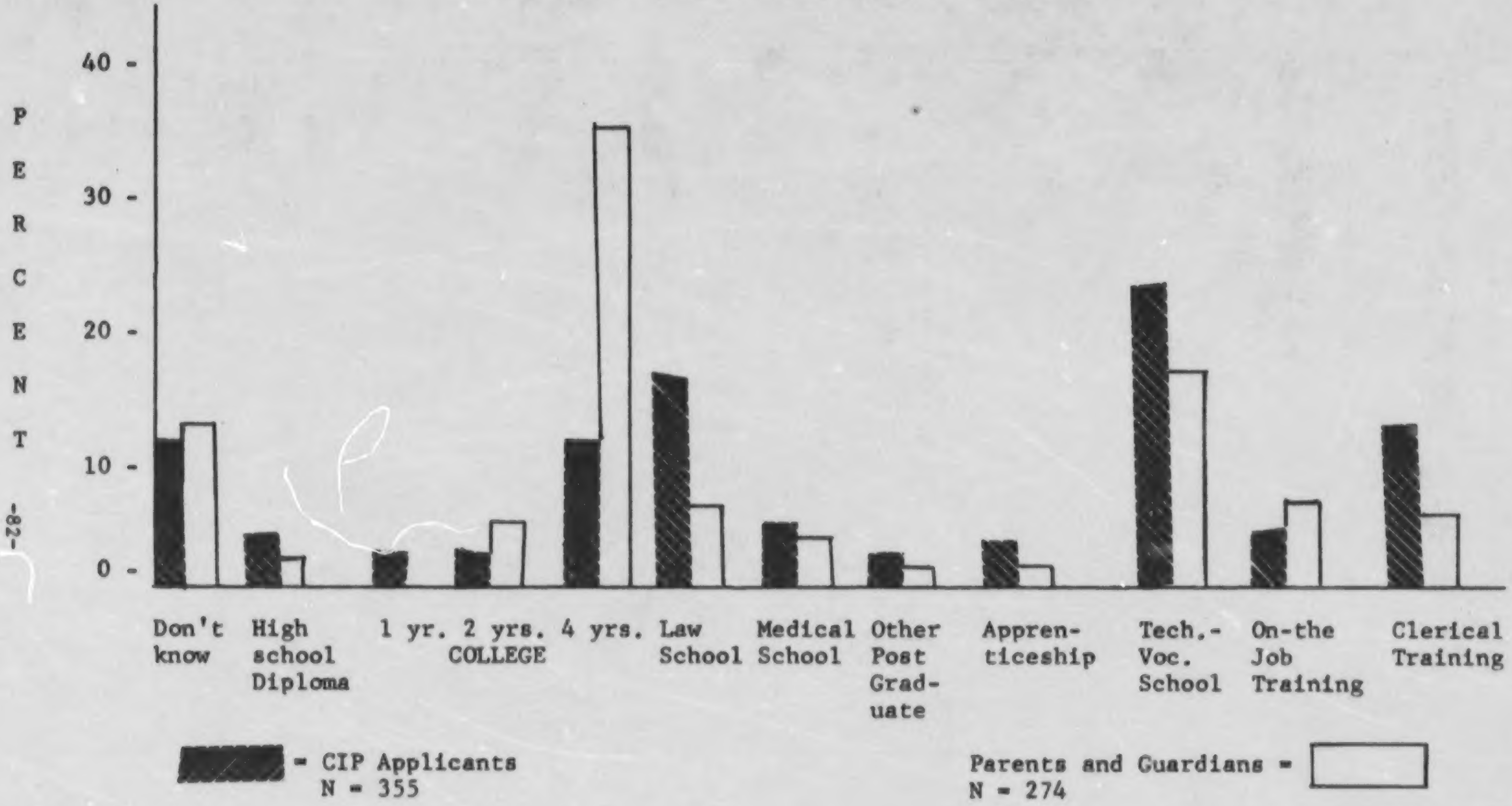
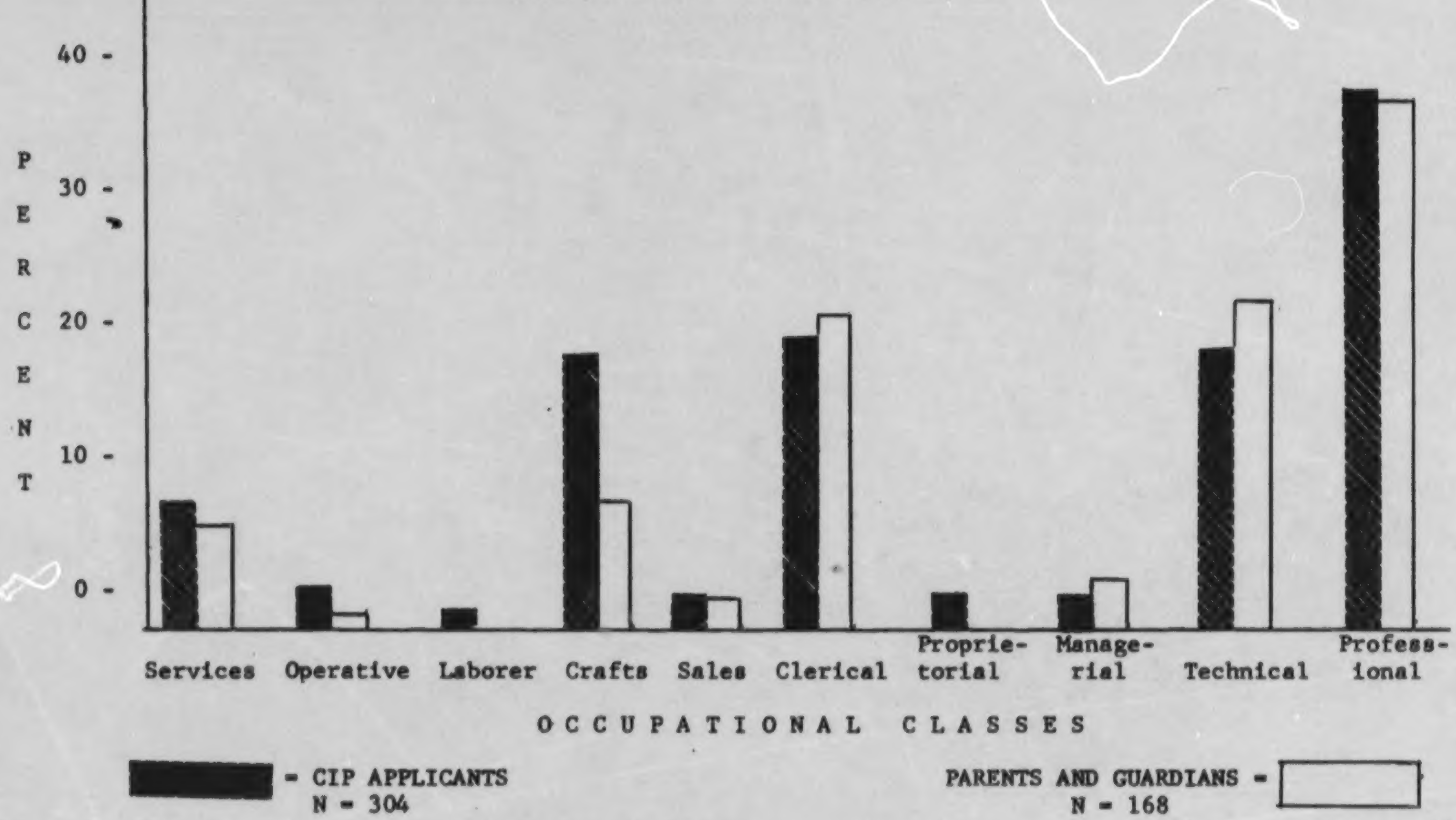


FIGURE 3

CAREER ASPIRATIONS OF CIP APPLICANTS AND
PARENTS AND GUARDIANS FOR CIP APPLICANTS



Thus in the matter of planning for careers or for the future in general, applicants to the CIP are as capable as most of their peers. According to the applicant interview data, most of them had thought a good bit about what they wanted to do and made plans to that end. For a number who had been out in the world of work for some time, the decision to apply to the CIP represented a step in carrying out their career plans. It had become apparent that they were likely to be locked into secondary labor market jobs unless they somehow were able to get a high school diploma. The CIP held forth hope that this was attainable.

STUDENT ASPIRATIONS/PARENTAL ASPIRATIONS AND WHERE THE TWAIN SHALL MEET

Aspirations of Applicants for Themselves

Most of the applicants had considered specific careers before applying to the Career Intern Program. What careers had they hoped to follow? Figure 3 shows that about 35% of the group interviewed hope to follow a career in one of the professional occupations. Since previous discussions have indicated that most applicants in this group did not possess adequate career information, some might argue that these students did not acutally know the skills required to pursue such occupations, and that their aspirations were unrealistic. Yet Figure 2, which presents some data on educational aspirations, shows that about 12% wanted to attend a four-year college, while an additional 20% hoped to go beyond college to medical school, law school, or some other post-graduate work. About 38% of the students applying aspired to a four-year college or beyond. The students indicating aspirations for a professional career were the same as those who wanted college and post-graduate training. At least in terms of the educational requirements for professional occupations, the applicants were realistic.

In the other occupational areas, the relationship between career and education aspirations is also clear. A fifth of the applicants indicated they hoped to pursue technical occupations like computer programming, radio servicing, or drafting. Some of these careers require on-the-job training; still others, work at a two-year college or technical/vocational school. The persons desiring career in these areas were among those who indicated that their educational aspirations ran to two-year colleges, on-the-job training, and so forth.

Twenty percent of the group, wanted to pursue occupations in the crafts area, such as carpentry, pottery, or cabinet-making. Many of these were among those indicating they wished either apprenticeships, on-the-job training, or technical/vocational schools. This was also the case with those few applicants who said they hoped to become machine operators.

About one out of five applicants, mostly women, said they wanted to go into some sort of clerical work. When talking about their educational aspirations, however, only 15% said they wanted post-high school clerical training. The remainder indicated they did not know what their educational aspirations were. It may be that some of those wishing clerical positions did not know what, if any additional training would be required for such positions.

Five percent of the group were fairly evenly divided in their aspirations among occupations in sales, proprietorships of their own (unspecified) businesses, and business management. These individuals were scattered along the range of educational aspirations, as were the applicants wishing to pursue service careers.

Most of the applicants aspired to specific careers, and while they might not have known very much about these occupations, most seemed to have a general notion about the education required. Furthermore, almost 40% of the group were interested in careers calling for at least a college diploma, and a large majority selected careers which would require some post-high school education and/or training. As a group, the applicants tended to be fairly ambitious when discussing their hopes for the future.

Parental Aspirations for the Applicants

Educators have known for some time that parents exert a tremendous influence upon the direction of their children's lives, both in and out of school. What are the aspirations of these parents for their children? In general, they tend to be higher than those of the applicants. Educationally, for example, Figure 2 indicates that almost three times as many parents hoped their children would go to four-year colleges as did the children themselves. Conversely, about twice as many applicants expressed a desire to attend technical/vocational schools or clerical training as did the parents for their children. This discrepancy is to be expected since most parents want more for their children than they had for themselves. Almost half the parents had less than a twelfth-grade education, and only about 6%, or 16 parents, had any technical training beyond high school. Twenty-nine parents (roughly 11%) had some college education, and 4% had completed college. It is reasonable to suppose that parents, even more than their children, recognize the importance of additional education, and this can account for the difference between parents and children in terms of educational aspirations.

During initial intake interviews, parents were asked about the types of occupations they wished their children would undertake. These data are shown in Figure 3. In most cases, parental hopes were quite similar to those the applicants expressed. That is, parents tended, by and large, to want the same careers as their children wanted for themselves. The largest category of occupational aspirations was in the professional fields for both parents and students, while the second largest fields selected were clerical and technical occupations.

There were, however, two areas of some disagreement between parents and children. Only 18% of the applicants indicated they hoped to pursue a technical career, while 25% of the parents said they hoped their children would follow careers in this area. Conversely, 18% of the applicants expressed a desire to have a career in the crafts area, while only 8% of the parents hoped for these same careers for their children. A factor here may be that of job status. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, in the eyes of parents, jobs in technical fields have a higher status and given the technological nature of our society, are more secure than the crafts. Therefore, parents might prefer that their children adopt careers within higher status areas.

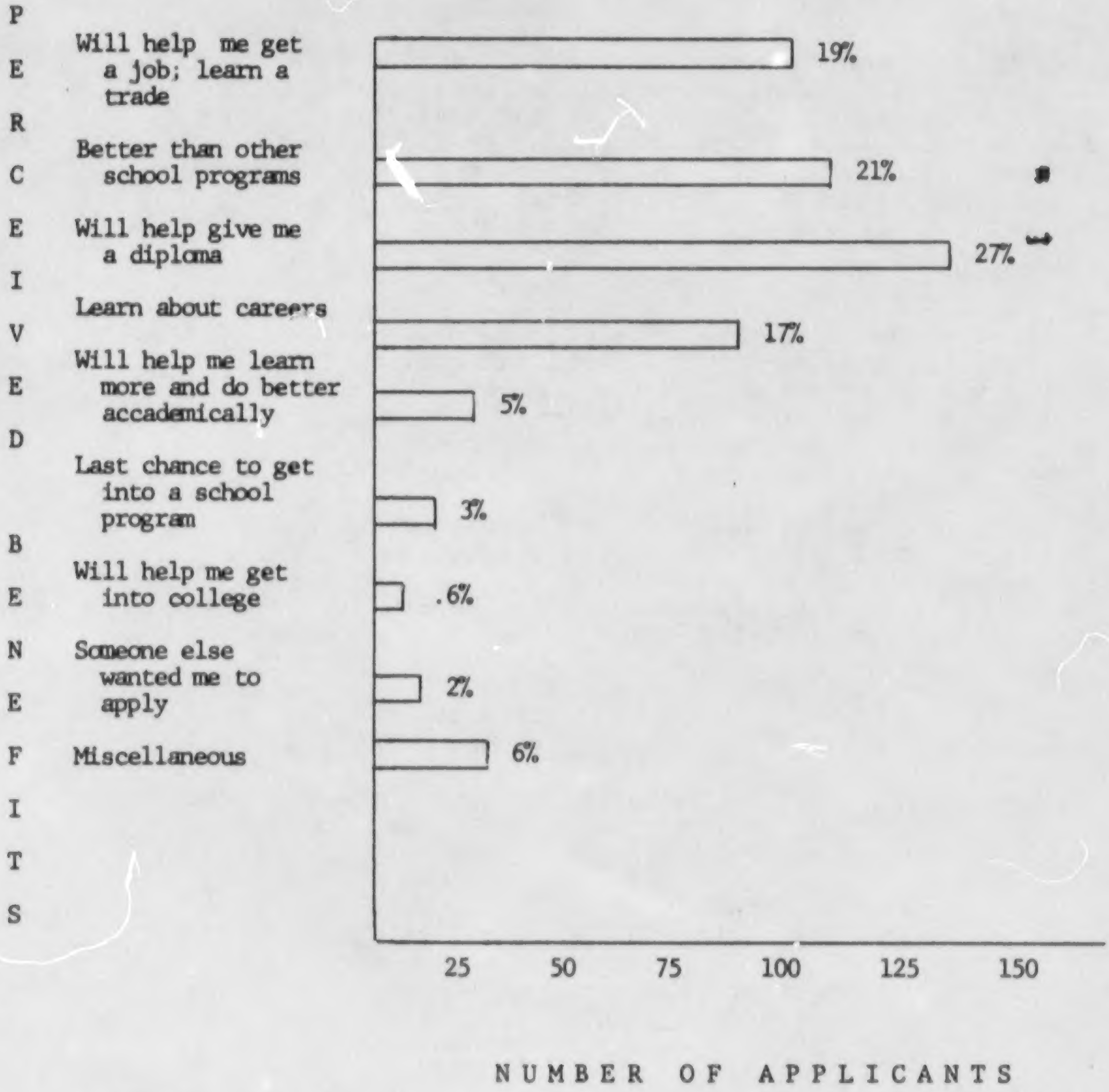
This discussion has revealed the following about applicant and parental aspirations for careers and education:

- Applicants to the program hoped to pursue careers requiring a higher degree of education and having more status than the jobs held by their parents.
- About half the applicant group wanted to have careers in either professional or technical fields.
- Parents of applicants hoped their children would have more education and higher status jobs than the children wished for themselves.
- By and large, parents and their children agreed on the types of careers the applicants should pursue.

FIGURE 4

BENEFITS OF CIP AS EXPECTED BY CIP APPLICANTS

N = 494



WHAT DO THE APPLICANTS EXPECT OF CIP?

The preceding sections have discussed what the applicants bring to the Career Intern Program in terms of hopes, dreams, and problems. What do the applicants expect CIP will do for them? Figure 4 shows the kinds of expectations most applicants had of the program. About one-fifth hoped the program would help them either get a job or learn a trade, while about one-quarter stated they expected the program to help them get a diploma. Another fifth hoped CIP would help them learn more than they had in their old schools, and an additional smaller group expected the program would help them "do better" academically than they had in previous schools. Interestingly, only 1% of the group expected the program to help them get into college. About 6% of the responses were so individualized that they could not be lumped together into any single category. Here are three examples of such responses:

> " I have a job now but I want to get one that pays better."
> "I don't really know what (I expect), but I hope it's better than what I have going now."
>
> "This is the only school where I can bring my baby with me."

Of the answers which could be put into categories, most concentrated upon the educational rather than the career aspects of CIP. Half the applicants mentioned such factors as getting a diploma, learning more, and doing better academically.

A SUMMARY OF APPLICANT CHARACTERISTICS

This section has tried to present a picture of what these applicants were like as a group when applying to the Carrer Intern Program. As noted in the beginning, group pictures do not tell the whole story, for each applicant differs from the others. Still, since large numbers of applicants have certain characteristics in common, it is possible to make some generalizations about the group. Here, then, are some statements which seem to apply either to the group as whole or to subgroups of applicants:

- Most applicants were 16 or 17 years of age, though a few were 19 and older.
- Applicants were fairly evenly divided between men and women.
- Slightly less than half the people applying had already dropped out of school, while the remainder were still attending school.
- Most were a year behind in school, were failing, and if attending, were doing so sporadically.
- Almost all applicants had very low grade point averages in their previous schools.
- Most applicants had far fewer credits for their grade level than they should have had.
- Most were far below grade level but not necessarily below the level of most students in their grade at their previous high schools in reading and mathematics.
- The average intelligence test performance of this group was about the same as for students of similar ages throughout the country. A large subgroup demonstrated above-average intelligence. Most applicants, then, did not lack the ability to learn.
- A large group of applicants believed they could not exercise much control over what happens to them in life.
- These students' view of society was not one where anyone could succeed through hard work.
- Many applicants either had to help support their families or had to take care of younger brothers and sisters because parents worked long hours in order to support the family.
- The applicants came from homes where the primary breadwinner tended to be engaged in a low status occupation.
- For most, neighborhood gangs are a problem.

- Most applicants had very positive opinions of themselves in general and felt good about their relationship with their friends.

- Most applicants did not feel they were good students or could do well in school.

- Applicants had the ability to plan for careers and had used whatever resources were available to them in thinking about future occupations.

- The group as a whole did not possess much accurate career information.

- The parents of about half the applicants did not have a high school diploma.

- Both applicants and their parents hoped that the former would have occupations that far exceeded the status level of the parents' jobs.

- Applicants and their parents hoped that the former would have a much higher degree of education than the parents.

- Many, if not most, of the applicants seemed more concerned about the academic aspects of CIP than about the help the program could give them in relation to choosing a career. Urgently, they wanted a diploma.

"That looks like somebody I know:" A Typical Applicant[1]

Sheila is Black, 17, and in the tenth grade at Germantown High School. She is a year behind the friends with whom she went to Junior High School and during the past semester failed all but one of her courses. This semester, she has hardly attended school at all and is thinking of quitting. She probably would if a good job came along, despite the fact that her mother would be heartbroken.

Sheila did OK in school until she got to high school. Her father who had been sick and unemployed for a long time, died. He left Sheila, her mother, one sister who is out of school and a younger brother and sister. Sheila and her mother have always been close, confiding in each other, helping each other and enjoying doing things together. However, the school thing is beginning to come between them.

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[1] "Sheila" is a composite, not an actual intern.

Her mother, who worked part time while her husband was alive, now works full time as a clerk in a local department store. Her income is pretty low so Shelia's older sister contributes some money each week; Sheila tries to do as much babysitting as she can to help out with her own expenses. She also has to spend some time each day taking care of her younger brother and sister while her mother works.

Ever since her father died, she has been having trouble in school. She missed a lot while he was sick and just never seemed to catch up. She has to take a public bus to the school, which is quite a hassle. More than once her friends have talked her into taking the day off and getting high. She knows this is not right and has even tried to talk to her school counselor about her problems several times, but he had so many people to see that she must make an appointment several days ahead. By the time her turn comes to see him she has either forgotten or is absent

She heard about the CIP through her mother, who heard about it from a fellow-worker whose son was an intern. It was her mother who first contacted the director of the program who in turn referred her to the School District Coordinator.

Sheila's mother took a morning off to go with her for her intake interview. She was scared when she learned she was going to take a reading and math test since she was failing algebra in school. However, she came out all right, scoring at the eighth grade level in reading and sixth grade in math--well over the cut off point for entry into the program. She quickly warmed up to the intake interviewer and had no difficulty with the questionnaire. She had been thinking about a career for a long time -- especially since her father had died. In a pamphlet she had picked up in school there had been a pitch about becoming a dental assistant. She thought it sounded interesting and ever since had secretly hoped she could become one. The only person she had mentioned this to was her mother who had encouraged her to keep going to school if that was what she really wanted.

Sheila knew that to become a dental assistant she would not only have to finish high school but would have to go on and get some more training. She was confident that she could do it if only given the chance. Therefore, it hadn't taken much urging to get her to come to the CIP.

After the intake interview and testing, she was really excited about getting in. Her only concern was that she might not be selected in the lottery. Anyway, all she could do now was go home and wait for a phone call from one of the counselors.

Are her hopes justified? Given where she is, where she has been, and where she hopes to go, what can the program be likely to do to help her for herself?

WHAT TO EXPECT OF THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM

This discussion has said quite a bit about what applicants to the Career Intern Program are like, and has shown that they score quite high as a group on some of the characteristics measured and quite low on others. One of the ways to judge the success of CIP is to determine how able it is to help people grow in areas of weakness, while helping them to sustain their areas of strength. It is reasonable at this time to ask, "In what areas can the CIP help interns, and in what areas can the program be expected to have a measurable influence?"

The CIP, as described in Chapter II is a career education program, constructed around a curriculum offering a fusion of academic and career concerns. There are three logical areas in which it can expect to contribute some changes in the lives of Sheila and others. It should help them to change as students, it should be able to support and improve their attitudes toward life (how they feel about things), and it should help them set out on the road to full, productive, post-high school lives. Within each of these general areas we should expect certain changes to take place and we hope that other changes would not occur.

BETTER STUDENTS: A DIPLOMA

Should CIP Affect Reading and Mathematics Achievement?

If nothing else, applicants selected for CIP should have received their diploma, or still be enrolled in CIP, or have transferred to other schools. Applicants who applied for, but were not selected for CIP, should be substantially less likely to have their diploma or be enrolled in other schools.

The highly individualized nature of the program, the staff intern ration, the availability of math and reading labs, and the special curricula should help almost all interns make substantial improvements in both mathematics and reading skills. As a second criterion for judging the CIP, large increases in mathematics and reading achievement test scores are expected.

Can the Program Have an Effect on Reasoning?

As indicated in Table III, almost 75% of those taking the test to measure non-verbal reasoning scored average or better. It is unrealistic to expect much growth (as measured by the tests) for these students during their tenure at CIP. In addition, CIP is not designed to raise IQ but to mobilize the students' capacities to improve achievement and personal-social skills. Thus changes in performance on the measure of abstract reasoning would be likely only for youth with room to grow , and only as an unexpected (but welcome) extra benefit.

Should Change Occur With Regard to the Notion of Internal/External Control?

There are three ways of looking at this. Some researchers believe internality or externality is a deeply rooted personality trait of uncertain origin, unlikely to change as a result of almost any educational program. Others argue that a belief in internal control is preferable to external control for low income youth, and that educational programs should be able to increase the belief that what an individual does can make a difference (Coleman et al., 1966).

The Career Intern Program, however, believes that internal control as a factor in determining future success in life is very important. It is hoped, therefore, that those in the program who feel unable to grasp their own destiny will move toward a belief that they are in control of their own lives. In light of the controversy surrounding this concept, it would be unreasonable to offer such growth as a firm expectancy of CIP; however, movement toward a belief in internal control is offered as a tentative criterion by which the program may be judged.

Can an Increase in Positive Feelings Toward Their Families Be Expected?

Because most applicants already felt very positive about their relationships with their families, it is unlikely that these feelings will increase to any measurable extent. As with the other characteristics, however, the scores should not decrease.

Should an Influence on General Self-Esteem Be Anticipated?

Most of the applicants felt quite positive about themselves, and is unlikely they will feel more positive as time goes on. It is however, reasonable to expect that current, positive self-images will be maintained. Scores may not increase significantly, but they should not decrease. CIP should serve to reconfirm their feelings of worthwhileness.

Can the Program Affect Relationships Interns Have with Their Families?

Again, the applicant group does not have much room for measurable improvement, since almost all applicants had very positive feelings about their relationships with friends. It is entirely possible that the CIP may help interns redefine the nature of friendly relationships (interns might, for example, begin to perceive each other as potential learning scores): yet it is doubtful that analyses will note an increase in the test score measuring social self-esteem. Again, while one would not expect the level of social self-esteem to rise, it should not fall.

On the other hand, applicants suggested that their relationship with friends was in part responsible for their failure in school. Because having friends was important, and because these friends did not support the applicants' school efforts, they were a bad influence. Their experiences in the CIP should not change the importance interns attach to friends, but should enable the interns to have friends who can be positive rather than negative forces in each others' lives.

Can Improvement in Academic Self-Image Be Anticipated?

The academic self-image of CIP interns should improve dramatically. As students, these applicants saw themselves in a very poor light. If the program meets its objectives, interns should begin to experience feelings of success in school. This, in turn, should lead to a substantial increase in positive feeling about themselves as students. This, then, is another criterion by which the success of the program will be judged.

Should CIP Affect the Degree to Which Interns Use External Resources?

For the majority of interns, little growth can be expected in the use of external resources. As a group, applicants reported using such resources--so much so, in fact, that they scored well above the national average in this area. However, CIP can still have an effect. It could help interns use more efficient and appropriate resources, but the degree of usage will probably not increase appreciably.

Can CIP Help Interns Gain More Accurate Career Information?

The program should indeed help interns acquire more accurate career information. CIP provides Career Advisors, a Career Counseling Seminar, a Career Development Plan to use as a guide and requires Hands-on experiences. Graduates should be extremely well informed about a wide range of careers and jobs.

The majority of applicants to the program have very little accurate career information. There is plenty of room for growth. Because one goal of CIP is to provide interns with this information, the program, if successful, should yield substantial increases in both the depth and the scope of career information posed by interns. This is not the criterion for measuring the program's effectiveness.

Should the Program Affect Interns' Abilities to Plan for Careers?

In most cases, CIP should not affect planning ability to a great extent because most interns have already scored fairly high in this area. For the majority of the group, only slight improvement can be expected. This does not mean that the program cannot help interns generate more realistic plans (if in fact their current plans are unrealistic); rather it means that, according to the measurement used, the applicants to CIP are only slightly below the national average. While test scores should increase somewhat after interns have been in the program awhile, this increase probably will be small, since test performance has left little room for dramatic growth. There should be evidence of normal growth and of increased planning sophistication.

Post High School Experiences

The Career Intern Program aims to prepare interns to enter careers in which they will be happy, successful, and satisfied. All the criteria above are steps to this outcome. Therefore, the most crucial criterion for judging CIP should relate to what happens to interns after they leave the program.

Suppose graduates have wonderful feelings about themselves in every respect; suppose they have learned to read well and perform mathematical problems with excellent proficiency; and, further suppose these hypothetical graduates feel completely in control of their lives. Then, is the program effective? That depends.

Graduates should leave the program more prepared to enter the job market than they were upon entering, or they should be placed in a context within which desired skills can be learned; these, too, are criteria by which program success can be measured. Ideally, graduates should be able to acquire and hold jobs in the fields of their choice-jobs of higher status and greater pay than those held by their parents; jobs in which they feel the future is bright, and in which they have an opportunity to move up the career ladder. Given prevailing economic realities, however, particularly in relation to a growing unemployment rate, these "ideal" criteria may be unrealistic. Within the current economic context, whether or not CIP graduates are able to obtain and retain employment may be the only reasonable criteria by which to assess program effectiveness in relation to placing interns within the job market.

IN SUMMARY

As Students

- Most of them should graduate.
- They should improve math and reading skills.
- They should not change much in their reasoning ability.

How Should We Expect Interns to Change or Not to Change in Attitudes?

- They should not change their feelings about their families.
- They should not change much in the way they feel about themselves.
- They should not feel much different about their friends, except maybe to learn to direct these relationships for positive ends.
- They should see themselves as better students.
- They should not change much in the way they feel in control of things.

In Their Career Prospects

- They should not change much in their resourcefulness.
- They should become much more knowledgeable about careers.

- They should not change much in planning skills.
- A good number should enter post-secondary school and
- A good number should go directly into jobs.

The following chapters pick up the story of the interns after their first months in CIP, follows them through graduation until a year later, and considers what about CIP may have accounted for the programs' occupational failures and remarkable successes.

References

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INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTERS FIVE THROUGH FOURTEEN

Chapter Five begins ten weeks after the interns have entered CIP. Succeeding chapters follow them through graduation, and, for some, up to a year later, through school and to work in December of 1975. These chapters answer the question: does CIP have the effects one would expect it?---and were there any surprises along the way?

The answer to these questions is "yes": CIP works, and perhaps the most surprising finding is how strong the evidence of its effectiveness seems to be. This does not mean that every intern is now President and every control student is repeating 3rd grade. First, a career education program rarely will define success only by income, highest level of education attained or highest occupational status achieved. Second, CIP did not help every student, even on its own terms.

The reader thus should expect good news, but not a universal solution to the educational problems of youth from low-income families.

Chapters ten through twelve specifically deal with what contributes to CIP's effectiveness. Lastly, the question of transportability is addressed in chapter fourteen If CIP is workable only at 62 West Harvey Street, the taxpayers will have gotten little in return for their educational R&D dollars. What is reproducible must be speculative, but school systems wishing to bring the news from Philadelphia to their town probably can do so with some confidence of its adaptability.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROGRAM EFFECTS AFTER THE FIRST TEN WEEKS

This chapter presents the short-term effects of the program. Intermediate and longer-term effects will be addressed in the next chapters. The phrase "short-term" in this context refers to the first ten weeks of the program. This period, which includes the Career Counseling Seminar, has two major purposes:

1. To help interns begin to feel better about themselves and the amount of control they can exercise over their lives.
2. To help interns begin to gain greater amounts of information about careers and a better ability to make plans for careers.

Earlier sections described several characteristics of people applying to the Career Intern Program. In them were several statements about self-esteem, career knowledge and planning ability, and so on. In some cases, such as with general self-esteem, further growth was not likely. In other areas, such as the possession of accurate career information, there was substantial room for growth. In examining program effectiveness, it would be reasonable to look first at these areas. The criteria, then, for making some tentative conclusions about the first weeks of the program are as follows:

- Internal/external control - while some movement among interns toward the belief that they are in control of their lives would be desirable, it is unrealistic to expect much change during the first ten weeks of the program.
- Genral and home self-esteem. Interns were already very positive in these areas; little growth is expected, but interns should maintain high levels.
- Relationships with friends. No major growth but continued positive feelings should be anticipated.

- Academic self-esteem. Interns should feel better about themselves as students than they did when they applied to the program.

- Degree to which interns use outside resources. Not much change should be in evidence here, as interns were already very likely to use available resources.

- Amount of accurate career information. As a group, the interns should possess more accurate information, as this is an emphasis of the first ten weeks of the program.

- Ability to plan for careers. Students applying to the program showed excellent ability for such planning; there should not be much change.

These are the criteria for judging the success of the first ten weeks of the program. In all cases, interns' scores were compared to those of control group members, who took the post-tests at the same time. For other criteria, such as intellectual growth or an increase in academic achievement, it is too early for assessment. These will be addressed later in this report.

SHORT-TERM PROGRAM EFFECTS ON PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and Rotter's Internal-External Control Scale data on which conclusions were drawn relative to program effects and personality characteristics may be found in Volume II which contains technical appendices.

Do Interns Feel More in Control of Their Lives?

By and large, interns do not appear to feel more in control of their lives, at least as measured by the instrument administered. However, it is unrealistic to expect change over so short a period. The degree of internal or external control possessed by interns is measured again before graduation.

Do Interns Become More Positive About Themselves in General and About Relations With Their Families?

As expected, interns as a group continued to have very positive feelings about themselves and about their families, although these feelings did not increase the first ten weeks. What is important here is that their self-esteem did not diminish. Interns do feel good about themselves and remain convinced of their self-worth, a feeling the school helped them maintain.

While the strength of these positive feelings regarding families has not changed for the total group, it is likely that the nature of the relationship of the interns to family members has altered for the better, probably as a result of the success that these interns are experiencing in CIP. At the initial interviews conducted during the application process, a large majority of the parents expressed concern about their children's lack of success in school. For the most part, these concerns centered around the importance of a high school diploma, which parents believed their children would not recieve if they were not admitted to CIP. Both applicants and parents agreed that school problems often produced strains in the parent-child relationship. Parents now state that these strains and the concerns which generated them have largely disappeared, as the following composite statements illustrate:

> "All of a sudden my boy seem to like school... He wants a career...to be a salesman... He got himself a part-time job and...he's going to get his diploma"
>
> "I know what's happening now in school with my daughter...her counselor calls me once or twice a month... She is passing everything and going to class... Even when she was sick last week, and I wanted her to stay home she snuck out of the house to come to school... She is a changed person... maybe she can even go to college."
>
> "Before, my son was afraid to come to school... gangs on the corner kept bothering him...he didn't go too much...Now he goes every day...he going to graduate in June...he going to get a job."

For many families the Career Intern Program has helped to improve the relationship between parents and children. While this impact cannot be measured by any of the tests administered, it nevertheless seems to have been a positive effect of the program.

Does CIP Affect Interns' Perceptions of Their Relationships With Friends?

In one sense the program did not have any measurable effect during the early weeks on interns' perception of peer relationships. That is, interns continue to perceive their relationships in a positive light. As was the case with parental relationships, however, it is possible that the nature of peer relationships has changed. In this sense, the program may be having a positive influence upon relationships among friends.

The CIP experience stresses group counseling techniques, so that interns with similar problems may, under the direction of a counselor, discuss their concerns and possible solution together. Furthermore, in their classroom activities, interns are urged to consider each other as possible learning resources, so that the career research performed by one often becomes the focus of discussion for an entire group. When interns function as both, the nature of peer relationships tends to change:

> "Group counseling is good for me...I come to know that other...students have the same problems as me... and we can help each other."[1]

> "The other day, in Mr. C_______'s class, Larry did a report on bein' a automobile mechanic...I learned a lot from him...I never knew they made such a lot of money...I learn from reports of other interns."

> "In my other school we had to learn everything from the teacher...Here though...we can learn from other people too...like each other...'Course the teacher's still important but...what I have to say in class is important too...Other people can learn something from me."

Based on these comments, it seems that the peer relationships of interns have broadened. While relationships are still positive, there is a qualitative difference for some interns.

Do Interns Feel Better About Themselves as Students?

Most data indicate that CIP has had a positive effect on the way interns feel about themselves as students. While students' scores on tests used to measure this dimension did not improve significantly, intern comments and comments made in counseling records suggest that after ten weeks in the program interns do think more highly of themselves as students. This shift in attitude may be attributed to a conscious attempt on the part of all CIP staff to convince interns that they are not failures and that they can succeed in school. The concepts of individualized instruction, small classes, and frequent prolonged counseling sessions have paid dividends in this case, as the following composite statements by interns indicate:

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[1] All student quotes have been edited for grammar. Most students' everyday speech is typical of their area; observations suggest that some interns acquire a wider range of speech styles.

> "I about flunked out of ________. I never got good grades, and I didn't like the teachers and they didn't like me...I was made to feel dumb...It's different here 'cause you get a feeling that people are your friends...they really care about you here...I'm starting to get some pretty good grades."
>
> "On my last report card from _______ I only passed two subjects, and I only got a C in one and a D in the other. I never did real well in school. I come here and I started getting B's. I'm passing everything...People really care about me...I know I'm not stupid."
>
> "I could never do as well in school as my brother... and teachers always expected that I could do as good as him in school...they made me feel dumb... Well, here no one expects me to be anyone but me... I'm doing all right...I even got an A in a math test last week...I always used to fail math...it scared me."

That students find their academic self-image becoming more positive is further reinforced by the following entries, excerpted from counseling logs:

> "When Steve B____ first came to see me he was extremely hostile toward me and toward the idea of school. He knew he needed a high school diploma to get a job as a lab assistant at _______, but he really didn't want to be just failure after failure...last year he only passed one subject...After three weeks he got his first marks at CIP, the results of two tests; he got a C in one and a B in the other...he actually smiled...It's now the last week of Career Awareness and during our regular session today, Steve said something like, 'I really don't think I'm so dumb after all."
>
> "Saw Janet _____ for the first time today, she's already thinking of leaving...asked her why...she says that she's not a good student and doesn't think she'll get passing grades, also says she doesn't read too well...I think I convinced her to stick it out for a few weeks...(Three weeks later.) Janet got a C

> on her first test, she still isn't confident, but seems pleased with the grade...Have spoken to all of her teachers about her fear of failing...Mr. C_______ says that she really doesn't read badly but seems afraid...(Six weeks after first contact.) Janet got three test grades back this week, two C's and a B... She didn't say much about them, but she took the initiative in showing them to me and I let her know how pleased I was....She was also pleased, I could tell...(Seven weeks after first contact.) Janet is passing everything with at least a C...Today, she admitted that she's really not as bad a student as she had thought at first."

These entries, condensed versions of counseling records, illustrate the trend of student self perceptions in the area of academics. The movement from extreme negativism to at least cautious optimism is clear. Test scores did not show any significant improvement over the ten-week period. This could mean that ten weeks was too short a time to expect measurable growth, that the test may not have been appropriate, that the counseling records pick up more easily changed moods, and the tests more deeply rooted feelings, or response bias in either the notes or the test.

SHORT-TERM PROGRAM EFFECTS ON CAREER AWARENESS

The conclusions in this section are based on the Career Development Inventory of Super et al. These data may be found in Volume II.

Do Interns Show Any Increase in Their Tendency to Use Outside Resources?

As a group, interns did not demonstrate an increase in their tendency to use outside resources. This was expected, since they, as applicants, were already well above average in resource usage. However, neither did they show any decrease in this area. This is important, for it means that the program was able to maintain interest in a wide array of career resources.

While the resource use frequency did not change over time for the group as a whole, the type and quality did. Applicants to the program frequently cited as career resources teachers, family, friends, counselors, and very occasionally, books or articles. These may be described, for the most part, as secondary sources of information, because they do not involve first-hand occupational experience. The resources most frequently cited by interns after ten weeks at CIP include more primary sources, such as people working in fields of interest to interns. While interns continue to mention teachers and counselors, they also cite such diverse sources as films, Department of Commerce job publications, and occupational encylopedias.

The educational program at CIP provides interns with an environment rich in career information, through a Resource Center stocked with easy-to-use and current career information, through Hands-On experiences which directly expose interns to the realities of work situations, through the constant use of classroom speakers, and finally, through incentives to learn from each other.

Is There Evidence of an Increase of Accurate Career Information?

Interns did not possess much accurate career information according to the Inventory. To assess whether or not during the first ten weeks interns increased the amount of career information they possessed, two data collection strategies were employed: a readministration of the initial career information test, and frequent observations of classes. Data from these two sources will be discussed separately.

Data From the Career Information Test. Results of re-administering the Inventory did not indicate significant gains in this area. This does not necessarily mean that interns did not have more accurate career information; it merely indicates that interns did not make gains on this particular test. There are two possible explanations for this:

- Perhaps the reading level of the test was too demanding for most of the interns.
- Perhaps there was a lack of "fit" between the emphasis of the test and the curriculum.

To help interpret the interns'lack of growth as measured by the tests, these two explanations were explored further.

Was the Reading Level of the Test Too Demanding for Most Interns?

The average reading level for CIP applicants was about seventh grade; several interns read at much higher levels.

Analysis of the pre-test data revealed a significant relationship between reading ability and the possession of career information. Good readers were more likely to score higher on this test than poor readers. For the former, the reading level of the test was probably not too difficult. The only other question is whether or not they had already scored so high on the pre-test that little room for growth was possible. Analysis of the pre-test scores of the good readers reveals this is not the case. While good readers did score higher than poor readers, they still had room for substantial improvement.

Although the reading level was not a problem for good readers, it may have been too demanding for poor readers. To test this hypothesis, an analysis was performed which took reading levels into account by holding them constant. This analysis revealed no significant gain with reading level controlled. Thus, lack of gain on the career information test cannot be attributed to poor reading ability.

Was There a Lack of Fit Between Curriculum Content and Contents of the Test? The test used to measure acquisition of career knowledge does not stress career-specific information. That is, it does not assess whether or not those taking the test are cognizant of discrete factors pertaining to particular careers. Rather, the test emphasizes the fit between certain personality traits and the psychological demands of given careers. Examples of actual test items are presented below:

> "Peter is the best speaker on the school debating team. The school yearbook describes his as 'our golden-tongued orator'...Peter will probably graduate in the bottom half of his class, although his test scores show that he is very bright. His only good grades (mostly B's) are in business subjects... The facts about Peter suggest that he should think about becoming: an accountant, a salesman, an actor, a school counselor, a lawyer."

> "Jane likes her high school biology and general science courses best. She likes to do her schoolwork alone so she can concentrate. When she begins to think about her future occupation, she should consider: nurse, accountant, medical laboratory technician, elementary school teacher."

One could argue that the fit between the scholastic aptitudes described in the test and the occupations listed as choices is imperfect. Even if the match-up were perfect, however, the test does not reflect the major theme of the Career Awareness curriculum, which is based almost entirely upon the concept of "career clusters," or groups of interrelated careers, such as medical professions, service occupations, and technical occupations. During the course of the Career Awareness cycle, interns are exposed to a single cluster per week. Each intern is required to pursue one career in depth every week and present oral and written reports to the rest of the class. In all, each intern is required to prepare at least seven reports on different careers. By and large in these reports, interns tend to focus upon the following:

- Availability of a given career in the job market.
- Salary ranges of a particular career.
- Type and amount of education required to pursue a given career.

The CIP curriculum, then, emphasizes the mastery of information in relation to specific careers. It does not dwell during the ten weeks under discussion here upon fit between personality traits and general types of occupations, though this kind of emphasis does occur later in the program.

Conclusion. The curriculum utilized to teach career information and the test used to measure it seem mismatched for the first ten weeks; the match will be better for CIP as a whole.

What Do the Classroom Observations Reveal? Interns were exposed to a great deal about careers from Career Awareness. The seven required reports are the foci for discussions of various careers. Classroom observations reveal that, for the most part, these reports tend to be completed on time; that interns seem to understand their content; and that most classes actively participate in discussing each of the reports. The contention that interns learned about specific careers is substantiated by the following comments, solicited from a random sample of interns both during and immediately after the first ten weeks:

> "When I came here I didn't know what I wanted to do... I didn't know about the field of communications... Now I'm seriously thinking about a career in this field."

> "I came in (to CIP)...wanting to be a nurse...I didn't know how much education I'd have to get... Now I think I'll be a secretary, 'cause they make good money. I can get a job and won't have to have

any more school."

"I always liked science, but didn't know what to do with it...I learned about medical technology since I came, and it sounds like what I want."

"I learned so much about lots of careers that I have been able to choose one that most interests me...I'm seriously thinking of going to college to be an accountant."

In defending her choice of a career in the field of medical technology, Jane states: "I have four reasons for wanting to be a medical technician. It will pay me about $6,800 a year right after training, which is about what I need to support my daughter and me. I can leave my baby in the daycare center at the hospital and it won't cost me too much. I can finish most of the science courses I need (to get accepted into the program) this year. The hospital will train me and will pay me a little while I'm training. Also, it's a career where I'll have a chance to help people and keep learning new things."

Quincy decided he did not need a high school diploma, "because I learned a lot about the field of carpentry during Career Awareness, and I am going to start on-the-job training after two months. I can get my union card after about a year, and I can make pretty good bread. After six years or so I can make about $13,000 or more. Besides, I always like to build things, I like to be outdoors. It's a pretty good career for me, and people always need carpenters."

Dierdre feels she will go to college, because "during Career Awareness I got to spend a few days helping an elementary school teacher in the classroom and decided that this is the job for me. I always liked kids, especially young ones, and I've been doing very well since I came here (to CIP). I think I will be able to get into college, and Ms. R (her counselor) thinks she can help me get a scholarship. Anyway, the money you get for teaching is pretty good, the fringe benefits are good, and probably I'll be always about to get a job."

Frank entered the project feeling that "I don't know what I want to do. I never thought much about it, but I know I'll need a high school diploma, so I came here." Now he has decided he would like to enter the field of communications. "See, during the Career Awareness, I think it was during the

> third or fourth week, I did research in communications."

These quotes, while not conclusive, do represent the trend of intern opinion regarding the first ten weeks of their experiences in the Career Intern Program. They suggest the interns have picked up career information important to them, enough information in most instances to permit them to make some sort of realistic career decision.

The first weeks culminate in a document called a Career Development Plan. This plan, completed by counselors working with each intern, lists the career choice of the intern, plus an accompaning series of steps by which the intern will attain a chosen career. In providing input to their Career Development Plans, interns are urged to draw upon all they have learned in the Career Seminar.

These plans are not an absolute indicator of mastery of career information. Yet, to a certain degree, the quality of such plans reflects both the degree of understanding interns have of the career they have chosen and the quality of thought that has gone into the making of such decisions.

> "I worked at W____ (a local radio station) for a few days and really got into it. I want to either be a broadcast engineer or maybe go into being a disc jockey. I don't have to decide yet, because I can decide exactly what I want to do when I get to broadcasting school, where I've already been accepted. I know I can make at least $8,000 or $10,000 a year, and the future is good. I can even move around the country if I want."

The examples cited in this section are representative of most interns in the program and suggest that the early weeks are fruitful in enabling them to explore several careers, to select those which appealed most to them, and to make some plans for pursuing careers of their choice.

Do Interns Increase Their Ability to Plan for Careers?

Because applicants had demonstrated excellent ability in career planning, no change was anticipated for interns as a group after ten weeks. Therefore, it is surprising to find that the intern group did improve considerably in their ability to make comprehensive career plans, in comparison to the control group, whose abilities did not increase.

The term "career planning" as used in this context refers to the ability to integrate facts about given careers, relate these facts to various situations which apply to the interns' lives, and synthesize all this information into an appropriate long-range career plan. Interns who took the test measuring planning ability were asked to indicate what action they had taken with regard to such statements as:

> "Finding out about educational and occupational possibilities by going to the library, sending away for information, or talking to somebody who knows about the possibilities."
>
> "Dealing with things which might make it hard for me to get the kind of training or the kind of work I would like."
>
> "Doing the things one needs to do to become a valued employee who doesn't have to be afraid of losing his job or being laid off when times are hard."

Throughout the early weeks of the program, the teachers and counselors stress the importance of creating Career Development Plans. The emphasis placed by the CIP staff upon such plans is at least partially responsible for the increase in career planning ability. This seems particularly likely in light of the fact that from the outset of their involvement with the program, interns are constantly confronted by both counselors and teachers with questions and suggestions relating to individual career choices.

IN SUMMARY

This section has presented several effects or "outcomes" of the first ten weeks of the Career Intern Program. It has made the following points:

- On the instrument used to measure internal/external control, interns did not move toward internal control over the ten-week period, although it is probably too early to expect such changes.
- Interns continue to feel very positive about themselves in general, and about their relationships to their families; and the nature of family relationships has improved.

- The relationships interns have with their friends continue to be viewed very positively, and for many interns the nature of such relationships has considerably broadened.

- Interns have higher opinions of themselves as students than when they first applied to CIP.

- The types of career resources used by interns broadened considerably, and the frequency with which they used such resources remained quite high.

- Interns did not demonstrate through testing any gains in the amount of accurate career information they possess.

- On measures other than the test for career information, such as intern interviews, classroom observations, and Career Development Plans, interns showed understanding of specific careers of interest, and a grasp of the steps necessary to obtain these careers.

- Despite the fact that improvement in career planning ability was not anticipated, interns as a group did demonstrate, after the first ten, a marked gain in planning ability over their already high levels.

These data suggest that even early in the program, the interns are on their way to the diploma so many want, and to acquiring the preparation they'll need to succeed later. Along the way, some will falter. Some will surpass even their own hopes. Others will progress, but not excell. The next chapters pick up the study seven months later.

CHAPTER SIX

RETENTION, COMPLETION, AND DROPOUTS

Before entering CIP, as Table XII shows, about 50% of the applicants had either left school (32%) or attended so infrequently they were dropouts in all but the formal record (17%). The controls were more likely to have dropped out (40%) or to be irregular attenders if enrolled (35%).

TABLE XII: WHAT WERE YOU DOING BEFORE CIP? STATUS OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS AT THE TIME OF APPLICATION

	INTERNS*	CONTROLS
	N=286	N=145
Enrolled, sometimes attending	51%	35%
Enrolled, not attending	17%	25%
Not in school	32%	40%

*Interns who enrolled; "decliners" excluded.

The difference seems due to the fact that one could decline--if chosen--to enroll in CIP but could not "decline" from the control group. Most of the 37 youth who were selected in the lottery to attend CIP but declined to attend were dropouts or irregular attenders. Had these 37 youth been included, the groups would have been more similar in proportion.

In both groups, many applicants had been out of school for more than six months (18%); some had been out of school for over a year. Both experimentals and control groups were high risk: already losers, the likelihood of their getting a diploma might seem small.

Completion

As Table XIII shows, in winter 1975-76, only 7% of the 145 youth who had completed the pre-enrollment procedures for CIP but were, by lottery, not selected for enrollment, had completed high school. Of the 286 youth who had been selected at random from the same applicant pool, 44% had received their high school diploma. This difference is statistically reliable; it seems large enough to be educationally significant.

TABLE XIII: RETENTION, COMPLETION, AND DROPOUTS AMONG INTERNS AND CONTROLS AS OF DECEMBER 1975

	INTERNS*	CONTROLS
	N=286	N=145
Enrolled in CIP or School	13%	3%
Transferred, still in school	10%	3%
Were in School-Dropped out	33%	38%
Out of School-Did not re-enter	-	49%
Graduated	44%	7%

*Interns who enrolled; "decliners" excluded

Dropouts

As Table XIII indicates, in December 1975, 33% of the interns who enrolled in CIP were no longer in school. They had dropped out of the program before graduating. In comparison, 86% of the controls were dropouts: 38% had been in school, but left and 49% were out of school and did not re-enter.

Perhaps more than any other figures, the difference between 33% (CIP) and 86% (controls) who were dropouts in winter 1975-76, versus 57% graduates or enrolled (CIP) and 13% graduates or enrolled (controls) represents the impact of CIP participation. Without CIP, only 1 out of 10 youth chosen at random from applicants was likely to be in school or to have graduated a year after application to the program. With CIP, 6 out of 10 youth were graduates or still in school, working toward their high school diploma.

Retention

In December 1975, 6% of the controls and 23% of the interns were still enrolled in school. Of these, 3% and 10%, respectively, had transferred to schools other than the one in which they were enrolled at time of application. The retention rates in CIP - for the program or for another school - are greater than for the comparison programs.

Too Good To Be True?

One explanation of this difference is that some of CIP's "dropouts" had dropped before enrollment, leaving the least dropout prone in the intern group and the most dropout prone in the controls. There are two possibilities. Suppose first that CIP had proportionately less "enrolled but not attending youth" and CIP had proportionately few "long term dropouts." Then suppose the "enrolled but not attending" youth and the "long term dropouts" were more likely to be out-of-school at the time of post-testing, regardless of entry or not into CIP. If this were so, the lower CIP dropout rate might be little more than an artifact of pre-selection of a lower risk group.

Attendance Status and Retention

First, Table XIV shows that CIP did have proportionately fewer youth who were nominally enrolled but not attending school at time of application to CIP. About 40% of the controls but only 25% of the interns who were even nominally enrolled were "enrolled but not attending" at time of application.

TABLE XIV: DROPOUT RATE FOR NOMINALLY ENROLLED ATTENDING AND NON-ATTENDING CIP AND CONTROL STUDENTS

GROUP	ATTENDANCE STATUS AT APPLICATION	TOTAL NUMBER	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS	PERCENTAGE OF DROPOUTS
CIP	Enrolled/attending	151	38	25%
	Enrolled/not attending	49	15	31%
	Total	200	53	26%
Control	Enrolled/attending	51	21	41%
	Enrolled/not attending	36	25	69%
	Total	87	56	64% (overall)

Second, Table XIV shows that the dropout rate is related to attendance status: youth "enrolled and attending" at time of application in both intern and control groups are somewhat less likely to drop out. The retention rate gain in CIP is, however, about the less for attendees than for non-attendees. For attendees, the difference in dropoutism is 16% (41%, controls minus 25% interns). The difference for non-attenders is 38% (69%, controls versus 31% interns). Thus, the absolute level of dropping out and size of difference between intern and control groups is affected by the proportion of attenders and non-attenders in the two groups. The bias, in this case, works in favor of finding that CIP is better. The total raw dropout reduction gain for CIP (64%, controls minus 26% interns) is 38%. A total giving equal weight to attenders and non-attenders would be 27% (55% controls minus 28% interns.)

At least some of the much higher dropout rate for controls is an artifact of having a disproportionately high number of "enrolled but not attending" youth.

Time Out of School and Dropping Out Again: Among youth who had dropped out at time of application, fewer controls (48%) than interns (63%) had been out of school for seven months or more at time of application to CIP. Suppose long-term dropouts were more serious about a second chance, and with or without CIP would be likely to be in school a year later?

Tables XV and XVI suggest that of anything, the reverse is true.

TABLE XV: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LENGTH OF TIME OUT OF SCHOOL FOR DROPOUTS AND THE CIP DROPOUT RATE

	MONTHS OUT OF SCHOOL AT TIME OF APPLICATION TO CIP	TOTAL NUMBER	NUMBER OF CIP DROPOUTS	PERCENT CIP DROPOUTS
CIP	(0 - 3)	21	7	33%
	(4 - 6)	22	5	23%
	(7 -12)	23	14	61%
	(12 +)	29	14	48%
	Total	95	40	(overall) 42%

TABLE XVI: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LENGTH OF TIME OUT OF SCHOOL FOR DROPOUTS IN THE CONTROL POPULATION AND THE RATE OF LATER RETURN TO SCHOOL

	MONTHS OUT OF SCHOOL AT TIME OF APPLICATION TO CIP	TOTAL NUMBER	NUMBER NOT RETURNING TO SCHOOL	PERCENT NOT RETURNING
CONTROL	(0 - 3)	16	10	63%
	(4 - 6)	14	13	93%
	(7 -12)	9	7	78%
	(12 +)	19	19	100%
	Total	58	49	(overall) 84%

The difference in dropouts between interns and controls is 50% (78%, controls minus 28% interns) when the subgroups of applicants out of school six months or less are weighted equally. The difference between interns and controls is 34% (89%, controls minus 55% interns) when subgroups of applicants out of school for seven months or longer are weighted equally. Youth out of school less than six months if anything are more likely not to drop out of CIP.

There is still a third possibility of artifact. As Table XVII shows, more of the total control group (40%) than of the total intern of group (32%) had dropped out at time of enrollment. Dropouts in both CIP and control groups were less likely to be in school a year later than were youth who were enrolled. When subgroups are given equal weight, 65% of the controls but only 33% of the interns were out of school a year after application to CIP, a 32% difference favoring CIP.

TABLE XVII: DROPOUT RATE FOR ATTENDING, ENROLLED BUT NOT ATTENDING AND NOT ENROLLED YOUTH

GROUP	STATUS AT TIME OF APPLICATION	NUMBER	NUMBER OF DROPOUTS[1]	PERCENT OF DROPOUTS
CIP	Enrolled/attending	151	38	25%
	Enrolled/not attending	49	15	31%
	Not enrolled (dropout)	95	40	42%
	Total	295	93	31%
Control	Enrolled/attending	51	21	41%
	Enrolled/not attending	36	25	69%
	Not enrolled (dropout)	58	49	84%
	Total	145	95	65%

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[1] Controls not enrolled in school as of winter 1975-76

Tables XII through XVII permit at least five generalizations

1. The longer a youth has been away from school, the more likely she or he is to drop out, if enrolled, or not to return at all to school.

2. The weaker the tie to school at time of CIP application, whether from not attending when nominally enrolled or from having already dropped out, the more likely the youth is to drop out, if nominally enrolled, or not to return to school.

3. The same relationships between risk of dropping out or not returning is found for CIP students and controls. The relationships in both cases are linear.

4. However, in every instance, controls were much more likely to dropout than were interns.

5. The greater the risk of dropping out, the greater the risk of CIP in increasing retention.

These data suggest that the much higher retention and completion rates, and lower dropout rates of CIP interns are reliable findings. They are not simply artifacts of the initial differences in status at time of application of enrolled interns and controls.

DROPOUT PREVENTION

If the findings were reliable,---CIP prevents dropouts and enables high risk youth to complete school---then several other lessons may be learned.

1. Prevention is easier than cure: The CIP retention rate of youth enrolled in school was about 73% versus about 58% for youth who had dropped out before entry. This difference---considering the cost and effort of the CIP program---might argue for a focus on high risk youths who have not formally dropped out. An alternative would be examining more closely the reasons why CIP interns who were dropouts to begin with dropped out again. Perhaps their problems are too severe for CIP, however changed, to resolve. Perhaps, however, the program could be better adapted to their needs.

2. Attendance, while still enrolled in regular high school, doesn't make that much predictive difference. The CIP dropout rate for youth who did not attend classes in regular high school while nominally enrolled was 31%, only slightly higher than for youth who attended high school regularly. There seems to be little need to either pre-select only those with regular attendance or to modify the program radically to better meet the needs of

youth who were likely merely to be carried on the regular school rolls: CIP is doing well by both groups relative to control dropout rates, and especially well for the nominally enrolled category.

3. The sooner the better: After a youth has formally left school, retention decreases as time out of school increases. Helping dropout re-enroll during the first six months of school will double the "success rate" in contrast to waiting until seven months or more have passed.

Who Leaves?

Three hunches were examined:

- dropouts from CIP have severe financial problems or extensive family responsibilities; they simply can't afford to return to high school
- dropouts from CIP had such serious academic deficits in basic skills they could just not keep up.
- dropouts from CIP had personality or adjustment problems beyond the capacity of CIP to help.

Summarizing The Evidence Briefly, None Of The Above Was Responsible

- While dropouts, like many successful interns, did have financial problems and family responsibilities, this was not the primary reason for dropping out. Indeed, CIP arranged for paid employment for which Hands-On credit was given to help some interns stay in school.
- Dropouts, like many successful interns, did have serious deficiencies in basic skills. On the average, however, their abilities and general achievement levels were typical of those of successful interns.

- In feelings and attitudes as measured by the tests, dropouts looked very much like successful interns. There was nothing in the measures suggesting severe personality disorders.

Clues From Interviews And Observations

One characteristic of four interns[1] who later dropped out of CIP is the lack of contact with their counselors. Successful interns saw their counselors at least once a week. Many made a point to stop by and say hello everyday. By contrast, three of the intern dropouts, at the time of the initial interview, had not met with their counselors and did not know their names. Since each intern is regularly scheduled to meet with the counselor, this means that they had either been absent from school every single time their counseling session was scheduled or had failed to keep the appointments. The fourth intern had been sought out by her counselor so he could talk with her about her poor attendance.

In contrast with the successful interns, these four also showed less interest and personal interaction with their instructors. One, for example, didn't know the name of her typing teacher; another knew the name of one of her teachers but not what subject he taught.

All four, as early as the first round of interviews, had been flagged by teachers and counselors as poor attenders. When asked about their attendance, two said they lived a considerable distance from the school and had to take public transportation. The other two disputed the attendance figures of the counselors, insisting that they came regularly.

In the matter of career aspirations, all four exhibited a surprising incongruity. All of them set their sights on a prestigious career goal that required a college education: two wanted to go into law and a third planned to be a registered nurse because it would pay well.

> "My aunt, she's not a nurse, she's a nurse's aide and like I asked her what was the highest nurse. She said registered nurse they pay the most money and, like you know, since I was going to get into nursing I might as well be a registered nurse and go longer."

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[1] Twelve CIP interns were randomly chosen at enrollment for intensive study; four of these later dropped out.

The fourth had no clear career plans beyond going into communications because he would like to make movies. In fact, he claims that making future plans is futile, and the only way to live is from day to day. However, he insisted that he wanted to go to college and was worried that he couldn't meet a foreign language requirement.

The incongruity lies between these aspirations and the fact that none of them expressed much interest in the career preparation focus of the program. They wanted to get into prestigious, high paying careers. None had, or appeared willing, to examine the congruity between their actions and career choices.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of these interns who later dropped (or were dropped from the program) was their concern that it was not "traditional" enough. Two complained that there were not enough extracurricular activities. One complained that the program was too small. Another found the individual attention disconcerting. She characterized herself as bashful and found it hard to recite when called upon in class as she was virtually every day. (Closer investigation revealed that she had a serious reading problem and this probably contributed to her discomfort.) One of the male interns was very unhappy with his history class because it dealt too much with contemporary problems and with self exploration. He wanted to study "traditional" history. (This, incidently, was the most popular class in the program for successful interns.)

With respect to demographic characteristics, these four interns appeared to represent a fairly typical cross section. There were two males and two females; two were high school dropouts and two were enrolled non-attenders. While there was nothing on their intake interview or in the results of the intake test scores to set those interns apart, two were characterized by teachers as being above average in intelligence--just not working up to their potential.

In contast, one intern who graduated from CIP, who had tried other alternative schools in the city, describes how the CIP strikes a balance between the "free" model and the traditional high school and why she found that balance appropriate for her needs:

> "I realized I should really go to school--at least finish something, you know, so I had heard about a couple of different alternative schools. One called, like,--it's near (a university). Like a church. I walked into that place and it was like these people

> sitting around eating salad. You know, they were kind of having a class. Sitting there eating salad. Just kind of sitting there. They were playing guitars, you know. I thought, "I've had enought of this kind of stuff." Meanwhile, this truant officer was coming to our house everyday. Then someone walks up on my porch and I opened the door, and he says, "I'm from UCEC." And I said, "What?" So then I came and I took all these crazy tests, and this place had, like, the right amount of alternative and the right amount of school in it for me."

Clues From Case Studies

Dropouts set extremely high initial career goals. These goals were advanced because they offer high income or prestige. These interns had no clear ideas as to how these career goals could be realized. They failed to establish close relationships with their instructors--in some cases they didn't even know their names after several weeks. They didn't keep counseling appointments and never sought counselors out on their own. They chafed under the non-traditional nature of the program--wanting more extra-curricular activities and more electives. They felt the classes were too small and consequently drew too much attention to each intern. A few--although this was by no means typical--had serious reading problems which they didn't want to admit.

It is difficult to generalize about the kinds of students for whom the CIP does not work. However, two conclusions appear justified. First, students who are not as interested in getting into practical careers and who want a diploma quickly will have problems with the CIP. Second, students who want a "school" in the traditional sense of the word, that is, a program that stresses traditional academic courses and provides a full set of extra-curricular activites, may find it difficult to fit into CIP.

These are, in general, subtle mismatches of person and program. Perhaps if a general pattern of wanting a great deal of quick, easy success were recognized early, more intensive personal counseling could help these youth.

To put this another way, a large number of minority students "fall through the mesh" of the public schools. CIP provides a program with a "finer mesh" that holds a significant number of these dropouts. A minority, however, still drop through. Those who are held are the ones for whom the individualized attention and practical focus on career preparation meet needs not met by the traditional schools. Those who are lost are the ones whose needs are neither met by the public school system nor by the one-to-one, occupationally oriented feature of the CIP.

In summary, then, nine months later almost two thirds of the applicants who chose to enroll were in school or had graduated. In comparison, only about fifteen percent of the controls--applicants who were not selected in the lottery - were in school or had graduated.

Analyses of subgroups of interns and controls suggest this striking difference is real. It's not an artifact of initial enrollment differences; it is due to something that happens in CIP that is not happening to most youth.

The next sections report what else happened to CIP interns in contrast to the controls. If all that happened was that interns received a diploma, this might better their life chances--but not as much as if the diploma stood for other changes, in their academic ability, their attitudes and their career development.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DOES IT WORK? ARE THE INTERNS BETTER STUDENTS?

Being a better student involves changing behavior and improved achievement. Before CIP, sixty percent of the interns were dropouts by withdrawal or fiat. Many of the remaining forty percent attended irregularly at best. With regard to basic skills, only one in ten could do as well in mathematics and reading as an average tenth grade student.

Two ways of answering the question, "are they better students" are presented. The first way is unobtrusive measures of behavior, particularly behaviors related to the nature and quality of interns' participation in school. The second way is analysis of changes in achievement test performance.

PARTICIPATING: SOME GOOD NEWS AND SOME BAD NEWS

Most of the data on participation come from the field evaluation, observations and interviews.

The good news...

1. Attendance: Poor attendance had been a problem for almost all of the applicants to the program. The CIP set strict attendance requirements. In order to pass any course an intern had to maintain a seventy percent attendance rate. Only a small minority failed to meet these standards.

2. Keeping Appointments: Keeping appointments was another problem for many interns. Often, when they finally could get an appointment with their counselors or teachers in the feeder schools, they would show up late, or not at all.

At the CIP, interns are expected to meet with their counselors once a week and many drop in every day. The small classes make it impossible for interns to avoid a good deal of interaction with instructors. Most learned to show up, and show up on time for their classes, their scheduled meetings, or special appointments.

3. Rescheduling Appointments: Almost as important, they learned to call ahead to cancel an appointment and reschedule if they knew this would be necessary. They learned how to handle the unexpected responsibly rather than just not showing up.

4. Completing Assignments: Completing assignments was a fourth area of behavioral change. On entering CIP, many interns would turn in assignments late or poorly done, if they turned them in at all. Assigning homework, presentations, reports or papers was chancy. Perhaps one of the more dramatic changes observed was the gradual shift from chance to reliability. By graduation, most interns could be counted on to complete work assigned to them, and to prepare responsibly for presentations, group projects or research reports where they themselves had set the due dates.

5. Test-taking Skills: Interns have learned how to take exams. Observations of applicant behavior during testing before and after CIP were consistent with classroom observations and self-reports. In comparison to control students who were not enrolled in CIP, interns learned to listen to instructions, to ask for relevant information, and to use the time available in a task-oriented way.

One interpretation might be that the interns knew how to do this all along, and the controls were simply less motivated to perform well during testing. Observations suggest this is not the entire explanation. First, at pre-testing, almost all of the applicants who took the tests seemed highly motivated. They knew a very low score on the achievement test would mean losing their chance in the lottery. Yet, changes in test-taking behavior pre and post for those selected as interns were clear. Also, while some control group members may have been going through the motions at post-testing, most did not seem to the observers unconcerned with their performance. All control group members received individual feedback and interpretation of their results. Curiosity about how they themselves changed from pre to post testing probably was motivating, although some lack of enthusiasm may have accounted for the lack of improvement in controls.

6. Working Together: Working together and taking the initiative in seeking out resources increased during CIP. Interns learned to work cooperatively on assignments, projects and special activities. The skills of using each other as resources, learning to seek out the academically relevant talents in friends, and organizing for accomplishment are talents not every adult---even adults from advantaged backgrounds---has. The skills observed built on the friendships among interns, but involved know-how rather than only a willingness to work together.

7. Initiative: With regard to taking initiative, on entering CIP, interns often would state that the reason they did not complete assignments on time was that no one gave them the materials or came to them. It was an attitude of "bring it to me." Over the year, most interns grew to see it as their responsibility to find the book, to get the materials, to make the first telephone call. Not every intern became a self-starter, or knew how to locate resources beyond those readily available. Many, however, showed that they knew where to go outside of OIC and the neighborhood, and could draw their own road maps of how to locate speakers, arrange for interviews, and obtain brochures, catalogs, reports and forms.

8. Attention to Classwork: Participation in class changed in two ways. First, many students who were just sitting there, often reclining or with their heads on the desks, sat up and started talking. Instead of speaking only when asked (and sometimes not even then) they would initiate discussions. Second, some students who were continually interrupting the class with often irrelevant comments learned to channel their energies more constructively. They were far from squelched, but were less likely to dominate the discussion and more likely to contribute to it.

9. Willingness to Repeat Failed Courses: One of the reasons why students contemplate dropping out of school is the discouragement that comes from having to repeat courses. With the perceived emphasis in most schools on covering material rather than on increasing proficiency, students see little value in repeating courses which they have already taken. Being forced to repeat can be demoralizing.

Successful CIP interns are willing to repeat courses they have failed or to review material they have already studied. The reasons for this probably include the fact that they are constantly reminded of the direct relevance of academic achievement to the attainment of career goals, the trusting relationships they have developed with instructors, the attempts to make courses interesting and the short CIP semesters.

- Diane's position is that CIP is an opportunity to take advantage of the chance to learn. She is not afraid of falling into the endless cycle of repetition. In fact, according to her English instructor, Diane goes even further:

> "Even when assignments she has been given have been done, she invariably comes to me to ask for more work.

> And of course her concern does not seem to be that of just trying to be impressive. I think she seems genuinely concerned about work...

- By contrast, a comparison student, Carol, is in her fourth year in high school. She is in the 11th grade for the third time. She admits to thinking about dropping out.

> "I'm tired of coming for nothin'. The same thing over...my sister says I shouldn't stay. She says the more I stay here the dumber I'm getting'...I had this stuff before...like my math and history I had last year."

Furthermore, when asked about her career ambitions, she bitterly replied that the way it looked to her she'd never get out of 11th grade.

10. Seriousness About School Work: Many interns said they dropped out of school or stopped attending because they were bored, and lacked interest. The reasons are varied, including the discouragement over failure or the perceived irrelevance of school to life goals. For a large number, faced with the necessity of contributing to their own support, school activities took second place to working. One control group member contends she cut classes right before she quit (..."I used to cut so I can go to work, you know, try to get in there early... I had lost interest in going to school.") Whatever the reasons for the loss of interest in school work, when asked how they think their school experience would have been different if they had been admitted to CIP, most controls said that they felt they would have become more interested in school and that they would have tried harder to do the work.

CIP interns showed a marked increase in interest in school. They began to look at the experience as a chance to improve themselves or to prove to themselves that they could do well in school. This increased interest manifests itself in a willingness to work hard, do assignments and to seek extra practice activities. Often, extra effort led to an increase in basic skills. Tammy, who showed much improvement in writing, talks about her school work.

> "I don't mind the work, 'cause some of the words, I mean, I never heard of them, and I get to know the meaning, the spelling...everything. We don't have that much homework, we do so much classwork and tests and stuff."

These behaviors indicate acquisition of important school skills that were largely lacking when the interns entered CIP.

The bad news...

There is some bad news. Most CIP interns made great strides in improving their academic behavior. Relative to control and comparison youth, their participation in school showed development of habits needed in both further schooling and in work.

In an absolute sense, however, many interns have a way to go before their academic style would be self-sustaining.

1. Attendance: Although almost all interns met the standard, maintaining the 70% minimum attendance required constant monitoring and encouragement for many interns. Considerable staff effort---including driving to local hangouts to locate absent interns---went into keeping attendance high. Some interns were neither absent nor late for a year or more. This tended to be, however, more a carry-over from previous good habits than a turnaround. The pattern was progress toward self-generated improvement in attendance, rather than its attainment.

2. Standards of Excellence: Less than best effort and repeated extension of due dates were frequent. Interns often did the minimum required to get by and often had excuses for not turning in work exactly on time. Internal pride and high internal standards of excellence were developing, rather than being fully developed.

READING AND MATHEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT: SOME BAD NEWS AND SOME GOOD NEWS

Reading and mathematics achievement scores are shown in Tables XVIII and XIX. These are pre and post scores for all interns and controls of whom pre and post scores are available. Raw scores and scores corrected for guessing both are given. (See also technical appendices in Vol. II)

Seven conclusions can be drawn from these data: some are bad news and some, good news.

The bad news...

1. Brighter students dropped out or finished so early their post-tests weren't available. The average pre

TABLE XVIII
READING ACHIEVEMENT OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS[1]

MEASURE	N		DISTRIBUTION Pre	Post[3]
Reading Achievement (Interns)	88	Low	39%	27%
		Middle	46%	43%
		High	15%	30%
Mean Score			34	37
Grade Equivalent			7.2	7.7
Reading Achievement (Controls)	55	Low	44%	34%
		Middle	38%	41%
		High	18%	25%
Mean Score			33	33
Grade Equivalent			7.0	7.0
Reading (Corrected)[2] Achievement (Interns)	88	Low	37%	32%
		Middle	44%	40%
		High	19%	28%
Mean Score			28	31
Grade Equivalent			NA	NA
Reading (Corrected) Achievement (Controls)	55	Low	40%	53%
		Middle	45%	24%
		High	15%	24%
Mean Score			28	24
Grade Equivalent			NA	NA

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[1] Stanford Reading and Mathematics Achievement Tests

[2] Corrected for guessing. (See Volume II)

[3] Average time between pre and post testing was eight months.

TABLE XIX
MATHEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS[1]

MEASURE	N		DISTRIBUTION	
			Pre	Post[3]
Math	86	Low	19%	13%
Achievement		Middle	67%	63%
(Interns)		High	14%	24%
Mean Score			19	20
Grade Equivalent			7.3	7.7
Math	54	Low	22%	30%
Achievement		Middle	58%	54%
(Controls)		High	20%	16%
Mean Score			18	17
Grade Equivalent			7.0	6.9
Math (Corrected)[2]	86	Low	24%	17%
Achievement		Middle	58%	50%
(Interns)		High	18%	33%
Mean Score			14	16
Grade Equivalent			NA	NA
Math (Corrected)	54	Low	26%	39%
Achievement		Middle	48%	35%
(Controls)		High	26%	26%
Mean Score			14	12
Grade Equivalent			NA	NA

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[1] Stanford Reading and Mathematics Achievement Tests

[2] Corrected for guessing (See Volume II)

[3] Average time between pre and post testing was eight months.

scores for the pre/post groups are lower than for the group of all applicants.

2. The final levels achieved by both interns and controls are still far below the national averages. The average grade equivalent final scores on reading and mathematics for the interns was 7.7 and 7.7, respectively; for the controls, 7.0 and 6.9, respectively. Whatever the gains--and their were some substantial improvements--there is no blinking away the fact that many of the interns still have a lot of work to do before their basic skills reach levels offering much hope for postsecondary success in life, education and work.

The good news...

1. The interns have begun improvements that are statistically and educationally significant.

2. In reading, interns gained five academic months (7.2 average pre to 7.7 post) in an average of eight months in CIP. In mathematics, their gain was from 7.3 to 7.7. In comparison, the average scores of the control students did not change. Figures 1 and 2 show this effect.

3. Eighth grade reading level is about the minimum required for most skilled trades work. Before entering CIP, about 70% of the applicants were performing below this level. At post-testing, as Table XIX shows, about 70% of the control students were still performing below this minimum. In contrast, in reading and mathematics, the CIP percentage below the minimum had dropped to about 58%.

TABLE XX READING AND MATHEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT: PERCENT OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS PERFORMING BELOW THE EIGHTH GRADE LEVEL

MEASURE		N	Pre	Post
Reading	Intern	88	73%	58%
	Control	55	69%	69%
Math	Intern	86	63%	57%
	Control	55	69%	70%

4. If the percent of students performing at less than the 6th grade level is considered, about twice as many controls as interns were performing at extremely low levels in mathematics at post-testing (30% controls; 13% interns). In reading, 34% of the controls and 27% of the interns were below 6th grade levels at post-testing.

5. Controls were more likely to guess than interns. The raw scores do not contain a correction for guessing. If the correction is applied, the performance of interns on reading and mathematics again shows a reliable increase while the performance of controls decreases, a pattern consistent with the progressive decline in achievement reported for many low income children who do not attend special programs. The correction for guessing has decreased control scores much more markedly for reading than for mathematics.

The conclusion: not attending a program such as CIP is bad news, if one hopes that youth with basic skills far below levels needed for further education or work will improve even without CIP. Attending CIP leads to improvement in both mathematics and reading: a five months'gain in eight months'in reading and a four months' gain in mathematics compared to no gain in this time for controls. If the students can build on this start and continue to develop their skills, their post-CIP chances will be fairly bright. For about 40% of the interns, however, further remedial work will be necessary even to enter vocational/technical occupations. For about 85% of the interns, remedial work would be needed to reach 12th grade levels needed for regular work.

GENERAL REASONING ABILITY

As a group, CIP applicants were within the average range in their ability to solve non-verbal reasoning problems. It was not a deliberate goal of the program to increase this ability. Thus, changes in general reasoning were not expected. It was hoped that both interns and controls would do as well on the post-test as at the time of application. Table XXI shows a surprise. The performance of control students stayed about the same; performance of interns increased (See Volume II for distributions). The increase is statistically reliable, although educationally marginal in absolute size. Interestingly, the greatest gain did not come from large reductions in the percent of interns whose performance

Figure 5

AVERAGE READING ACHIEVEMENT OF INTERNS
AND CONTROLS: RAW SCORES AND SCORES
CORRECTED FOR GUESSING

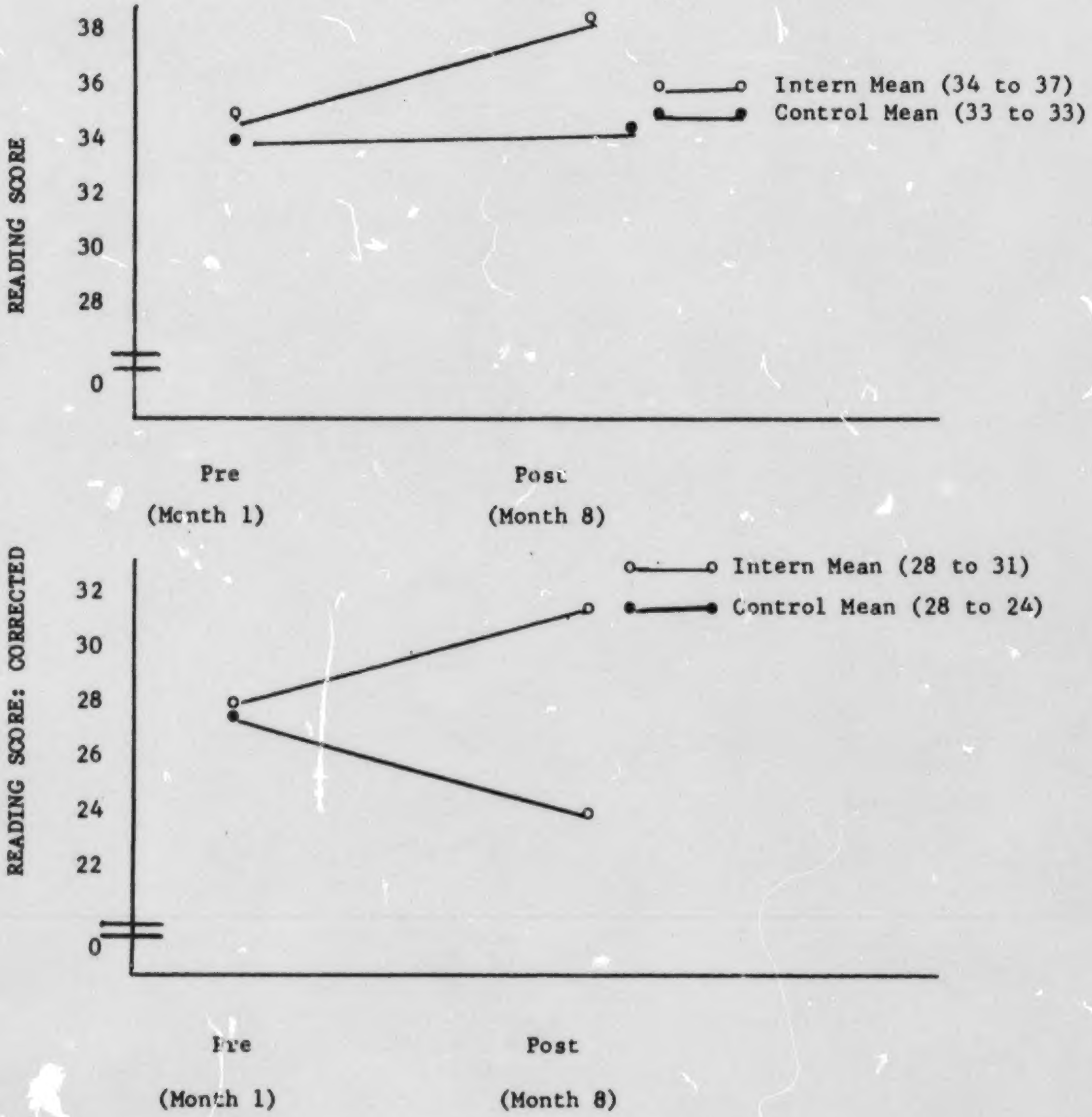
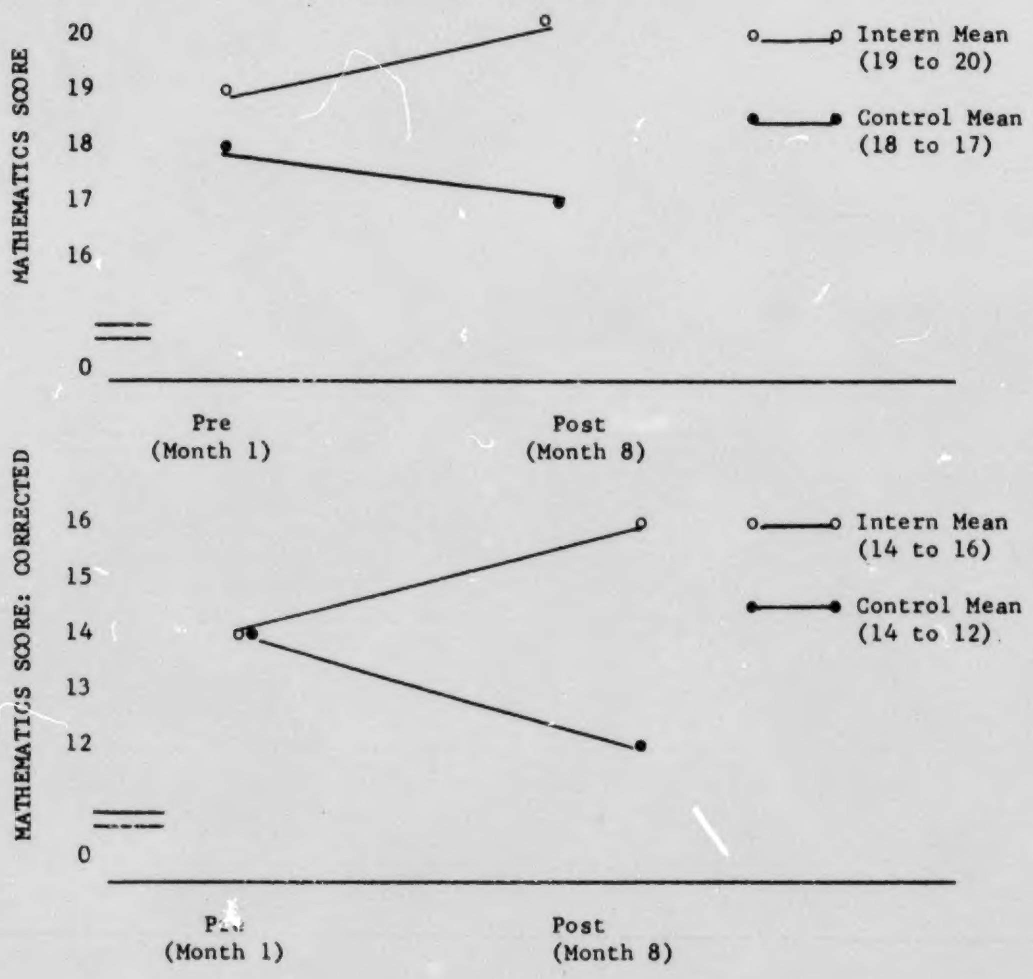


Figure 6

AVERAGE MATEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS
AND CONTROLS: RAW SCORES AND SCORES
CORRECTED FOR GUESSING



was relatively low, but in the shift from the percent in "average" group to the percent with above average performance.

TABLE XXI NON-VERBAL REASONING TEST SCORES OF INTERNS AND CONTROLS

Group	N		Distributions	
			Pre	Post
Interns	82	Below Avge.	13%	7%
		Average	71%	59%
		Above Avge.	16%	22%
		Mean Score	37	40
Controls	52	Below Avge.	6%	8%
		Average	67%	70%
		Above Avge.	27%	21%
		Mean Score	39	39

Thus, interns do give evidence of having improved in general reasoning ability test performance. Although the change is slight--the average score stays within the average range, given the normal growth expected during the time spent in the program---by comparison with the lack of change in the control group, this unexpected difference adds some strength to cumulating evidence of CIP's impact.

Two questions might be raised. First, perhaps some control students may not have tried as hard to do well on the post tests and the apparent lack of gain for controls reflects only motivation. This question is difficult to answer. Since the test is untimed, if interns work more slowly and carefully while controls were more likely to guess, this would not affect scores in the same way it does the timed achievement tests. Thus,a correction for guessing is not used. Looking instead at very low scores, two controls did have post scores far lower than the pretest range while two had scores above the pre-test range. The interns' distribution in comparison only moved up, rather than fanning out. This suggests that some, but not all of the difference could be due to motivational change.

Second, is a gain of four raw score points educationally worth mentioning, even if it is statistically reliable? It is not possible to assess the impact of four points on the interns' future careers. In general, improvement, however modest, in either basic reasoning ability or motivation to use abilities could be expected to be of some help to young people.

WHAT HAS BEEN LEARNED SO FAR?

From a strictly statistical viewpoint, there might be cause to say "it works." The gains in reading and mathematics were significantly larger for the interns than for the control groups. Application of a correction for guessing did not affect the gains for interns but revealed decreases in control group performance with a net result of increasing still further the statistical certainty of gains favoring the interns. An unexpected but reliable gain in reasoning ability test performance favoring the controls was found. Lastly, these effects were replicated across all three groups of applicants versus controls.

From the viewpoint of educational significance, two notes of caution are sounded. First, the average absolute levels of reading and mathematics achievement are still below the eighth grade, so the deficiencies in basic skills have been reduced, but not overcome. Second, the pattern of progress toward, but not achievement of, high final levels applies to academic achievement as well as academic behavior.

For reasons detailed in the technical appendices, the data probably tend to underestimate the true impact of CIP. Taking this into account, the evidence so far suggests CIP is effective in improving the academic behaviors, academic achievement, test performance, and perhaps even abilities of participating youth.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DOES IT WORK?: INTERN ATTITUDES AND CAREER MATURITY

Neither CIP nor, probably, any other program can guarantee students success in life. The school of the interns' choice may not admit them. Scholarship funds and earnings may not stretch far enough. Labor market conditions may mean unemployment, long periods of employment in youth jobs, a slower rise to more rewarding positions, and being unable to move from job to job---or from occupation to occupation. More broadly, success in life may be limited by personal losses and disappointments. Accepting the limitations as well as the joys of family responsibilities may require adjustments. Broader socio-political conditions affecting recreation, housing, health, transportaiton and educational opportunities may limit success in life.

What, then, can CIP responsibly promise in preparing a young person for success in life? Perhaps most central are the characteristics---both attitudinal and cognitive---that help people to plan ahead, to be ready to act on opportunities when they arise, to create their own opportunities, and to have the ability to keep trying rather than wilt at an early disappointment.

A Sense of Self Worth:

According to the data shown in Table XXII, both interns and controls began with a strong sense of self worth in general (70%, average or higher), as a friend (75% positive or very positive) and toward their families (60% positive or very positive). Few, however, had much hope for themselves as students (only 20% positive feelings).

A year later,

- interns continued to have a strong sense of self worth in general (90%), as a friend (91%), and toward their families (64%).
- Most interns, in addition, now saw themselves as good students (52%).

- The direction of change for the control students is the same as for the interns. Clearly, their experiences during the intervening year---or "maturation"---were helping these young people too.

TABLE XXII A SENSE OF SELF WORTH: DISTRIBUTIONS AND SCORES PRE AND POST, FOR INTERNS AND CONTROLS

MEASURE		DISTRIBUTION		MEAN SCORES	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post
· General Self Esteem	VL	6%	2%	19	21
Interns	L	28%	8%		
(N=86)	AV	42%	30%		
	H	21%	54%		
	VH	4%	6%		
General Self Esteem	VL	11%	3%	19	21
Controls	L	18%	11%		
(N=66)	AV	44%	44%		
	H	28%	39%		
	VH	--	3%		
· Feelings Towards	VN	0%	0%	7	7
Friends	N	15%	9%		
Interns	P	51%	43%		
(N=86)	VP	34%	48%		
Feelings Toward	VN	1%	0%	7	7
Friends	N	11%	5%		
Controls	P	65%	62%		
(N=66)	VP	23%	33%		
· Feelings Toward	VN	8%	5%	5	5
Family	N	29%	31%		
Interns	P	32%	26%		
(N=86)	VP	30%	38%		
Feelings Toward	VN	5%	5%	5	5
Family	N	35%	26%		
Controls	P	39%	29%		
(N-66)	VP	21%	41%		
· Feelings About					
Themselves	VN	35%	21%	4	5
As Students	N	42%	27%		
Interns	P	22%	35%		
(N=86)	VP	1%	17%		
Feelings About					
Themselves	VN	51%	21%	4	5
As Students	N	35%	34%		
Control	P	15%	38%		
(N=66)	VP	0%	8%		

- The rate of change favors the interns. For example with regard to general self worth, 60% of the interns but only 42% of the controls indicate highly positive or very highly positive feelings about themselves.

- The differences are not statistically reliable when means are compared. This may be due to the fact that most interns were so generally positive there was little room for growth, possible response biases favoring controls, or simply that the groups are not that different.

- On the other hand, the distributional differences are consistent with observations and interview reports.

  For example, interns changed the way they felt about their friends. While most of the applicants to the program felt good about the way they saw themselves in relation to their friends---they weren't the most popular students, but they weren't left out, either---friends were often blamed for interns' failure in school.

  CIP experiences changed the "run with the group" sense. Interns were less likely to see themselves as followers, less in need of hunkering down together to beat the system. They began to see themselves as needing each other's support to cope, to meet their responsibilities, to achieve their goals.

  This attitude about the role of peers is one of the most striking characteristics of CIP interns.

  > "The students here talk to other students about going to class, getting an education and all that. It's the first time I heard that and it really shocked me. Like, if I said I was cutting class, they'd probably look at me and encourage me to go to class and ask why I'm leavin' school or something, and I'd probably end up going to class. In my old high school, they have gone with me."

As another example, interns came to see themselves as good students. Most applicants to the program were school failures. Not surprisingly, they didn't see themselves as very good students, at the time of application. These perceptions changed for the majority of interns:

> "I changed my whole idea. Like, I though I wasn't going to never get out of school. I was going to drop. I just knew I wanted to get out--and I just couldn't make it over there...On my midterms this semester I got four B's and one C. I feel good. I want that C to be a B, though. Yeah, I'm hoping to get all B's and maybe an A in Miss T's class."

This change in attitude wasn't universal. About a third of the interns who started dropped out. For those who stayed, the change in their feelings about their role as students had three facets. They decided that school had real value, beyond a diploma, after all. They decided that they could make it, and they decided that making it was up to them.

> "I was in the eleventh grade. School just didn't interest me. Going to Math and English and History. I just wasn't into that. Here I discovered we don't have to be miserable to learn. Learning can be fun."

Career Planning---Wanting To and Knowing How To

With regard to career planning, the data in Table XXIII have a clear message. In both attitudes and knowledge thought essential for career planning, interns' scores increased substantially more than did controls. Six findings stand out:

1. Many interns entered CIP with average or better willingness to plan (67%) and use resources for planning (76%).

2. Despite relatively little room to grow (and thus an expectation that major changes would not be found), they showed positive changes. After eight months in CIP, few interns were below average or worse on willingness to plan (9%) or use of resources (9%). Most were average or well above average (91% and 91%, respectively).

3. The direction of change was the same for controls. Their rate of change was substantially lower.

4. On "know-how", many interns began CIP with little evidence of much career information or ability to use information wisely in making decisions (64% were below average or worse).

TABLE XXIII: CAREER PLANNING ATTITUDES AND KNOW-HOW PRE AND POST FOR INTERNS AND CONTROLS

MEASURE	N		DISTRIBUTION		MEAN SCORE	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Planning Interns	84	L	14%	3%	97	123
		BA	19%	6%		
		A	33%	13%		
		AA	19%	20%		
		H	15%	58%		
Planning Controls	64	L	8%	5%	97	108
		BA	24%	14%		
		A	36%	25%		
		AA	25%	28%		
		H	8%	28%		
Use of Resources Interns	84	L	5%	2%	257	299
		BA	19%	7%		
		A	32%	15%		
		AA	24%	27%		
		H	20%	48%		
Use of Resources Controls	64	L	0%	6%	252	261
		BA	25%	9%		
		A	34%	34%		
		AA	27%	30%		
		H	14%	30%		
Information & Decision-Making Interns	88	L	27%	14%	13	16
		BA	37%	23%		
		A	22%	28%		
		AA	13%	13%		
		H	1%	12%		
Information & Decision-Making Controls	66	L	30%	29%	13	14
		BA	35%	26%		
		A	26%	30%		
		AA	7%	14%		
		H	2%	2%		

5. The know-how improved substantially. At graduation only 37% still had problems, while 63% were average or better.

6. This was not true for the controls. Their performance improved somewhat, but the improvement was smaller than of the interns.

Performance on the measures is consistent with observations and interviews.

Interns Improved Their Career Planning Skills. Upon entering the program interns could plan for careers about as well as anybody else. By the time they left, they had sharply honed their skills in this area. They not only had become much better at it than their counterparts who had applied but were not admitted, but they were far better at it than their peers throughout the country.

They had defined career goals. They had checked out first-hand the technical demands of these careers and what it would take to get into them. They had learned to refine their plans in the light of reality--what are the chances of getting there, will I advance, will I be happy, do I have the required talents? They had devised strategies for attaining these goals. They had learned the importance of commitment to goals.

> "I'm going to college, but I'm going for nursing, and I feel that's what I want to do now. I always wanted to be a nurse, but I wasn't really sure that I was going to ever go to college. It was just the thought, but now I've made up my mind. I decided in May, when I was going here in career counseling.
>
> I'll be studying a lot of Biology, and some Math, English--probably more, too. I can do it if I put my mind to it. If I met a guy, I wouldn't let that interfere. I have thought, too, about the things nurses have to do, but it doesn't change my mind, 'cause I like helping people."

Interns Learned to Make Better Use of Resources Available in Exploring Career Possibilities. They learned to ask questions and to seek expert advice about job requirements. They learned that it was all right to have weaknesses, to lack certain skills, to admit this and to ask others for help. They learned to evaluate sources of information and to be skeptical of promises made by people they don't know.

Graduates Increased their Knowledge about Careers. This new knowledge emphasized diversity and relations. In the career of nursing, for example, interns learned that nurses aren't simply nurses. There are RN's and LPN's, nurses who work in hospitals, others who come to people's homes, some who work for individual doctors and still others who work in factories or business. Some have their own private practices. Interns learned that there are several ways to become a nurse and that one doesn't have to be a woman to pursue this career. They learned that nursing isn't a single job to be trained in, but something a person can get hold of, shape the way she/he wants it and end up with a creation of one's own.

Furthermore, they learned that there is a connection between doing research for History II and the kinds of things one will be asked to do in the doctor's office in which one will be working, or between discussions in English class and the problems one will have to deal with when Mr. Brown's little boy refuses to take his post-operative medicine.

Interns set career goals. During their first few weeks in the Career Intern Program, interns make first and second occupational choices. They do this with their counselors as the Career Development Plan is completed, and in the Career Counseling Seminar (CCS) as they select a topic for their career reports. Often, these initial choices are careers they have been interested in for some time. Sometimes, these early choices involve careers first encountered in their classes at the CIP.

The choices interns make can be distinguished from those of control or comparison subjects, in that they represent a formal and conscious decision. Most control or comparison subjects have also made choices, but these tend to be privately held and tentative. Interns make career choices through discussion with teachers, counselors, and other interns. Control and comparison subjects rarely discuss their choices with anyone outside their own family.

One member of the comparison group, when asked about the choice of a career said:

> "I've thought a lot about careers, but I always change it. Psychiatry -- well, like, on my application I wrote down accounting -- but all I really want to do is just get in the door. Because, you know -- I don't know. I don't know what I'm good at or what I really want to do. I've been like this all -- ever since I can remember. Teachers ask you what you want to be when you grow up. It's always something different."

Another comparison student, telling how she became interested in courtroom stenography, illustrates how early career choices are more often a result of incidentally available rather than deliberately sought information:

> "Well, when I used to watch T.V., I always watched what that person was doing, just sitting there and doing it. My cousin is a courtroom stenographer and she was telling me how much you get paid and that it's a good job. My cousin never told me what a courtroom stenographer exactly does. She has one (a machine) at her house, but she doesn't ever tell me."

In her junior year of high school, another comparison student wanted to be a stewardess. Asked who she had talked to about her career plans, she replied, "Only my mother." Early in her senior year, while she had not rejected the airline stewardess idea, she revealed more about her thinking:

> "I'm still thinking about that being an airline stewardess, but I heard you have to go to college for two years for that. I don't know -- I like to work with children, but I don't know. If I don't go to college, I just want to find a job. But I was thinking about going to a training school for something, you know, to take up. I like bookkeeping--"

Being required frequently to explain their occupational choice, interns develop a close "identification" with that career. Teachers, counselors, and other interns see an intern in terms of his/her occupational choice, referring to him/her as "Jackie, who wants to be a nurse," or "Joseph, who is interested in accounting." Interns have the opportunity to preview how others will see them in the occupational roles associated with their occupational choice. They find themselves in the position of defending or explaining their choices to others, and in doing so, they experience what commitment to a particular occupation is like. Furthermore, identification with an occupation gives interns the inpetus to find out as much as possible about the work they chose, as if they were definitely going into that field. However, this identification with an occupation does not imply that interns must hold to their original choices. The process of commitment is more important with regard to program objectives than the particular career itself.

Regardless of whether or not interns stick with their initial choices, they gain experience by seeing themselves in a particular social role and interacting with others who also see them in this role. There is no pressure applied to keep them from changing their minds, but at least they have had the experience of "trying on" an occupational identity.

Interns learn to find and use resources. Most applicants, in stating initial choices, cite relatives or friends or, infrequently, television, as the basis for their knowledge about a particular career. Almost every individual knew someone who was doing what they said they wanted to do. After a few weeks at the CIP, however, interns began citing reference materials, professional opinions, and their own first-hand experiences with the occupation as the basis for their career decision, while control and comparison youth continued to use relatives and friends as their primary source of information.

Control subjects have limited access to information from any sources other than relatives and friends. Comparison group students, even though they have access to counseling and career reference materials, have only limited knowledge of such resources and rarely use them. They tend not to seek career information, and they do not expect their counselors to help them. They do sometimes get on mailing lists of recruiting business, and these constitute virtually their only other source of career information.

Interns begin to seek out information on specific topics, such as career content, career preparation, financial considerations for post-high school training, and job application procedures. They learn that there are some sources of information which are more reliable than others. They learn where they can go to find answers to the questions they have and what kind of questions they should be asking.

Interns refine their goals. As interns learn to use resources and thus gain career-related information, they find it necessary to refine their original career goals. This refinement may range from a confirmation of the initial commitment to choosing a different career goal altogether.

Often an initial choice turns out to be the choice of a general field. For instance, interns may say they want to go into computer technology or into the health professions.

They usually have some knowledge of the general field, but lack information about specific occupations. The field may appeal to them because of material or social advantages they feel people in the field enjoy, such as shorter work days, good salaries, or prestige. Specific knowledge of the field itself need not be a major determinant of their choice. As their knowledge increases through preparing career reports, talking to their counselors and teachers, and through their hands-on exposures, interns begin to home in on specific occupations within the field.

> Doris told her counselor she was interested in computer technology. It paid well and involved doing mathematics, which she enjoyed. Although not incorrect, these initial impressions were incomplete. After her career report and Hands-On, she realized that there was range of jobs available within the field of computer technology. She also realized that different jobs required different kinds and amounts of training, involved one in different kinds of activities, and paid at different rates. She decided that she wanted to study computer operating, which includes keypunching, tape mounting, and feeding cards. The amount of education required for this subfield of computer technology was acceptable to her, and the salary, although not as high as that of programmers, was considered adequate.

Other interns start out with a specific career they want to pursue. Their conceptions of what someone in that career actually does on the job may be vague, or they may have a misperception as to what the job entails, either in respect to the education required or the actual tasks that must be performed. As they gain information and interact with people engaged in that career, they may remain interested in the general field but discover an alternate occupation within it that appears preferable to the original choice.

> One intern originally thought she would like to be a dental assistant. At her Hands-On, where she worked part of the time with a dental receptionist, she realized that she would prefer the duties of the receptionist to those of the dental assistant.

As interns discover more about what it takes to enter a career and more about their own talents, they often adjust their aspirations.

> An intern who had said he wanted to become a veterinarian changed his choice to veterinarian's assistant when he found out how many years of school it required to become a veterinarian, how difficult it was to get into veterinarian school, and how he was doing at CIP. He still wanted to work with animals and, as a result of his Hands-On exposure, recognized the need for paraprofessionals in the field of veterinary medicine. He feels confident that he can get a job working for a veterinarian or in a clinic by calling on the experience he will have gained from his Hands-On placement and his on-the-job training with the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.
>
> Another intern wanted to become a practical nurse, like her aunt. She knew that less education was required to become a practical nurse than to become a registered nurse. In her career report, she discovered that a registered nurse has more varied duties and greater opportunities for advancement than the practical nurse. Since she was doing quite well in her courses at CIP, she decided that she could go to college and become a registered nurse. She had gained confidence in her ability to do well in school, and she had been encouraged by her teachers and counselors to go to college.

Frequently, interns' initial choices can be characterized as "ideal," while the second is more practical. As interns discover more about themselves and their choices, their "first" choice may be discarded in favor of the "second." Interns in the program are not discouraged from setting their sight on their first choice, but they are encouraged to come to grips with the realities of pursuing and reaching career goals.

> Mike typifies interns whose career goal refinement follows this pattern. In this first semester in the program, Mike told everybody that he wanted to become a journalist. As he did research for his career report, he toyed with the ideas of being a television newsman, a newspaperman, or a magazine writer. He read avidly about current events and, being extremely verbal, liked to talk about politics and social problems with his teachers and other

> interns. He believed he was a good writer and that he had the personality to become a television news anchorman, like one he particularly admired on a local station. His second choice was welding.
>
> His brother was a welder and he made good money at it. Mike never said much about his second choice to anyone, because he liked the reaction he got when he talked about being a journalist. He realized, in doing his career report, that he would have to go to college to become a journalist and that breaking into the field was extremely difficult. By his second semester in the program, after his first Hands-On experience in welding, he began to talk more about the advantages of being a welder. He finally admitted that he expected all along that he probably would become a welder, since he didn't really know if he wanted go to college at all.
>
> "I wouldn't mind being a welder, 'cause I know a lot of people that's into that profession and they tell me that it's pretty nice. Welding isn't much like journalism, but I feel like this--if a man can use his hands along with his head, he's got something. But if a man uses his head too much and can't use his hands, he's lost. If he knows how to do something with his hands, if he knows how to weld or do construction or bricklaying, his chances are better of succeeding."

In summary, interns refine career goals as they learn about careers and about themselves. This refinement may involve confirming their initial choice, choosing a different but related career goal, adjusting aspirations, or adopting a second choice

Interns make plans for achieving their goals. Because interns have specific goals in mind, they have something concrete for which to plan. This planning typically exhibits the following four features.

First, interns participate in planning their own CIP program with occupational goals in mind. In formulating the Career Development Plan with their counselors, interns begin to explore the post-secondary school requirements of their occupational choices. In doing this, they make their own decisions about the necessary courses they will need, which allow them to pace themselves through the program.

Secondly, interns base their planning on information gleaned from a variety of sources. They learn not to depend solely on what their relatives tell them or on what they hear from friends or on television, but on recognized and informed sources. In addition, they use the feedback they get about themselves -- their own needs, academic abilities, preferences, and aptitudes.

Third, interns seek out and use professional help in making their plans. They are not left to sort out willy-nilly the complex procedures for getting into post-secondary institutions and/or the job market. Once interns have made decisions and plans to carry them out, they are encouraged to use the staff at CIP and elsewhere in sorting out the tasks necessary for realizing their plans.

Finally, successful interns learn to exploit leads they get from "Hands-On" placement, career counselors, or counselors. These connections enable interns to look beyond their own communities and personal networks of information and opportunities.

Interns commit themselves to achieving their goals. Commitment to the goals they are setting starts when interns first indicate their career choices and accelerates as they refine these choices. By the time interns have begun to finalize their plans, most are strongly committed to seeing them through. The intern who wanted to be a veterinarian is an example. Although he eventually adjusted his occupational goal to one which was more reasonable for him, he had expressed a strong commitment to becoming a veterinarian. In doing this, he was assuming a posture that forced him to come to grips with the barriers to cross to reach his goal. When he was faced with facts of his poor academic performance and the difficulty of getting into veterinarian school, rather than give up the ideas in frustrations, he chose to pursue a related but easier goal.

Interns learn the behavioral protocols of the work context. One of the Career Counseling Seminar's goals is to develop the "social adjustment" of the interns. This is seen by the program to be a necessary condition for success in a career. Social adjustment, as defined by the CIP, means adopting a disciplined approach to work and basic social amenities. In the school context, it is taught by insisting on such behaviors as taking off one's hat inside the classroom building, saying "please" and "thank you," being on time for appointments or living up to commitments and responsibilities. Interns understand that observing these social amenities within the school carries over into the outside. Comparison students, although aware that similar rules exist in the public high school, fail to understand either the rationale or the transferability of such rules to outside contexts.

This difference is reflected in the way comparison students and interns talk about rules. First, a comparison student discusses his reactions to the rules imposed on him at the public high school.

> "Some things that you aren't suppose to do in this school are pot smoking, smoking, period, and cutting classes. I don't think they ought to be strict on people who cut. I got caught cutting 17 times last year. Nothing happened to me because I beat on that."

To this comparison student, cutting classes is a school matter, the consequences of which extend no farther than the school. In contast with this is the following observation an intern makes at CIP:

> "You don't see any graffiti on the wall here; now why is this? Well, the population here is almost 90% black. In any other high school you can walk around and somebody is writing on the walls. Why don't you see this here? Cause people change when they sign up for this program. They had a realistic issue in their minds. They evaluated themselves and said, "I'm coming here for a purpose, not for writing on the walls," you know. "I'm coming here to write on some paper, do something constructive instead of destructive." That's the only way you can get somewhere. I think I'm right; I hope I'm right.

SUMMARY

The process of career decision-making and career planning which characterizes many interns who complete CIP has been outlined above. Many of these young men and women can now set occupational goals, use sources, refine goals, make plans, develop commitment to goals, and learn the behavioral protocols of the work/school context, skills and attitudes that can help them adapt to the future, and which are perhaps among the best assurances a program can offer for success in life.

CHAPTER NINE

AFTER GRADUATION: AT WORK, IN SCHOOL OR AT HOME

Six months or more after graduating from CIP, as Table XXIV shows, interns were substantially more likely than controls to be in school, slightly more likely to be employed, and less likely to be involuntarily "at home"--looking for something to do, but unable to find it.

TABLE XXIV
SIX MONTHS OR MORE AFTER GRADUATION---INTERNS AND CONTROLS*

ACTIVITY	Interns		Controls	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
N =	31	46	28	26
Employed	42%	26%	39%	27%
In College	23%	33%	0%	8%
In technical school	6%	17%	0%	23%
In high school	--	--	4%	12%
Neither working nor in school	29%	24%	57%	31%

*Controls were followed up at the same time as the interns.

Continuing Their Education:

As Table XXIV shows, the biggest difference CIP made was in enabling youth to continue their education. Almost three out of ten of the men and five out of ten women graduates were in technical school or college. In contrast, none of the men in the control group and only 31% of the women were continuing their education. (An additional 4% and 12%, respectively of the control group men and women were in high school.)

- The impact of CIP on continuing education of any kind was greatest for the men. CIP seems to make it possible for men to get into post-secondary educational programs.

- For the women, the impact of CIP was greatest on where they were in school (college versus technical school versus high school) rather than being in school per se.

Neither Working Nor In School:

Table XXIV indicates that above 27% of the interns (24% of the women and 29% of the men) were at home. Slightly more (31%) women in the control group were also at home. The most striking finding is that 57% of the control group men are neither working nor in school. Without CIP, young black men in Philadelphia apparently have little opportunity: continuing education is closed to them without the high school diploma many lack. Returning to high school is apparently more difficult for men than for women, and only about 30% of the youth--graduates or not--are able to find full-time jobs.

To find out more about the at-home group of CIP graduates, 12 were followed-up with telephone interviews:

> George, age 18, worked in a car wash for two months after graduation. Interested in music education, he plans to attend college in the next semester. George said he was held up by all the paperwork required for college admission. Poor timing made him miss one chance for financial aid. When asked if he really thought he could get this aid, George replied, "Sure. You only have to be poor to get it, and I'm sure as hell poor,"
>
> Mary, age 20, was out when we called, and the following information was provided by her mother: "Mary has been looking for a job since graduation. She couldn't find one and got disgusted. I have to take care of her, since her father died. He worked for the city; so I get social security. I don't want her to go on public assistance, 'cause once they get on that they don't want to work anymore. Everything got mixed up it seemed. No job after looking and looking, and she even had bad luck with the Community College grant. She got a $1,000 grant from the city, but it came toolate (in September) to help her. Mary's been at home since graduation. She quit looking for a job about a month ago. The college thing really did it. I think she'll go there, but right now she's disgusted."

The mother has diabetes and cannot work. She also reports that she has seven other people to take care of. The mother stated she through OICs/A was a very good organization because it helped Mary.

Joe, age 19, started work after graduation at a Machine Shop. He quit after several months because he did not like factory work. He found another job as a clerk in a men's clothing store which he liked better, but he lost this job when the store went out of business. He has since applied at a national department store chain for sales work but has so far heard nothing.

Joe is torn between getting a job (for the money and the experience) and going to Community College to study business administration. Joe says, "If I don't land a job, I'll apply for a grant at Community College. I want to go--probably will. But I would like to work a while first."

Harry, age 17, is not living in Philadelphia. His father reported that the last he heard, Harry was staying with an uncle and working in another city. No job details were given. Other information indicates that Harry is indeed in another city, but is in police custody with a serious charge against him growing out of an attempted robbery.

Robert, age 21, is studying business administration at a well-known Eastern state university. His father reports that Robert started school this September and seems to be doing well. According to his letters and a phone conversation his father had with him last week, he seems to be enjoying the university.

Sarah, age 19, is married and expecting a baby. Her husband has a good job with the electric company. Sarah has no immediate plans for more education or a job. She feels she needs neither because she is very involved with "fixing up" her new house and making plans for the baby.

Richard, age 20, has been out of work for the past 15 months since graduation. He has tried to find work with the city as a laborer but feels his lack of political connection has been part of the reason he has not been hired. "I'm waiting for something to come up. Everyone says jobs are tight. I go for a job and the man says, 'Hire you? We're laying people off.' It's rough." Richard lives at home with his mother.

Four of the seven "at home" students either are taking post-high school education or are planning to pursue it; two graduates have not tied up with a job or taken additional education; one is married and expecting a child.

How Do The Graduates Feel About CIP?

If one believes continuing education, more than entry into full-time employment, is most essential for success when youth hope to enter technical or professional occupations, the high rate--relative to control interns--of youth who are continuing their education is perhaps the most striking testimony of CIP's success.

These youth have a long, steep road ahead: their levels of basic skills, while improved, are still very low. They face labor market competition for scarce professional jobs. And their newly learned academic habits will have to improve to sustain them without CIP's special support. Because attitudes may be critical in helping them along the way, the next sections examine how interns and controls feel, six months later.

As seen in the sample of graduates and controls selected for intensive study, CIP graduates differ from controls not only in what they are doing, but also in the way in which they approach their lives.

Graduates Have Clear Career Goals. Perhaps as a carry-over from their experience in the Career Intern Program, graduates continue to set career goals and express a strong commitment to carrying out their goals. Control subjects have either set no career goals or have only vague notions of what careers they are interested in and have the ability to pursue.

Graduates, without exception, had either retained the career goal they had set for themselves while in the program, or they had selected another career goal to which they were committed. As interns, they had learned the importance of defining clear goals and of committing themselves to their attainment. As graduates this commitment often took on a new significance as they faced the obstacles to getting and keeping jobs.

Valerie, a graduate, had been working as a clerk for an insurance company. She moved into a house with several friends just down the street from her parents' home. She was learning to make it on her own and was doing well at her job. However, she still wanted to work toward the career she had chosen when she was in the program over a year before.

> I'm still thinking of being a dental assistant. I'm at the point now where I'm saying, I'm gonna make something out of life or do nothing, and this is the point I'm at now, where I'm saying I'm gonna make something out of my life. I don't want to rush into anything, but I don't want to take too long either. So I have a time limit within myself, you know. I know within myself, I am very confident of myself: so therefore what I set out to do, I can do it. You know, all it takes is me wanting to do it.

Clark, a control subject, typifies the confusion and lack of commitment generally exhibited by controls. He indicated that he wanted to be a lawyer when he applied to the CIP. A year later he could not remember what he had written down on the application form. He had no career goal in mind, and when asked if he would have a better idea had he a high school diploma, he replied,

> Not right at the time--not off hand. I haven't really given it much thought.

Another control, Lee, was in the twelfth grade at the high school he had been attending when he applied to CIP. He had made a complete turn-about in his school performance, as he had been flunking when he applied to the program. When he did not get into CIP, he decided he was going to graduate no matter what. "I just made up my mind to do it," he said. Although he had focused squarely on getting out of high school, he was vague about his post-high school plans.

I think what I'll do next should be a job. I heard about it 'cause I have another friend that works, you know, at a hospital, and the hours he works and, you know, the cars he drives, I think he's making good money. I haven't looked into any other school for studying, just that one that sent me a card. Maybe in five years or so, I'll be driving a truck, like a tractor and trailer. I could do that, you know. But like, you know, I would still like to have the other background because I might have spare time where I could get two jobs--one working at night and one working at day. I'll probably end up driving trucks, 'cause I love to drive. Maybe a second job would be a mechanic. The third is the medical laboratory technician. I feel as though, like, if I could get into training for that a couple of months, then I'll already know their scale, so, you know, if I'm driving a truck and, like I said, I have extra time, I still can get a job doing that. Like a easy job and a hard job. But, driving trucks is the easier job.

Lee has three career/jobs that he has been thinking about. Most of his information is from friends or relatives. He has not spoken with his counselor at school about any of his ideas. He is attracted to the various jobs because of the amount of money he imagines he would earn, based on the kinds of cars people in those jobs drive.

A CIP graduate's experience contrasts with the uncertainty reflected in Lee's comments:

> When I first came in here I was thinking about teaching. I really wasn't too sure. But then I was selected for that Congressional Seminar, you know, when we went to Washington. And then I decided I wanted to become a lawyer, 'cause I want to go into politics. We went to Georgetown and different places in Washington, and we met so many people. Senator Schweiker, Senator Humphrey, and we went to see Congressman Nix. And I said, "Well, why can't I do it too," and Shirley Chisholm she got so close, she's number one. Now if she can get that close, in 1972--if she can get close, why can't I? They say I have a lot of disadvantages because I'm a woman and 'cause I'm black, but like, I don't believe it.

This graduate began attending West Chester State College in the summer semester, a few months after her graduation from CIP.

Graduates Work Systematically Toward Achieving Their Goals.

Members of both groups, graduates and controls, define a career and a job in similar ways. Both see a career as something they would want to do for the rest of their lives, while a job is temporary. In real life, however, controls tend to take a series of unrelated, available jobs, while graduates are able to work systematically toward careers. Since control subjects tend not to have defined their career goals clearly, such a approach is impossible. Graduates, on the other hand, not only have firm goals in mind, but the skills and commitment to take the initiative in working toward them.

Graduates continue to use resources in the way they did while they were in the program, seeking out information sources which are going to yield them the most accurate and useful knowledge. Furthermore, they tend to persevere through obstacles toward their goals, accepting the responsibility for overcoming difficulties.

Perry an intern who graduated in February of 1975, experienced a number of immediate setbacks. He wanted to go to college to study psychology, a field he became interested in while working at a recreation center for handicapped children. He signed up for Project Ahead, a special Army program which pays college tuition. After entering the Army, he discovered he had asthma and was given a medical discharge. At the same time of the interview, he was in the process of trying to secure financial assistance to pay his own tuition, since his elderly grandparents with whom he lived could not help him. Not surprisingly, his comments reflect the frustrations he has experienced, but they also demonstrate an underlying determination to work out his situation:

> Right now, I just kind of wonder about the future. I'm not too sure. I'm just--I'll just keep at it and wait and see if everything works out. If something don't work out, I'll just try to find another way, that's all. I'll just keep trying.

When he returned from the Army, he went back to the recreation center where he had previsouly worked to see if he could get his job back and earn some extra money during the summer before going away to school. Because he had not planned on returning for at least two years when he quit, his job had been filled, and there was no money to pay him. He felt, however, that it would be more beneficial to him in the long run to work at the center as a volunteer than to try to get a job just to earn money. "I can't get money, but I can still get a lot out of working with it," he said.

Control group members, by contrast, if they had worked at all, usually listed a series of jobs they had held. They saw these jobs as being temporary, useful as a source of income and little more, and their future plans included more of the same. The following two control members' plans for getting jobs are typical.

> I'm looking, but, you know, not tough, like really, I just been waiting here for somebody, a friend. If you hear of a job, just let me know, I will work anywhere up until school.

> I applied for a packing company job, and they keep saying they don't have openings there. But I just filled out an application over there--a job for a department store. That didn't come through yet either. Im still waiting, if they call me. That's all I can do.

Graduates Are Able to Adjust to the Social Demands of Their Working Context. The socialization which interns undergo while they are in the Career Intern Program stands them in good stead after they leave the program. Graduates tended to differ from controls in their understanding of appropriate work habits and in their attitudes toward the demands of others. They have gained social skills necessary in getting and keeping jobs, and in relating to others either on the job or in school contexts. In contrast, controls expressed frustration over their dealings with authorities and over whatever rules and regulations they had to follow. Some examples from interviews illustrate these findings. A CIP graduate, Valeria, who has been working in one department of a large insurance company, talks about her job and her relationship to her boss:

> I'm a general clerk, so I work on the policies and whatever it calls for in the office--index them, file them--they have a month's evaluation of your work, and like, my old supervisor, she told me I was doing very good, you know, they seem to--I just really get along with them...You have to dress presentably, you know--you're going to a job. I'm one of those people--well, I don't care too much for clothes. I like to be comfortable, but I don't mind putting on a nice pair of pants or dress.

A control, in discussing the several jobs he has had, expresses his frustration and self-doubt about his ability to bet and keep the kind of job he wants.

> I was working at Bookbinders. I was working as a dishwasher. And then I got fired from there for something simple. I took off the Fourth of July. After three months of working there without being absent or nothing, I took off the Fourth of July and they fired me..because it was only dudes on the machine or something and they said it wasn't fair to them and all that. It was kind of hard to get in touch with somebody that I really needed to get in touch with. They told me that the one I wanted wasn't there, and he was probably standing right next to him or something. And when I came back they said, "Yeah, I remember he called. But that don't make no difference." Must have been really another reason shy he wanted me out and just used that as an excuse. It's hard to stay cause usually, like, somebody is over me and they're looking over me, I can't work. It's just a fact. I'd like to find something in between, you know, instead of--it seems I don't function right.

In general, CIP graduates carry the characteristics they have developed in the program over into their career pursuits. They use their new skills to work systematically towards achieving career goals, and they are better able to adjust to the social demands of the work context.

The Program Emphasis on Offering a Chance to Make It. The best expression of how the CIP affects graduates' lives is through their own words. Many graduates in the follow-up sample indicated that they probably would not have earned a high school diploma had they not been admitted to CIP. Others feel that CIP got them interested in learning again and contributed to their decisions to pursue post-secondary education. A few indicate that CIP had given tham the push they needed to change their direction and work positively toward making something out of their lives.

The following comments of graduates reveal how they feel the program affected their lives:

> I was going to ______ High School and I had got kicked out over there. And my mother had brought me over here, and we talked to a counselor, and he really talked to me, and made me want to come to the school. Got me interested in school again, 'cause I, like, gave up on school before I came over here. If I wouldn't have come to this school, I would have been out of school, out of an education, out of a diploma.

Another graduate remarked,

> Well, if I hadn't come to this school I might have lost my job at (a recreation center) 'cause I wasn't really doing that much then. I would have finished school, I would have played sports and slacked up on my work--keep cheating. I would have passed, but I really wouldn't have got nothing out of it.

Valerie talks about one way in which the CIP affected her attitude toward learning when she says,

> I came over here and it just awakened me. It seemed like I was to learn because the teachers--that was the big thing--the teachers--make you want to learn.

Graduates often attributed their ability to set career goals to their experiences at CIP.

> My counselor helped me decide what I wanted to do. I mean, when I first came here, I didn't have any

> idea what I wanted to do. We went into the Resource Center, and whatever idea you had, you think you wanted to be, you could go there and look it up. So I went in there, I looked at a lot of things I thought I might want to be, and I talked with my counselor about it. That's how I decided what I really want to do.

Most graduates recall their CIP experience warmly and often proselytize others on its behalf. One graduate had convinced his brother and two cousins to attend CIP and felt strongly that he would like to be able to do something about its continued existence. At the end of the interview, he volunteered this statement:

> I want to say one last thing. If everybody--if they had schools like this in the city, you'd have everybody more interested in learning than you would dropping out--it would be more people graduating than people dropping out. What I have seen now, that's graduating, I feel sorry for them 'cause I was fortunate enough to come here.

In summary, CIP graduates contend that the program made "the difference" in their lives, giving them another chance to succeed where they had failed. The evidence from the interviews is consistent in showing that something different is happening in CIP graduates' lives, and seems to be happening as a result of the overall career emphasis of the program and the continuing support the program offers its graduates, support they do not hesitate to use.

The "real" effects of CIP may not be evident until five of ten years from now. If CIP graduates complete the post-secondary education they have begun, the trends noticed six months or more after graduation may be even more pronounced. The impact of CIP on the young men in particular could have benefits that extend beyond their own lives, in strengthening their ability to care for their families and to help improve the quality of life for their own children. For women interns, too, almost all of whom are likely to become heads of households or to work full-time during their adult lives, the doors CIP has opened to higher education may make the difference between a comfortable or an economically marginal life.

Perhaps most important is the sense of directions, inner stability, and self assurance the graduates communicate six months' later. If these remain with them, CIP may indeed be more valuable to the interns and society than even present data show.

On the other hand, perhaps CIP has only given an initial push, and brief time in the program will not have been enough to sustain the trends. Graduates may dropout of college, and, in a few years, be indistinguishable from control youth except for a high school diploma on the wall.

All that can be said now is that the trend, six months or more after graduation, shows the control youth---particularly the young men---are mostly drifting, neither employed nor in school, while the graduates are more often on their way, following the inner compass developing their experiences in CIP.

CHAPTER TEN

"IT WORKS: HOW?"

Why Ask How?

The Career Intern Program's development has been sketched from a dream to a plan, from a bold start through a difficult shakedown year to a school with graduates. Its rationale has been presented and its curriculum laid out. Its applicants have been scrutinized, its expectations have been evaluated, and its students have talked about their experiences.

The CIP seems worth asking about because the people involved in it are excited about it and because it worked. It was able to take over 300 high school "failures" and see two out of three of them through to a diploma, and because over three quarters of these graduates are presently either employed or in postsecondary schools.

Does this mean that the CIP has found the solution to the urban dropout problem? Probably no. It does mean that CIP has found some answers that worked for some students in one city---Philadelphia.

This in itself seems reason enough to ask "How?" Philadelphia isn't alone in facing a serious problem of dropoutism among black high school students. Any help that can be offered to other schools in other cities may be welcomed.

Philadelphia isn't exactly like any other city. It shares urban problems, but much about it may be unique---the commitment of the city education administration, the resources (including organizations like OIC) that are available, the community organizations and the willingness of local businesses to cooperate---just to mention a few variables. How much of the program's success is attributable to the program itself and can be adopted elsewhere? How much comes from circumstances unlikely to be duplicated again? Or, can an "essence" be distilled that can be adapted to differing contexts?

One researcher, looking at the data from the Career Intern Program, summarized it in two words: "It works!" In this and the following chapters, some of the reasons why CIP works are examined. There are at least two possibilities:

- CIP works because any special program serving less than 200 youth in one building, with seven counselors and eight teachers, would just about have to work.

- CIP works because of these plus something else---a special curriculum, a special way in which the pieces are put together---something more than a 1:15 ratio of adults and interns in a small school.

In addition, two other possibilities are examined:

- CIP is reproducible but only by CIP, and in a template fashion, particularly in small schools with high autonomy.

- At least some aspects of CIP can be adapted to help other high risk youth.

"With That Kind of Money, I could Do it Too."

CIP does have several features going for it, features that other studies have been shown to be effective and that many already feel could work for them. One of the things a reader might be thinking is, "If I had that kind of money and time, I could do it too."

1. It is a small school, serving a maximum of 200 youth at one time. Other studies, particularly from Great Britain, have reported better results from smaller schools rather than schools serving thousands of youth.

One example of the impact of size is the counseling program. Because of the size of their caseloads, counselors in comparison schools cannot hope to keep up with the individual problems students have. Dropouts and non-attenders frequently spoke of going to see their counselors about their credit status and getting the "run around." One comparison group student, who was thinking of dropping out, illustrates the counseling problems in high schools. She wanted to speed up graduation by going to night school. She added up her credits herself, and found she had the minimum necessary to qualify for night school. Her counselor insisted that she was one credit shy. As it turned out she had taken Spanish I in tenth grade and passed it, but never went on to Spanish II. In the Pennsylvania system of awarding credits, a student must have at least two years of a language to get credit for any one year taken. Therefore, her counselor did not count Spanish I as a credit, a rule the student was not aware of. Her counselor never explained to her why whe had one less credit than the number of courses she had taken and passed. This left the student confused. She could not sign up for night school without the recommendation of her counselor and she could not possibly graduate that year without going to night school. This all too typical example demonstrates the importance of careful counseling and indicates why so many students doubt that school counselors really care about them.

At CIP, by contrast, there are four counselors for about 200 students, or about 50 students in each counselor's caseload.

2. The principal is an instructional leader. The director of UCEC is responsible for three programs: the public school program (CCP), parent program (COP) and the intern program (CIP). While his/her time is shared, much of the portion devoted to CIP is given to instructional leadership. As a master teacher, counselor and educational leader, the director spends a great deal of time in the classroom and with the staff on instructional matters. In other schools, the principal may wish to serve as such a leader but may often find her/himself absorbed in administration. Other studies, again from Great Britain, suggest that schools are happier, safer and more effective, when the principal is first and foremost a master teacher.

Time and Money

3. CIP has had considerable time and money to develop its curriculum. Between March 1973 and June 1976, CIP received a total of $2,990,901 from the National Institute of Education. The COP and CCP components, funded by the U. S. Office of Education, received $1,300,000 during this period. Of funds for CIP, about $585,000, or 20% went to Gibboney Associates for the formative and summative evaluations. About $2,331,000, or 78% was spent on instructional and counseling services for approximately 900 youth.

About $75,000, or 3%, went for curriculum development. During the developmental period (September 1972 through February 1965), fulltime staff, equivalent to about $25,000, were working on curriculum refinement. In addition, a group of consultants, led by Dr. Allan Glatthorn, developed individualized learning packages under a $50,000 subcontract. This is probably more money and time than the average principal has at his/her disposal.

On the other hand, the time and funds are not out-of-line with those available to at least some school districts for experimentation and development. Almost every school system has several offices reporting to the superintendent with responsibilities including research, evaluation, experimentation, innovation and development. While funds for these offices often are soft money---Federal special purpose grants---some hard money from LEA and SEA tax funds are usually involved.

Thus, the average principal might state with some justification, "I could do it, too, with four years and $75,000 for curriculum development." The state and local superintendents of schools, however, may already have comparable time and resources invested for not dissimilar experimental programs.

4. Labor Unions: Some but not all of the staff of the Career Intern Program meet certification requirements for Pennsylvania. The general philosophy of OICs/A is to hire instructors who understand the problems of interns. While few of the instructors have had significant experience teaching in public schools, virtually all have worked with you, have been in other OIC training programs or in some way have had first-hand experience with disadvantaged minorities. As part of an experimental program, many worked at variance with teacher union negotiated rules in several respects. These included flexibility on the part of the director to hire and fire without regard to seniority and, if necessary, in the middle of the school year. The separation of functions was deliberately blurred as part of the CIP approach. All staff members---building custodians to the director---were encouraged to see themselves as part of one team working on behalf of the interns. While staff acomplishments were respected, all staff were expected to do what needed doing, when it needed doing. In particular, counselors and teachers were required to work together and drop their professional mystiques. The working day lasted as long as it needed to. The director was careful not to exploit staff, but expected, routinely, staff to work irregular hours if this was needed.

The extent to which these variations from teacher union-negotiated agreements by themselves accounted for CIP success is difficult to assess. Many experimental schools could give similar instances of staff expectations and relationships. Some innovative programs, such as the Job Corps, serving youth similar to those reached by CIP, may point to even more heroic, dedicated efforts on the part of staff. Some have worked; others have not. One would hope that if these CIP variations were demonstrably responsible for program success, both labor and management in education would work to incorporate them in new contracts, insofar as this would be possible and desirable in the long term.

5. Cost per student, March 1975 through February 1976. During this period of stabilized program operation, the cost per student was about $2,732 based on an 11-month school year for the program, or $248 per student month. If "special costs," such as rent, which are often spread over many students in a school district rather than those in one program, are included, the cost per student approaches $3,521 or $320 per student month.

In comparison, Price Waterhouse Co., working with Gibboney Associates on the cost data, has estimated that a general or academic student in the 1974-75 school year at Philadelphia's Germantown High School cost about $170 per student month. Our own estimates are that in Philadelphia as a whole, the academic or general student cost is about $155 per student month and for a vocational student it is $233 per student month. In two private Philadelphia senior high schools the costs per student month are $277 and $293.

The institutions and district accounting systems were not designed to separate costs such as rent in a way that would allow a strict comparison with CIP. We believe, however, that the most accurate comparison is without the "special" CIP costs, i.e. $248 per student month.

The Career Intern Program, by these comparisons, is competitive with outstanding private schools and vocational/technical programs in Philadelphia, and cost more than a Philadelphia general or academic program, figured on a per student basis.

While more money may be needed for programs such as CIP, these figures suggest that CIP's success may be explained in part, but not entirely, by having more money per student.

6. The challenge of an experimental program. The challenge of being an experimental program may have contributed to extra effort on the part of interns and staff. This cannot be discounted or adjusted for in the statistics. On the one hand, CIP was operating for four years before the final summative data were collected. Other studies of alternative schools suggest the honeymoon often is over in about two or three years, and the third and fourth years are ones of some disillusion or crisis. The honeymoon might well be expected to be over, by these data. On the other hand, the fourth year was the Big Year for the evaluation, and it was hoped that a favorable evaluation would help ensure CIP continuation, if not expansion. Also, CIP faced its internal crisis in the second year, a crisis resolved by reorganization and new leadership. So 1975-76 would probably have been an up-beat year, even without the stimulus of the evaluation.

Perhaps the strongest argument against explaining all of CIP's effect as "Hawthorne"[1] is that the findings from all four cohorts are similar in pattern. Whatever is happening in CIP has been happening fairly consistently since the first of four experimental groups entered the program in January 1974. If the results are nothing more than a Hawthorne effect, they are remarkably durable and substantial. If the effect of being an experimental school is so powerful in itself, perhaps more could be done to apply this effect to more of our schools.

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[1] The Western Electric Company plan in Hawthorne, N.J., was the site of a famous experiment which showed that production of electric light bulbs kept climbing whatever was done to a special group of workers and their room. Production increased as new features (better lighting, new paint, music, etc.) were added, one-by-one---and it increased as all of these were taken way, one-by-one. The stimulating effect of attention has since been found in other situations.

7. Intern selection: Applicants to OIC had to be motivated enough to complete intake interviews and the fairly extensive testing. They had to be willing after all this, to be selected by lottery.

Their parents had to care enough to participate in a family interview. With a group of applicants this motivated, one might say almost any school could succeed.

While student selection may well be a critical factor in OIC retention, two facts suggest this explanation may not be the whole story. Control youth did not do as well as interns, although they also went through the full selection process. And retention of special administrative-admit students who do not receive such extensive pre-admissions testing, seems high.

Nonetheless, some kind of screening to select highly motivated students who want OIC may be necessary, though not sufficient for success.

8. Charisma: The Director of CIP is a dynamic, extraordinarily competent, dedicated, untiring, seasoned, and charismatic leader. He would probably be the first to say there are others like him who could be recruited to continue or expand CIP. He would not say, however, that CIP is "leader-proof".

Field evaluator data verify this. The first Director of UCEC, while an extraordinary person, did not have the combination of the right skills and charisma apparently required by CIP. Replacement of the earlier Director coincided with other radical changes intended to "save" CIP. The skills of the new Director could be observed, nonetheless, to be critical in ensuring that the new policies were promptly carried out at a higher level of excellence than previously seen.

Good, perahps even great, leadership may be as essential to CIP as it is to other educational innovations. According to the Ford Foundation report, A Foundation Goes to School, leadership was sine qua non of successful educational projects.

9. Attention, suspension of monitoring: In addition to the attention of the Director, CIP has received almost more person years of review than it has staff years of direct service. Beside extensive formative and summative evaluation,

CIP has received almost full-time attention from the top level, extremely competent troubleshooters from OIC/A headquarters plus a full-time monitor from NIE. There have been times when so much attention may have been seen as (and perhaps was) a liability rather than an asset, but one could argue that any school receiving this much feedback with continued support directly tied to accomplishments would accomplish as much as CIP.

While this probably accounts for much of CIP's development, it does not seem to be a full explanation for at least two reasons. First, the summative year was the final year for NIE funding, removing this contingency.

Second, during the summative year, there was little formative evaluation, greatly reduced NIE program monitoring (NIE attention was rather given to assisting CIC to find ways to continue and expand CIP) and reduced CIC/A program monitoring. The program was intentionally operating in as much of a "hands off" mode as possible.

A small school, a principal who is a charismatic educational leader. time and money to develop the curriculum, flexibility in staff working hours and relationships, more money per student than the general and academic curricula, student selection and the challenge of being an experimental school; these all probably explain in some degree why CIP worked. None seem sufficiently powerful or unique in themselves, however, to explain all the difference.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

WHAT MAKES IT WORK? THE CIP PHILOSOPHY

The CIP seems able to attract, hold, motivate and change students because it makes sense to them and they feel comfortable in it. To many interns, their high school experiences were frustrating because they were alien. The attitude of teachers was often incomprehensible and is characterized by the students as "I got mine, now you get yours". The work was perceived by students as irrelevant to their expectations. The expected standards of conduct were seen as arbitrary; the goals of education as elusive, ambiguous and seldom personal. The CIP they feel, provides a welcome contrast.

As the program developed, five basic principles emerged. They comprise the often implicit goals of program administration. While each principle was sometimes honored in the breech, CIP's effectiveness seems proportional to its success in finding ways to translate these principles into action.

1. Provide A Supportive Context

Many reasons given by interns for their happiness with the program reflect their feeling that the CIP atmosphere is supportive. To them this is the most important characteristic of the entire program. They have found teachers and counselors who care about them. They are heard when they speak, looked for when they stay away and at the same time, corrected when they "mess up."

From the viewpoint of the program, commitment to this principle implies several corollaries. It means that staff (including administrators) should be always available for interns. It means that interns have certain basic rights that must be guranteed---the right to be heard, to be told where they stand in their program and to defend themselves when accused.

Finally, commitment to a supportive atmosphere for interns embodies a tacit recognition that although they have all been judged "failures" in their previous schooling, this does not mean they are to be penalized for it. Their "failure" is seen by program staff as a function of social and economic factors. While the blame is not theirs, the responsibility for success is. Providing students with the motivation and the skills to make this possible is seen as a major goal of schooling.

2. See The Program As An Instrument Rather Than As A Basis For Social Identity: A Tool, Not A Place To Hide

This is one of the ways in which the CIP differs from both traditional high schools and many alternative programs. It means that the program plays a different role in the lives of interns than do traditional high schools for most American students. "High school student" is a label of social identity in our society. Many students are not enrolled in high school because they want to get something specific out of it, having freely made this decision. High school enrollment often is not a means to a desired end, but what is expected of people at a certain age.

The CIP nurtures a different model. CIP recruits are there because to some extent they did not measure up to the behaviors implied in the label "high school student"---they were dropouts, or potential dropouts. Many of them have jobs and families of their own. A number have been out of school for years. They are by no means "typical" high school students.

The program recognizes the different role school can play in the lives of these students in at least two ways. The first is by insisting that the enrollees be called interns and not students. The second is by making no effort to provide the extra-curricula offerings common in high schools. There are no organized sports, none of the usual student clubs, not even physical education. In short, no effort is made to persuade interns to accept a predetermined social role or to tie their identities to the CIP. They can be first and foremost, mother; father; Mr. Jones; gas station attendant; secretary or whatever role, external to the school, is suitable.

From the intern's perspective, the effect of creating this kind of a program has had some surprising results. Interns have created a student community with few cliques, little intragroup competition, and strong feelings of mutual support for peers. This latter contrasts with the situation that obtains in many high schools. A sizable number of CIP applicants had listed influence from other students as one of the reasons for their problems in school. In CIP, the tendency is for friends to help each other to "hang in."

As must be expected, this kind of model doesn't appeal to everyone; some trade-off is inevitable. Despite their problems with the traditional schools, a number of interns who left were looking for a program that was more than a means to "getting into" a career.

Some students are looking for the kind of total support at least nominally provided by the public schools. They're turned-off by the CIP because it doesn't answer this need. They would like more extra-curricular activities and a more traditional approach to schooling. These interns, however, seem to be the minority. For the rest, one of the apparent reasons the program has worked is that it hasn't attempted to be everything the public schools are to students who are not typical in age or needs of most high school youth.

3. Deal With Interns As Whole People

> "One of the things I like about this place is that it doesn't matter what my problem is, I can find someone to talk about it. It doens't matter if it's a teacher or a counselor, they're all willing to listen."

Most educators recognize that splitting students needs into academic and social, or school skills into cognitive and affective, or student problems into school and personal, is an artificial convention. The CIP leadership is no exception. While no attempt is made to cater to all the traditional expectations of students, the program is careful to minister to the whole individual. Academic progress is seen as being related to personal well-being. The counseling staff is nearly as large as the instructional staff. Both contribute to shaping intern programs and to program decisions affecting interns. Developing the interns' awareness of the need to follow expected social codes in postsecondary education and in work is viewed as important as cognitive growth. Skills in self presentation are stressed as well as the acquisition of technical job skills. In the same vein, community and parents are tied into the program through formal structures.

4. Provide A School Experience Congruent With Realistic Life Goals

One reason given for urban high school dropoutism is the perceived irrelevance of school demands to post-high school life for students. To remedy this, the CIP, as is true of many career education programs, wishes students to view the program as making sense in light of life expectations. In the CIP, this philosophic commitment has been translated in three ways. Interns are helped to formulate realistic life goals, attempts are made to change their negative expectations, and the curriculum fuses academics and career-related skills.[1]

The CIP efforts to put the principle into action have been partially successful. Many of the innovations tried are traceable to the program's commitment to acting upon the ideal.

5. Don't Buffer Interns. Make Their Experiencing Real.

In talking with interns about their experiences in the CIP as compared with their previous school experiences, one contrast is heard over and over again. Interns are quick to blame outside influences for their earlier failures---"I got in with a bad bunch and began cutting." "I was having problems at home." "My counselor wouldn't ever help me." Now, however, they insist that any problem they encounter is their own. If they want to make it, it's up to them. This change is a reflection of the program's success in implementing the notion that, insofar as possible, an intern's educational experience should parallel a real world experience.

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[1] "Realistic Expectations" have been read by some as a career education code word for reducing educational aspirations and tracking youth into low-level, dead-end jobs. The fact that a very high proportion of CIP interns relative to controls have entered postsecondary education suggests that CIP is not turning interns away from college. "Realistic" means at least two things to CIP: (1) do not expect to leap tall buildings in one bound: whatever your goal, you'll need a roadmap on how to get there and will need to persevere and (2) if along the way, you'll need to work---and almost all CIP students do---here's what the job market is like in Philadelphia and we'll help you get the social and technical skills to compete successfully in this job market.

This involves more than simply providing hands-on adventures. It means holding one responsible for his/her actions. It means forcing one to formulate educational and career goals, and then treating her/him as though the commitment to these goals was real. It means letting one know where one stands even though that might be painful. It means keeping students abreast of social, economic and employment changes so that graduates don't find themselves admirably prepared for an obsolete world. It does not mean that dreams be deflated, that aspirations be lowered to rock bottom or that fledglings are left to their own devices. It does mean that costs be counted and that roadblocks be foreseen.

Again, the program's success in implementing this principle has not always been perfect. Furthermore, this success has meant that some interns fall through the mesh. There are some who can't survive without the buffers.

To interns, then, the CIP worked because it met their needs. They felt important, cared for, like "people"---not students. To the staff, the CIP worked because it offered an educationally sound program: classes were small, they had time to work with interns, the curriculum was flexible.

Both viewpoints reflect the underlying concerns of the CIP to:

1. provide a supportive context for interns
2. provide an instrument, not a retreat
3. deal with whole people
4. make school congruent with life
5. not buffer interns, to make their experiencing real.

The philosophy perhaps is not unique. Some elements, such as attention to the whole child, are found in many goal statements of large and small public school systems. Some elements, such as merging academic and career learning, also are found in the objectives of many public and alternative schools. Some elements, such as downplaying identification with the school and not buffering interns, are seen less frequently.

From one perspective, this may be encouraging. If these guiding principles of CIP are the "something different" that may account in part for its success, they may also be more widely adaptable. In addition, some of the ways in which the principles were translated into action may suggest how to adapt what works in CIP to other settings.

CHAPTER TWELVE

FROM PRINCIPLES INTO PRACTICE: CHANGING ATTITUDES

The CIP approach to the question of negative attitudes toward school is "make the intern see that school can be an important instrument to getting what one wants out of life; make him/her see that succeeding is possible and, equally important, make him/her realize that the responsibility is his/hers."

Every school would like to see its students adopt these attitudes. Most design their curriculum to accoplish it. Apparently, few succeed. CIP followed five general procedures.

1. Interns Set Specific Goals:

One of the first things a CIP intern is called upon to do is to begin formulating a Career Development Plan (usually referred to as the CDP). Together, after assessing intern interests and aptitudes, counselors and interns chose two specific careers to be investigated. This then becomes the goal of the intern's entire program. The goal is not strictly academic, and it may well be changed before graduation. The act of setting a goal and having to consider it when any major school decision is made has a strong effect on the academic program.

Elective courses are chosen to promote this goal. Required courses are "made to contribute" to it. They begin to take on a different hue. Interns generally tend to describe classroom activities and course content in terms of how the latter can be applied to their lives outside of school. The notion that school is a bounded phenomenon, something to be kept within the walls of the classroom and attended to from eight to two-thirty, is largely missing.

2. Don't Treat Them Like Students

A basic goal of the CIP is to present the program as an instrumentality, not as the thing that defines one's social identity. As emphasized earlier, to this end, youth who are enrolled are not referred to as students, but as interns. There is another effect of this practice, that of expanding on the notion of role definitions. Social labels limit expectations. Janitors are expected to act differently from professors and children from adults. Furthermore, social pressures tend to force individuals to live down to the limited expectations. This process tends to be accentuated if the individual has had difficulty with the role associated with the label.

The CIP's insistence that the term "intern" be used rather than student, thus has several effects. It underscores the notion that CIP is something different, that interns are getting a new chance to do something with school. It makes it easier for staff to treat youth as something other than just "students" with all of the limitations this connotes. In addition, the label "intern" focuses attention on school experiences as preparation for something other than simply getting a diploma.

Changing labels isn't the whole story. It's possible to call someone by a different name and still treat her/him as before. The CIP staff avoids treating interns as traditionally defined students. They are always greeted by name when encountered casually, for example, and are shown many other courtesies not usually offered by teachers to students.

This is not to say that the CIP staff views interns as equals. Possibly their subordinate status is stressed more explicitly here than in the public schools. They are looked at as needing help, as youngsters in the process of being shaped or apprentices with a lot to learn.

This approach doesn't work for everyone. Some interns want to be treated like students. Some teachers don't see the difference between interns and students or don't feel that the distinction is important. However, enough of the staff treat interns differently and enough interns respond to this difference that participation in CIP is seen as different from parallel experiences in the public schools.

3. See Interns as Individuals

> "Well, like for one thing, most high schools try to keep you as a kid. They look at you as a kid. When you come over here they don't ride your back. They say like, 'if you really want to do something everybody is here to help you. But if we see you looking we're going to say something.' Then I saw them with other people and that made me, you know, get my thing together."

This means more than keeping the staff to student ratio as high as possible or getting to know the intern's history. It also means more than remembering that each intern has a name. The CIP is careful about all of these things. It goes further, however.

In classroom recitations, instructors are not satisfied to have the correct answer given or to have a lively discussion emerge. It is equally important that each intern recite every day and that everyone participate in the discussions. This isn't always easy for either teachers or interns. There are those who find it painful to be put on the spot. Most, however, soon find that even being "put to the test," if it is done in a supportive context can lead to the conclusion that he or she is, at least a little bit special.

Disposition conferences are held whenever an intern has serious academic, attendance or disciplinary problems. Everyone who is involved with the intern meets together--counselors, teachers and sometimes the director of the program. The intern's record is reviewed, personal views are solicited from everyone present, the problem is carefully considered and a disposition made. The guiding principle is, "what is best for this intern," not, "what did we do in the last case" or "what's best for the program?"

The same concern is reflected in the plans that are formalized as the CDP: in frequent conferences between interns and counselors; in the care with which hands-on sites are chosen; and in the self-paced learning packets that are used in the curriculum. Each became a way to demonstrate that interns are individuals and are in fact seen as such.

4. Provide Interns With Plenty of Honest, Fast Feedback. Let Them Know Where They Stand

> "All semester I tried to see my counselor. I couldn't get an appointment so I tried to figure out my credits myself. Then just three weeks before the end they told me I lacked three credits to graduate. I decided I'd just leave."

This is an extreme case, yet it echos a repeated concern. Students need to know where they stand. They need to know what they must do to finish and why. Failure to provide for these needs leads to confusion and discouragement. It also is read as lack of respect.

The CIP is careful to provide ample opportunity for interns to know where they are and how they are doing. The process starts on entry and continues in the classroom. When students enter CIP, they need to find out how many high school credits they have earned up to that point. For many this is the first time they are aware of their credit status. From then on, they are encouraged to keep informed of their academic progress. This means keeping track of credits they have, how many are needed for graduation and how to get them. They develop more concerned about the quality of their course work. They develop an interest in their progress as learners, not just in the number of credits they have earned. They tend to describe the difference between their former school experiences and their CIP experiences by saying that they are learning more at CIP. And, they seek ways in which they can measure their learning--what do they know now that they didn't know before--and express pride in their progress. In the classroom the learning packets used are self-correcting. The mandatory frequent recitations are evaluated on the spot by teachers and fellow interns alike. Outside of the classroom, counseling sessions are required and regular. Counselors are required to keep up-to-date records of each intern's progress and share it with him/her in these sessions. Results of disposition conferences are communicated immediately to the intern through her/his counselor. Interns are required to update their CDP at least once each semester. In addition, interns are encouraged to ask teachers where they stand whenever they have any doubts.

These procedures for feedback are only part of the story. The CIP also attempts to make sure interns know what to do about their standings. They are not told they have problems without at the same time being given some directions for their resolution. The semesters are short. Provision is made for "recycling" if a course if failed. Since the program is non-graded, there is no opprobrium attached to repeating. All of these factors, together with the self-paced nature of the learning packet (which lets interns catch up, as well as go slower) contributes to the assurance that one is never hopelessly behind.

5. Trust Interns With a Major Role in Planning Their Own Program

In the CIP this means more than letting the intern choose a program from among a set of alternatives. Interns are required (with the help of their counselors) to take the major role in developing their own program. They decide what careers to investigate. They choose their own elective courses and decide what hands-on experiences they wish to pursue.

This approach takes time and patience and demands that interns be trusted. The returns, however, seem to be significant. Interns learn the importance of setting goals and how to do it. They are forced to accept the consequences of their own actions and have no one but themselves to blame when things go wrong. There is no good reason for their not knowing where they stand at any point in the program.

By the same token, self-planning can be a meaningful exercise only if a number of conditions are met. Staff must actually take the time to work patiently with interns. Information must be made available to interns so that their decisions are not made in a vacuum or based on misconceptions.

Counselors must keep abreast of the economic and employment picture. Intern progress must be carefully monitored and they must be informed if they fall back. Counselors must take the time to read student records and to listen to interns.

This may sound like just the approach used in almost every high school. Observations and interviews show a possibly critical difference in role. The counselors and teachers in high school often are seen as telling students what courses to take. The CIP counselors and teachers often are seen as sources of information about the consequences of different choices interns are considering.

"What good is history to a night guard?" Is the kind of question urban high school students frequently want answered if school is to make sense to them. Their experiences suggest that "night guard" may be a realistic job expectation. History, again from their experience, has little to do with their lives, or for that matter, much of anything outside of school. Yet to get through school they have to take it---with a good chance of failing.

There often appears to be no acceptable answer to this question for these students. School doesn't "make sense" and they dropout. This is the attitude CIP applicants bring with them. If they are going to stay, a solution to the dilemma must be provided. The CIP attacks the problem at several different points.

First CIP insists that, "history isn't what you always thought it was. In large measure, it is what you make it." Secondly, CIP holds some hope that, "you won't have to be a night guard--unless, of course, you want to." Finally, to make these changes come true it provides a new set of experiences, within the program, that makes them believable.

The essential features of how CIP seems to change attitudes have been sketched: Insist that specific goals which can be perceived as non-school-bound, be set and pursued. Don't treat interns likd "students." See them as individuals and be sure to give them adequate feedback on their progress. Finally, prove concern by trusting them to plan their own program.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

A SENSIBLE CURRICULUM, A STAFF THAT IS RESPECTED

A look at the CIP course offerings doesn't show much difference from a similar list in one of the public schools. There are the required courses--mathematics, general science, English I, English II, history--a career counseling seminar and a few electives. A visitor to the school for a day might not see a great deal of difference either: the usual lectures, discussions, and individual or group projects would be going on. Looking more closely, however the visitor would notice some differences which might account for CIP's success, and be reproducible elsewhere.

1. Processes

The classes are smaller and more open-ended. Instructors go over individual lesson packets with various students early and late. The discussions revolve around things that have happened last night on the job, or this morning on the way to school. One probably would rarely hear the instructor say, "well, that's interesting but we have a lesson to go over this morning."

The instructor keeps everyone active, seldom letting a turned head, a shielding elbow, a far-away look or being hunkered-down in the corner permit an intern to avoid reciting in class.

Looking over the shoulders of interns as they worked through their lessons, few of them are working on the same thing. If they are, they are probably working with someone else.

Another aspect of process is the length and non-graded nature of the program. In the feeder high schools a student who fails a course is required to take a year's work over again. A student who has been "left back" stands out because grade levels are clearly marked. This is discouraging for students who are already having problems.

CIP semesters are only 22 weeks long and virtually no grade distinctions are made. Because grade levels are not distinguished, no opprobrium is attached to staying an extra semester.

Successful interns refer to this situation as important. Doing badly in a class is not as likely to lead to panic, to the feeling that one is falling helplessly behind and that since there is no way of catching up one might as well give up on the whole program. Interns tend to know where they are, that they will be able to deal with problems they are having and how to go about doing this.

2. Content

Lessons are not bound in a book under the copyright of a publisher. They were prepared for the CIP by curriculum writers working with CIP staff. The lessons are short, clear, and easy to read. The activities included in them can be done without outside assistance. Lesson packets are written so anyone at the junior high reading level can understand them. They are designed to take about thirty minutes each to finish so they can be done whenever one has a few minutes, and so they won't get boring. They also are self-contained so they can be done at home, on the job or in study hall.

The content might also seem as somewhat unusual, particularly if one attended high school a few years ago or went to a suburban school. Even though the packets may be designed to teach English or math skills, they talk about things like "How to get good deals when you buy," "The Blues," and the "Black literature of protest."

> "The last thing we did was interesting. Mr. R. had a sheet about the 18 year age for voting; and this here was fun cause the question was, 'Who made 21 the age to vote?' And we thought it was when our constitution was authorized, it was the age people considered best, right? But it was this answer, 'It was the age when a man could be a knight during the age of...' And now in different countries, they consider being a man at 18...the age supposed to be 18, you can do anything you want to do but people don't want to pass it...you could fight for this country or die for this country (at 18), you should be able to do anything."

The packets and classroom approach are intended to teach more than history or math: one of the more controversial issues in 1976 is whether classroom instructors can, or should, correct youth in non-academic areas. CIP's teachers correct bad grammar and faulty reasoning. They also draw attention to the clothes being worn, posture, hair styles and even tardiness as part of the curriculum. Praise for good performance in every aspect is liberal and immediate, but there is no question that CIP counselors and instructors try not to let any opportunity for teaching and guidance pass.

3. The Career Counseling Seminar

This course is required of all new interns. On most days there are at least two instructors and possibly three. A counselor, a teacher and a career advisor all are responsible for the class. On any given day, one might hear two interns give a detailed report on a career he or she had investigated. This is often followed by a lively discussion---including a good bit of criticism--on the report by the instructors and the fellow interns, particularly in light of individual career development plans. These sessions become peer group counseling. This is deliberate, both to develop a habit of relying on the contructive advice of friends and to bring a variety of perspectives to the discussion. In some of the more advanced courses, the extent to which this habit is developed is often shown by interns referring to their hands-on experiences, what they enjoyed about them, what they didn't and what they are doing in class or didn't work.

4. The Hands-On Experience

Interns learn how and why employers select, supervise, fire or promote employees. They learn what interpersonal skills and work habits are essential They experience---often for the first time---what it's like in the big offices downtown or in the suburban fringes. The value of this kind of information should not be underestimated, given the histories of the interns.

For most middle-class Americans there may be nothing mysterious or surprising about the way employers view employees. While the two roles are not interchangeable, movement from one to the other can be a matter of linear progression. Being a "good" employee qualifies one, ideally, to become an employer. More importantly, there is no great difference between the "acceptable" behavior expected of employees and that considered "good" in general life contexts. That is, for middle class Americans, the things that define one as a "good" citizen, student, parent, teenager, etc., often are the things that define him/her as a "good" employee.

This means that there is a general agreement as to how one should dress, how people in authority should be addressed, what are appropriate reasons for being late, how direct or indirect questions should be, when it is best to pretend one knows and when to confess ignorance, when to ask for help and when to stubbornly go it alone, when working with someone is cooperation and when it is cheating--to mention just some of the behaviors by which we judge each other as responsible and competent. The CIP recognizes that black youth coming from poor homes don't necessarily share these understandings. Almost no amount of factual knowledge about where to get job information or about careers themselves will compensate for this lack. A career program will only succeed in providing entry into "full, productive lives" as it provides this information.

Another important spin-off of providing this kind of information is that students know more about real chances, the personal risks and costs involved in any career pursuit. Again, this becomes crucial to long term program success for black school dropouts.

Careful grooming and creative job development by career advisors may serve to make entry into hitherto closed occupations possible for graduates. Ensuring that on-the-job problems will not re-open the cycle of failure demands graduates who know about work from the perspective employers and more mature employees.

It's apparently difficult to get this perspective in low-paid, high turn-over, entry-level work, the kind of jobs almost all interns have held prior to and during CIP. A youth visiting a workplace to learn seems to be treated very differently than a youth in the workplace as a paid employee to earn. This difference appears to be beneficial.

This is a controversial area in career education. One could argue, a priori, that youth probably can not learn anything worthwhile in two one-week placements. Perhaps there are better ways, but our observations suggest that these hands-on experiences as learners are new, and critical for these youth.

5. A Staff That Is Respected

"Respect" may not be a common high school student word. Students use other terms to describe what they look for in teachers, counselors or principals. They say things like:

> "Over there (in my other school) teachers wouldn't explain or nothing, but over here, you know, they take time to explain."
>
> "In the other school I could only see my counselor when he wanted to tell me about my program for next year. Here I can drop in anytime I want. I don't even need to get a pass."
>
> "It's like the high school teachers are saying, 'I got mine, now you get yours.' My teachers now, they really seem to care."

"Understand", "listen to me", "explain things", "fair"--these are the terms interns use in telling why they like their counselors and teachers.

CIP interns rarely talk about how much they know, where they've gone to school, whether their lectures are interesting or even if CIP gives too many tests. These apparently aren't the things that command respect of students. In fact, they don't seem to be important to learning at CIP. This probably is a good thing for the program, because the staff at the CIP are pretty much like the teachers and counselors in the public school system concerning these qualities. Some are good lecturers, some are dull. Some have formal State teaching certification, others don't. Some have gone to Ivy League schools, others to teacher colleges. They do have some traits in common.

6. Staff Believe In What They Are Doing

Most believe in what they are doing---although they differ in their ideas as to how it should be done. Some, for example, feel that basics should be stressed. Others emphasize technical skills. Still others would opt for more vocational training. Most of them are black and know first-hand what this means. They are all over worked and frequently complain about the paperwork and the meetings. Several of them have had experience in manpower training or other adult education programs. All share a belief that the CIP students can, will and must succeed, and that what they personally are doing can, will and must make a difference in these students' lives.

7. Flexible Time

The staff doesn't hurry through the last period class in order to leave by a certain time. Their working day usually ends at 4:00 p.m.---two hours after the end of the last class. There is no off-limits staff lounge to which they can retreat. They do their preparations in their classrooms or offices and the doors are usually open to interns.

8. Setting An Example: Staff

They seem to be remarkably conscious of their responsibilities toward interns. They don't come to school dressed in jeans and sweatshirts, because they feel interns should be alert that appropriate dress is important. They aren't "easy", but tend to be strict. They make interns take off their hats and expect to be called by title and last name. Few interns attempt to get away with breaking the rules.

9. Taking Time Voluntarily

Teachers take time to go over tests or reports, to check answers in the lesson packets, to sit and rap in the lunchroom and will plead an intern's cause in a disposition conference if they think she/he has been unfairly judged.

Counselors and interns are required to meet at least once a week. Counselors are expected to keep abreast of their interns' academic progress as well as their personal situations and are encouraged to keep in touch with parents.

Teachers and counselors are forced, through the seminars, the updating of Career Developing Plans and through conferences, to work closely with interns. The small class sizes and the individualized lesson packets which are reviewed daily by teachers enable the staff to keep informed of the skill level of interns, and foster the kind of personal relationship that permits problems be dealt with in a non-threatening manner.

These qualities appear to make the CIP staff respected by interns. They may not be available, or even desirable in another program or in another context. By whatever methods work, creating a staff that commands respect, however, seems essential to replicating CIP success, and seems relative to the comparison schools, to be a unique feature of the program.

10. Structures Giving Interns The Chance To Work Together

> The students over here talk to their students about going to class, getting an education and all that. Its the first time I ever heard that. It really shocked me. Everybody that's come here is here for one thing. That's to learn.

Talking about education, encouraging each other not to cut class and helping with coursework, are three of the ways interns support each other in the CIP. They also "get-on" each other when they cut-up, or fail to cooperate on projects:

As an example, about a year ago the overcoat of a visitor to CIP was stolen. Even before the staff could act, the inerns had mobilized, recovered the overcoat, returned it to the visitor, and dealt with those involved. Such incidents as stealing personal possessions or school equipment is rare in CIP. The school, while not immune from problems, is "protected" in the neighborhood and, from within, by the interns' codes.

As another example, the CIP complex usually looks as if it had just been re-decorated. It hasn't. Interns and staff alike simply to not tolerate graffiti, destruction of property, or vandalism. The classrooms and halls are bright with posters and student art; they are not dingy or littered. The washrooms are clean at the beginning, middle and end of each day. This is not achieved by flying squads of custodians or hall patrols, although the custodian certainly works hard. It's achieved by the interns themselves.

Interns who insist that their friends help them now, have said that friends were one of the reasons for failing in school. These friends would be always willing to cut class, to smoke dope or to drink wine. They would support and egg each other on in disrupting classes. They exerted pressure, called names and made fun of each other if they tried to cooperate with teachers and do their work. They created a negative value for seriousness and provided a convenient excuse for one's shortcomings. The two situations---CIP and comparison schools---could hardly be more different, at least in appearance.

Why? In principle, the role played by friends in the CIP and peers in the high schools is not that different. Students usually establish an informal social system in any school. This system, based on their values, consists of rules of conduct and appropriate supporting sanctions. All too frequently, however, the students' values and the school values, as well as the student roles of conduct and the school-enforced rules, are at cross-purposes with each other. This tendency for students to band together becomes deterrent to learning rather than an asset. Students who are serious about their studies risk losing their peer support.[1]

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[1] For discussions of this phenomenon see Ray Rist, "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education." Harvard Educational Review. Vol. 40, No. 3, August 1970, and McDemott, R. P. "Achieving School Failure: An Anthropological Approach to Illiteracy and Social Stratification." In Spindler, George, (ed). Education and Cultural Processes. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1974.

In the CIP, the goals of interns are generally congruent with those of the program. There are several reasons for this, including the fact that the interns are self-selected--they come because they want to, the curriculum makes sense to them, staff are seen caring, they are taken seriously and not treated simply as "students" and almost everyone feels that this is a second and last chance that must be made the most of.

In summary, CIP seems to work for at least three reasons. First the curriculum is designed to be sensible for these students. This means the lessons are written at an eighth grade reading level, are short, private, with immediate feedback, and close relation between content and individual career plans. Second, the staff requires and gives respect Third, the structure and purpose of CIP encourage interns to work together constructively.

As discussed in the next chapter, if these "key features" have been accurately identified, they may offer considerable promise for adapting CIP. At least some features may be fairly easy to adhere to in most learning situations. Others, however, may require self-selection in the special, goal-oriented program.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

WHAT'S TRANSFERABLE?

The Career Intern Program has been tried only in Philadelphia, in the home neighborhood of Dr. Leon Sullivan, founder of OIC. While it has not been spared the hazards of development, the seed was deliberately planted in an environment where it was likely to flourish. In addition, it has received more attention from more gardners at OIC/Philadelphia, OIC/As, and NIE than most seeds get, perhaps at times to the point of over-attention.

At this time, assessment of what is necessary for CIP's success, what might be sufficient, and what is reproducible in other sites is speculative. Tables 14 and 15 summarize judgments based on experience with comparison schools, other experimental programs, the research literature and a complex interplay of data from three years of daily immersion in CIP.

In general:

(1) Almost all the factors examined probably are necessary in some degree if a similar program is to be as successful as CIP. The degree can't be specified. It can't be stated that if the principal spends 51% of his or her time as an educational leader this will be enough while 49% will be too little. A school system wishing to adopt much of CIP or to adapt it should probably try to provide as many of the general and specific factors listed as possible.

There is one exception: extensive start up and development costs probably are not necessary since the bulk of the developmental work on procedures and materials is completed. Guidelines, handbooks and technical assistance for installing CIP are available through OIC/A.[1]

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[1] To arrange a site visit, order the materials or arrange for technical assistance, please contact: C. Benjamin Lattimore, Program Manager, c/o OIC/A, Inc., 100 W. Coulter Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19144; Telephone: (215) 849-3010

TABLE XXV WHICH GENERAL FACTORS PROBABLY CONTRIBUTING TO CIP'S SUCCESS SEEM NECESSARY, WHICH ARE SUFFICIENT, AND WHICH SEEM REPRODUCIBLE?

	FACTOR	NECESSARY	SUFFICIENT	REPRODUCIBLE
1.	The OIC ethos and Dr. Leon Sullivan's leadership	probably	no	in other sites by OIC, yes; by others, unknown
2.	Small school size	yes	probably yes	yes
3.	Principal as instructional leader	probably yes	possibly yes	yes
4.	As much money per pupil as vocational education	yes	no	yes
5.	Extensive start-up and development costs	no	no	not needed
6.	Some start-up and adaptation costs	yes	no	unknown
7.	greater flexibility than usual under union contracts	yes	possibly yes	unknown
8.	Hawthorne effect	probably no	probably no	yes
9.	Student selection	probably yes	probably yes	yes
10.	Extraordinary leadership	yes	possibly yes	probably yes
11.	Extensive monitoring	probably no	no	no

TABLE XXVI WHICH SPECIFIC FACTORS PROBABLY CONTRIBUTING TO CIP'S SUCCESS SEEM NECESSARY, WHICH ARE SUFFICIENT, AND WHICH SEEM REPRODUCIBLE?

	FACTOR	NECESSARY	SUFFICIENT	REPRODUCIBLE
1.	Supportive context for interns	yes	no	yes
2.	CIP as an instrument, not as a basis for social identity	probably yes	no	yes
3.	Deal with the whole intern	yes	probably yes	probably yes
4.	School experience congruent with realistic life goals	yes	probably yes	probably yes
5.	Don't buffer interns	yes	yes	yes
6.	Interns must set specific goals	yes	probably yes	yes
7.	don't treat interns like students	probably yes	no	yes
8.	see interns as individuals	yes	possibly yes	probably yes
9.	provide interns with a major role in planning their own program	probably yes	probably yes	yes
10.	trust interns with a major role in planning their own program	probably yes	probably no	yes
11.	learning packages infusing academic and career information at 10th, 11th & 12th grade levels	probably yes	no	yes

FACTOR	NECESSARY	SUFFICIENT	REPRODUCIBLE
12. Career counseling seminar (procedures)	probably yes	no	yes
13. Hands-on experience (procedures	yes	probably yes	yes
14. Staff attitudes	yes	probably yes	probably yes
15. structures encouraging interns to work together	yes	probably yes	probably yes

(2) At present, no single factor or group of factors can be confidently identified as sufficient. Leadership, dealing with the whole intern, the consequence of school experience with realistic life goals, the individual attention to interns, prompt feedback with alternatives, the hands-on experience, staff belief in CIP, and the structures encouraging students to work together probably form a "necessary and sufficient" CORE, defining the program. Selection of these factors as the CORE has three bases: comparison of CIP and the feeder schools, what seemed to be present in the cases of successful interns but not as effectively provided to CIP dropouts, and changes over development of the program that seemed to make the most difference in operations and outcomes. This is, again, speculative and not based on independent measures of the factors as related to outcomes for the individual interns.

(3) In terms of reproducibility, there are some features of CIP that may be essential and may not be transferrable. Central to this is the OIC ethos: CIP is part of an organization enjoying a history of successful service to the poor and the oppressed of every color in every state. Without the support of OIC---emotional and spiritual as well as the transfer of trained OIC staff and know-how---CIP may not be reproducible. An additional feature may be the use of personnel who can do the job but who have not necessarily obtained formal certification. This also may not be reproducible in most school systems, although they are not unusual in alternative schools or educational programs not covered by negotiated contracts.

It therefore seems that fully reproducing CIP's effects will be most likely when OIC itself either operates the program or provides extensive technical assistance to adopting schools.

(4) Other factors seems reproducible in principle but a challenge in practice. Almost all of these require a diagnostic/prescriptive approach to career development. Those who have implemented a diagnostic/prescriptive approach to a relatively discrete skill such as reading can appreciate the staff training and materials needed.

Not all teachers seem able (or willing) to adopt an individualized approach; not all schools have the resources necessary to carry it out. Where the community is in part the school, and up-to-date career information has to infuse the curriculum, the demands for almost constant adaptation are intensified. Added to this is the fact that there is no single standard diagnostic "test" of career development linked to prescriptive exercises or texts in quite the way that is now possible for reading. The processes of CIP are well-spelled out; their exercise requires skill, judgment, and extensive world-of work experience.

Thus CIP seems reproducible in principle, but in practice, there are relatively few people now trained to operate such a program. As experience-based alternative programs for youth spread, however, the number of people oriented to their philosophy and skilled in their implementation will expand. Successful implementation of a variety of approaches should become easier. The how-to materials to operate what seems to be the core of CIP are available. If volunteer staff with skills in individualization are selected, CIP should be reproducible in practice.

(5) Some factors could probably be adopted widely to improve the quality of present practices.

---Provide all students prompt, accurate, frequent information on their distance from graduation and alternative ways to receive their diploma.

---Expand the career counseling resources, particularly for non-college bound students, by all means possible, including use of community learning experiences, helping teachers provide career advice, and otherwise increasing access to career guidance for all youth.

---Emphasize road-maps. A large number of youth entered CIP with a career goal and almost no sense of how to get there beyond the most superficial level ("go to college" without knowing the entry requirements for any college or even how to find these out).

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